A

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY

OF

EMINENT SCOTSMEN.

BY ROBERT CHAMBERS,

AUTHOR OF "TRADITIONS OF EDINBURGH," "HISTORIES OF THE REBELLIONS IN SCOTLAND," &c.

Embellished with splendid and authentic Portraits.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

GLASGOW:

BLACKIE & SON, 8, EAST CLYDE STREET;

AND 5, SOUTH COLLEGE STREET, EDINBURGH;

W. CURRY, JUN., & CO., DUBLIN; AND SIMPKIN & MARSHALL, LONDON.

MDCCCXXXV.

GLASGOW:
PRINTED BY GEORGE BROOKMAN.

SCOTTISH

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CRICHTON, James, commonly styled the *Admirable Crichton.* The learned and accurate Dr Kippis, editor of the Biographia Britannica, was the first, we believe, who thoroughly sifted and critically examined the truth or consistency of those marvellous stories which had so long attached to and rendered famous the name of the Admirable Crichton. Many had long doubted their credibility, and many more had been deluded by them. It fell to the lot of this keen critic, by a minute and candid investigation of the truth, to confirm and rectify the minds of both. Biography is but a part of history, and the chief value of both must always rest upon their veracity; and it is no unimportant service rendered to letters, to disabuse them of those apocryphal portions which deteriorate the worth, or render suspicious the quality of what is really genuine. It is but an ungrateful task, we allow, to destroy in the mind its favoured prejudices or delusions; yet these can never be allowed to stand in the way of investigation; and we make no doubt of showing, before the end of this article that inquiry, in the present case, has not been without its advantage.

The biographer whom we have mentioned, has expressed the diffidence and anxiety which he felt on entering upon this life; "being," says he "desirous, on the one hand, not to detract from Crichton's real merit, and, on the other, to form a just estimate of the truth of the facts which are recorded concerning him." We hope to observe the same principle of impartiality; and, after having given the reader the current narration regarding this singular individual, shall afterwards leave to his own discrimination the proofs which, either way, affect its authenticity.

James Crichton was the son of Robert Crichton, of Eliock, lord advocate of Scotland, partly in the reigns of queen Mary and king James VI. His mother was Elizabeth Stuart, only daughter of Sir James Stuart of Beith; a family collaterally descended from Murdoch, duke of Albany, third son of Robert III. by Elizabeth Muir, and uncle to James I. He was born in the castle of Cluny, in Perthshire, sometime about the year 1560. This residence had recently been in the possession of the bishopric of Dunkeld, from which it was dissevered during the reformation; and was esteemed, at that time, one of the best houses

in Scotland. It is beautifully situated upon a little island in the middle of the lake of the same name.

Crichton received the first rudiments of his education at Perth, from which place he was removed at an early age to the university of St Andrews, at that time esteemed the first school of philosophy in Scotland. John Rutherford, a name now unknown, but who in his day was famous for his writings upon the logic and poetics of Aristotle, was provost of St Salvator's college; and it was to the care of this professor that the instruction of young Crichton seems to have been principally confided. "Nothing," according to M'Kenzie, "can give us a higher idea of Rutherford's worth and merit than his being master of that wonder and prodigy of his age, the great and admirable Crichton." Aldus Manutius also informs us, that he was educated along with the king under Buchanan, Hepburn, and Robertson. The progress which he made in his studies is said to have been astonishing. He had hardly passed his twelfth year when he took his degree as bachelor of arts; two years afterwards, that of master of arts; being then esteemed the third scholar in the university for talents and proficiency. His excellence did not stop here. Before attaining the age of twenty he had, besides becoming master of the sciences, attained to the knowledge of ten different languages, which he could write and speak to perfection. He had every accomplishment which it is befitting or ornamental in a gentleman to have. He practised the arts of drawing and painting, and improved himself to the highest degree in riding, fencing, dancing, singing, and in playing upon all sorts of musical instruments. It remains only to add, that this extraordinary person possessed a form and face of great beauty and symmetry; and was unequalled in every exertion requiring activity and strength. He would spring at one bound the space of twenty or twenty-four feet in closing with his antagonist; and he added to a perfect science in the sword, such strength and dexterity that none could rival him.

Crichton, now about the age of twenty, and thus accomplished, set out upon his travels; and is said first to have directed his course to Paris. It was customary in that age to hold public disputations in which questions alike abstruse and useless in the scholastic philosophy were discussed. Soon after his arrival in this city, he determined, in compliance with such a usage, to distinguish himself, by a public display of part of those great acquirements of which he felt himself possessed. To this end he affixed placards to the gates of the different schools, halls, and colleges belonging to the university, and to the posts and pillars before the houses of men of learning in the city; inviting all those versed in any art or science, discipline, or faculty, whether practical or theoretic, to dispute with him in the college of Navarre, that day six weeks, by nine of the clock in the morning, where he would attend them, and be ready to answer to whatever should be proposed to him in any art or science, and in any of these twelve languages, Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Greek, Latin, Spanish, French, Italian, English, Dutch, Flemish, and Sclavonian; and this either in verse or prose, at the discretion of the disputant. We give the challenge pretty fully in this place, that we may have no further occasion to repeat it.

During the interesting interval of the six weeks, Crichton, we are informed, so far from showing the least flutter or uneasiness, or any necessity of preparation, did nothing but divert himself with the various amusements of the gay city. He devoted his time almost entirely to hunting, hawking, riding on a well managed horse, tossing the pike, handling the musket, and other feats of the like kind; or to more domestic trifling, such as balls, concerts, cards, dice, or tennis. This nonchalance is said to have provoked the sneers of the students; and their (as it proved) unlucky satire went the length of affixing a

placard containing the following words on the gate of the Navarre college. "If you would meet with this monster of perfection, to make search for him either in the tavern or the brothel, is the readiest way to find him."

The decisive day at length arrived which had been looked forward to with so much confidence of triumph by the one party, and, we are to suppose, with mixed feelings of curiosity, scorn, or ridicule, by the other. There attended, we are told, at this singular convocation, about fifty professors, doctors of law and medicine, and learned men; and above three thousand auditors. He acquitted himself beyond expression in the disputation, which lasted from nine o'clock in the morning till six at night. "So pointedly and learnedly he answered to all the questions which were proposed to him, that none but they who were present can believe it. He spake Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and other languages most politely. *He was likewise an excellent horseman;* and truly, if a man should live a hundred years without eating, drinking, or sleeping, he could not attain to this man's knowledge, which struck us with a panic fear; for he knew more than human nature can well bear. He overcame four of the doctors of the church; for in learning none could contest with him, and he was thought to be Antichrist."[1] At the conclusion the president after a speech of high commendation, rose from his chair, and amidst the admiration and acclamations of the whole assembly, presented him with a diamond ring and a purse full of gold. From the event of this day he attained the title of The Admirable Crichton.

Crichton was so little fatigued, we are told, by this Herculean trial of mental prowess, that, on the succeeding day he appeared with all the fire and freshness of youth at a tilting match in the Louvre, and in the presence of several of the ladies and princes of the court of France, carried away the ring fifteen times successively, 'and broke as many lances on *the Saracen*,' a chivalrous pastime of the period so called.

We next find Crichton at Rome; where he soon took occasion to exhibit a similar challenge to that of Paris. Here, in presence of the pope, many cardinals, bishops, doctors of divinity, and professors in all the sciences, he again delighted and astonished all spectators by the amazing proofs which he displayed of his universal knowledge. Boccaline, who was then at Rome, relates the transaction somewhat differently. According to this authority, Crichton's placard runs thus: "Nos Jacobus Crichtonus, Scotus, cuicunque rei propositæ ex improviso respondebimus." This was a bold challenge in the capital of Christendom; and the ridicule which it could not fail to excite shewed itself in a pasquinade, the humour of which is not amiss, though it be local: "And," said this addendum to the challenge, "he that will see *it*, let him go to the sign of the Falcon and *it* shall be shown." The Italian further informs us, that this affront, which put Crichton upon the level of jugglers and mountebanks, nettled him so much that he left the place.

He next proceeded to Venice; and it was on his way thither, that he composed one of the four little Latin poems, all, by the way, which remain to prove the literary and poetical talents of Crichton. Of its merit we may remark afterwards; but Aldus Manutius, the younger of the celebrated family of printers, to whom it was inscribed, thought so very highly of it, and on further acquaintance with its author, was so greatly delighted, that he forthwith formed a friendship with him. He was of service in introducing Crichton to some of the principal men of Venice; and among the rest to Laurentius Massa, Sperone Speroni, and Joannes Donatus. A presentation soon followed to the doge and senate, before whom he made an oration, which for brilliant eloquence and consummate grace, we are led to understand, could not be surpassed. In effect, in

[1] Mackenzie's Scottish Writers, vol. iii. p. 119.

the words of Imperialis, talking of him on this occasion, "he was esteemed a prodigy of nature." Here, he likewise disputed upon different subjects in theology, philosophy and the mathematics, before the most eminent professors, in large assemblies. Many people from a distance came to hear and see him; and as a late biographer has alleged, "lives of him were drawn up and published." His visit to Venice was, it is conjectured, in the year 1580.

After a residence of about four months in Venice, during the latter part of which time, he was afflicted with a severe illness, Crichton repaired to Padua, where was a university, whose fame, in that age, was spread over Europe. The day after his arrival, there was convened in honour of him at the house of Jacobus Aloisius Cornelius, a meeting of all the learned men of the place, when Crichton opened the assembly with an encomiastic poem in praise of the city, the university, and the persons present. He then disputed for the space of six hours on matters in general; and, in particular exposed with great judgment the errors of Aristotle and his commentators, which he did, nevertheless, with such engaging modesty, as excited universal admiration. In conclusion, he thought proper to deliver an extempore oration in verse, in praise of ignorance, which was conducted with so much ingenuity, ("in order," says one of his biographers "to reconcile his audience to their comparative inferiority,")[1] that his hearers were astonished, and no doubt highly gratified. Another disputation was to have been held in the bishop of Padua's palace, which some unforeseen circumstances, according to Manutius, prevented. Imperialis, however, differs from this statement; and relates that his father, (then thirteen years of age) had witnessed Crichton upon such an occasion; that he was opposed by Archangelus Mercenarius, a famous philosopher; and that he acquitted himself so well as to obtain the approbation of a very honourable company, and even of his antagonist himself.

In the midst of the great reputation which Crichton now enjoyed, there were not wanting many persons who took occasion to detract from it, affecting to consider him as a literary impostor, whose acquirements were totally superficial. To put an end, at once, to all such cavils or invidious reflections, he caused a challenge, similar to the others already made mention of, to be fixed on the gates of St John and St Paul's church. The chief novelty on this occasion was, that he engaged, at the pleasure of his opponents, to answer them, either in the common logical way, or by numbers and mathematical figures, or in a hundred different sorts of verse. According to Manutius, Crichton sustained this contest without fatigue, for three days; during which time he supported his credit and maintained his propositions with such spirit and energy, that from an unusual concourse of people, he obtained acclamations and praises than which none more magnificent were ever heard by men. It by much exceeded any of his former contests of a similar nature; and it is the last of them, of which we have any account.

To Sir Thomas Urquhart, posterity is alone indebted for the next incident recorded in the life of the Admirable Crichton, and its interest has certainly suffered little in coming from the graphic pen of that redoubted fabler. We cannot do better than give the exordium in his own words:—"A certain Italian gentleman, of a mighty, able, strong, nimble, and vigorous body, by nature fierce, cruel, warlike, and audacious, and in the gladiatory art so superlatively expert and dextrous, that all the most skilful teachers of escrime, and fencing-masters of Italy (which, in matter of choice professors in that faculty needed, never as yet to yield to any nation in the world), were by him beaten to their good behaviour, and, by blows and thrusts given in, which they could not avoid, enforced to acknowledge him their overcomer: bethinking himself, how, after

[1] Tytler's Life of Crichton, p 34.

so great a conquest of reputation, he might by such means be very suddenly enriched, he projected a course of exchanging the blunt to the sharp, and the foils into tucks; and in this resolution, providing a purse full of gold, worth near upon four hundred pounds, English money, travelled alongst the most especial and considerable parts of Spain, France, the Low Countries, Germany, Pole, Hungary, Greece, Italy, and other places, wherever there was greatest probability of encountering with the eagerest and most atrocious duellists; and immediately after his arrival to any city or town that gave apparent likelihood of some one or other champion that would enter the lists and cope with him, he boldly challenged them, with sound of trumpet, in the chief market place, to adventure an equal sum of money against that of his, to be disputed at the sword's point, who should have both." Sir Thomas goes on to relate the success of this bravo of Italy, whose person and character he has sketched with so masterly a pencil. "At last returning homewards to his own country, loaded with wealth, or rather the spoil of the reputation of these foreigners, whom the Italians call Tramontani, he, by the way, after his accustomed manner of aboarding other places, repaired to the city of Mantua." Having received the protection of the duke, and published his challenge, it was not long before he found opponents willing to engage him on his own terms. "For it happened at the same time, that three of the most notable cutters in the world, (and so highly cried up for valour, that all the bravoes of the land were content to give way to their domineering, how insolent soever they should prove, because of their former-constantly-obtained victories in the field,) were all three together at the court of Mantua; who hearing of such harvest of five hundred pistoles, to be reaped (as they expected) very soon, and with ease, had almost contested among themselves for the priority of the first encounter, but that one of my lord duke's courtiers moved them to cast lots who should be first, second, and third, in case none of the former two should prove victorious." Next ensue the successive calamitous combats of these brave men: for he "whose fortune it was to be the first of the three in the field, had the disaster to be the first of the three that was foyled; for at last with a thrust in the throat he was killed dead upon the ground." The second "was laid flat dead upon the place, by means of a thrust he received in the heart;" and the last, "his luck being the same with those that preceded him, by a thrust in the belly, he, within four and twenty hours after, gave up the ghost."

Sir Thomas manages with the ability, and indeed pretty much in the style, of a standard romancer, the scene which was to wind up the interest of his story to its height. And first he pauses in his narration, to take notice, how these lamentable spectacles caused shame and grief to the "duke and citie of Mantua;" and how "the conquering duellist, proud of a victorie so highly tending to both his honour and profit, for the space of a whole fortnight, or two weeks together, marched daily along the streets of Mantua (without any opposition or controulment) like another Romulus or Marcellus in triumph." The way thus artfully prepared, the true knight, for whom, as in books of romance, this adventure had been reserved, is introduced—

"—Which the never-too-much-to-be-admired Crichton perceiving—to wipe off the imputation of cowardice lying upon the court of Mantua, to which he had but even then arrived, (although formerly he had been a domestic thereof,) he could neither eat nor drink till he had first sent a challenge to the conqueror, appelling him to repair with his best sword in his hand, by nine of the clock in the morning of the next day, in presence of the whole court, in the same place where he had killed the other three, to fight with him upon this quarrell; that in the court of Mantua, there were as valiant men as he; and, for his better en-

couragement to the desired undertaking, he assured him, that to the foresaid five hundred pistoles, he would adjoin a thousand more; wishing him to do the like, that the victor, upon the point of his sword, might carry away the richer booty. The challenge, with all its conditions, is no sooner accepted of, the time and place mutually condescended upon, kept accordingly, and the fifteen hundred pistoles, *hinc inde*, deposited, and the two rapiers of equal weight, length, and goodness, each taking one, in presence of the duke, duchess, with all the noblemen, ladies, magnificoes, and all the choicest of both men, women, and maids of that city, as soon as the signal for the duel was given, by the shot of a great piece of ordinance, of three score and four pound ball, the two combatants, with a lion-like animosity, made their approach to one another."

The combat, as it resembles much in management and fashion those with which the reader of old romances must be well acquainted, so does it likewise come up to them in minuteness, we can hardly say tediousness, for of that the author is incapable. Crichton long kept upon the defensive with his adversary, and showed such excellent dexterity, "that he seemed but to play while the other was in earnest." After long fencing, falsifying, and parrying, warding from tierce to quart, priming, and seconding; and after every variety of posture had been gone through, "the never-before-conquered Italian finding himself a little faint, enters into a consideration that he may be overmatched;" and sad thoughts seize upon all his spirits. We may indulge the reader with the conclusion of this eventful conflict in the words of its original chronicler; and in these it may possibly be invested with a propriety and interest, which we would but vainly labour to bestow upon it.

"Matchless Crichton, seeing it now high time to put a gallant catastrophe to that so-long-dubious combat, animated with a divinely inspired fervencie, to fulfill the expectation of the ladies, and crown the duke's illustrious hopes, changeth his garb, falls to act another part, and, from defender turns assailant: never did art so grace nature, nor nature second the precepts of art with so much liveliness, and such observance of time, as when, after he had struck fire out of the steel of his enemie's sword, and gained the feeble thereof, with the fort of his own, by angles of the strongest position, he did, by geometrical flourishes of straight and oblique lines, so practically execute the speculative part, that, as if there had been remoras and secret charms in the variety of his motion, the fierceness of his foe was in a trice transqualified into the numness of a pageant. Then was it that, to vindicate the reputation of the duke's family, and expiate the blood of the three vanquished gentlemen, he alonged a stoccade *de pied ferme;* then recoyling, he advanced another thrust, and lodged it home; after which, retiring again, his right foot did beat the cadence of the blow that pierced the belly of this Italian; whose heart and throat being hit with the two former stroaks, these three franch bouts given in upon the back of the other: besides that, if lines were imagined drawn from the hand that livered them, to the places which were marked by them, they would represent a perfect isosceles triangle with a perpendicular from the top angle, cutting the basis in the middle; they likewise give us to understand, that by them he was to be made a sacrifice of atonement for the slaughter of the three aforesaid gentlemen, who were wounded in the very same parts of their bodies by other three such venses as these; each whereof being mortal, and his vital spirits exhaling as his blood gushed out, all he spoke was this, That seeing he could not live, his comfort in dying was, that he could not die by the hand of a braver man: after the uttering of which words he expiring, with the shril clareens of trumpets, bouncing thunder of artillery, bethwacked beating of drums, universal clapping of hands, and loud acclamations of joy for so great a victory." Crichton generously bestowed the

prize of his victory upon the widows of the brave gentlemen whose deaths he had thus avenged.

In consequence, it is said, of this achievement, and the wonderful proficiency of the young Scotsman, the duke of Mantua made choice of him as tutor to his son, Vincentio di Gonzaga, a young man of dissolute conduct and unsettled principles. The appointment seems to have been gratifying to all parties; and, as Sir Thomas Urquhart informs us, Crichton composed a comedy on the occasion, which he exhibited before the court. This, we must by no means enlarge upon; for though that author's account of the matter is complete and curious, it is of great length, and may with more pleasure and advantage be read at large in the original. The piece, we may only remark, belonged to a class of the drama known by the name of the *Comedia a soggetto;* in which one actor performs all the characters, however numerous; and must appear in the various dresses appropriate to each. The admirable Crichton had his usual success. The composition was regarded as one of the most ingenious satires that ever was made upon mankind. It was the last display, too, of those wonderful talents and endowments which their possessor was destined to make on the stage of this world; and if, in any part of our narrative, we may have betrayed symptoms of incredulity, we lay all such feelings aside, in coming to the concluding circumstance, the tragic nature of which must always excite deep sympathy and regret.

On a night of the carnival, as Crichton was returning from some serenading party, and amusing himself as he went solitarily along, by playing upon his guitar, he was suddenly set upon by five or six armed persons in masks. These with great vigour and bravery, he either put to flight, wounded, or kept at a distance. The one who seemed to be the leader he contrived to disarm; and this person proved to be the prince, his pupil, Vincentio di Gonzaga; for, pulling off his mask and discovering himself, he begged his life. Crichton, on this, fell upon his knees, and expressed the concern he felt for his mistake, alleging that what he had done, he had been prompted to by self-defence; that if his prince had any design upon his life he might always be master of it. Saying this, and taking his sword by the point, he presented it to Gonzaga, who immediately received it; and, the evil passions by which he had been actuated, being inflamed rather than subdued by his shameful discomfiture, he is said instantly to have run his defenceless victor through the heart.

It ought, however, in justice to be said, that the above, though the popular statement of Crichton's death, has been qualified, by more than one of his biographers, in its circumstances of atrocity; and indeed, though such actions assume a different character in Italy from what, happily, we are acquainted with in this country, he ought to have the advantage of every extenuation which impartiality can allow of. It is uncertain whether the meeting occurred by accident or design. Sir Thomas Urquhart, with his usual romance, has told a most extravagant, and it must be allowed, absurd, love story; thus implicating jealousy in the transaction; but the most probable version seems to be, that Crichton was stabbed in a drunken frolic; that the high rank of the one party, and great merit of the other; the relation in which they stood to each other; and the concealment of the real circumstances, came, at length, from the natural love all people, and especially the Italians, have for amplification and exaggeration, to invest the whole in the tragic garb which it now wears.

Great and general, according to the old author we have so often quoted, was the grief and lamentation which this sad event caused in Mantua. The whole court went into mourning for nine months. The epitaphs and elegies written to his memory, and stuck upon his hearse, would exceed, if collected, the bulk

of Homer's works; and long after, his picture had its place in the closets and galleries of the Italian nobility; representing him on horseback, with a lance in the one hand, and a book in the other. In a summary of excellences which we cannot help transcribing, the same author thus takes leave of the individual he has in so great a degree tended to exalt:—"Crichton gained the esteem of kings and princes, by his magnanimity and knowledge; of noblemen and gentlemen, by his courtliness and breeding; of knights, by his honourable deportment and pregnancy of wit; of the rich, by his affability and good fellowship; of the poor, by his munificence and liberality; of the old, by his constancy and wisdom; of the young, by his mirth and gallantry; of the learned, by his universal knowledge; of the soldiers, by his undaunted valour and courage; of the merchants and artificers, by his upright dealing and honesty; and of the fair sex, by his beauty and handsomeness, in which respect he was a masterpiece of nature."

Sir Thomas did not stand so altogether upon his own authority in this, as in other matters we have had to speak of; and he scarcely, indeed, required so to do. Imperialis, in his account of Crichton's death, declares, That the report of so sad a catastrophe was spread to the remotest parts of the earth; that it disturbed universal nature; and that, in her grief for the loss of the wonder she had produced, she threatened never more to confer such honour upon mankind. He was the wonder of the last ago; the prodigious production of nature; the glory and ornament of Parnassus, in a stupendous and unusual manner; and farther, in the judgment of the learned world, he was the phœnix of literature, and rather a shining particle of the divine Mind and Majesty, than a model of what could be attained by human industry. After highly celebrating the beauty of his person, he asserts, that his extraordinary eloquence, and his admirable knowledge of things, testified that he possessed a strength of genius wholly divine.

Crichton is supposed to have been in the twenty-second year of his age at the time of his death. One or two pictures are preserved of him; and there is reason to believe, that they are originals. By these it would appear that his frame was well proportioned, and his head well shaped, though rather small than otherwise. His face is symmetrical and handsome, but has no particular expression of character. There is a print of him in the Museum Historicum et Physicum of Imperialis, which, though poorly executed, is probably authentic.

It now remains that something should be said regarding the truth or falsity of accounts so extraordinary as those which we have, with considerable fulness, presented to the reader; and in this we cannot do better than have recourse to the learned biographer, Dr Kippis, who has already been of so much service to us in the composition of this life. So full, indeed, has that author been upon the subject, and so complete, in his collection and arrangement of the authorities which bear upon it, that it would be difficult, or vain, to pursue another course. One work only, to our knowledge, attempting a refutation of the positions and inferences of the editor of the Biographia Britannica has appeared during a space of forty years. This is a Life of the Admirable Crichton, with an appendix of original papers by Mr P. F. Tytler. We can see no cause to incline us to give any weight to the arguments of this author; and should rather say, that the effect of his work, bringing forward and advocating as it does, all that can be advanced and urged in favour of the authenticity, has been to place in a more conspicuous point of view the error and falsity he would attempt to remove. There are few new facts adduced, and these not material. They shall be noticed as they properly suggest themselves to our observation.

In the first place, as to Sir Thomas Urquhart, to whom we are indebted for several of the facts altogether, and who wrote between sixty and seventy years after Crichton's decease, Dr Kippis has objected, generally, that his testimony as to facts is totally unworthy of regard: "his productions are so inexpressibly absurd and extravagant, that the only rational judgment which can be pronounced concerning him is, that he was little, if at all, better than a madman:" that "his design in *this*, a design which appears from his other writings, was to exalt his own family and his own nation at any rate." "So far, therefore, as Sir Thomas Urquhart's authority is concerned, the wonderful exhibitions of Crichton at Paris, his triumphs at Rome, his combat with the gladiator, his writing an Italian comedy, his sustaining fifteen characters in the representation of that comedy, the extraordinary story of the amour which is described as the cause of his death, the nine months mourning for him at Mantua, and the poems hung round his hearse to the quantity of Homer's works, must be regarded as in the highest degree doubtful, or rather as absolutely false." It is likewise to be observed, that earlier biographers had no knowledge of the facts enlarged upon by Urquhart. Mr Tytler says not one word of any consequence in defence of this author; at the same time, he takes every advantage of his information, carefully suppressing, which is not a very easy task, whatever is ridiculous or overwrought in the original.

Sir Thomas paved the way for Mackenzie, a writer of a very different character, but who has materially, only in a more sober manner, related the same story. Mackenzie, in regard to the prodigious exertions of Crichton both corporeal and mental at Paris, imagined he had found a full confirmation of them in a passage from the "Disquisitiones" of Stephen Pasquier. In this he was under a mistake. The "Disquisitiones" are only an abridgment, in Latin, of Pasquier's "Des Recherches de la France;" in which work there is indeed mention made of a wonderful youth, such as is related in Mackenzie's quotation, and from which the passage is formed; but Pasquier, who does not tell his name, expressly says, that he appeared in the year 1445. The writer by whom this fact was discovered and pointed out, makes remark, that "Pasquier was born in Paris in 1528; passed his life in that city, and was an eminent lawyer and pleader in 1571; so that it is impossible the feats of Crichton, had they been really performed at Paris, could have been unknown to him, and most improbable, that, knowing them, he would have omitted to mention them; for, in the same book, vi., ch. 39, in which the wonderful youth is mentioned, he is at pains to produce examples of great proficiency, displayed by men in a much humbler rank of life than that of philosophers and public disputants." Dr Kippis observes, that Thuanus was likewise a contemporary, and he, who, in his own life, is very particular in what relates to learned men, makes no mention of Crichton. The "Des Recherches" of Pasquier were printed at Paris in 1596, and their author lived till the year 1615. Thuanus' Memoirs of Himself were published in 1604; and that author lived between the years 1553 and 1617.

Mr Tytler finds much more fault with Mackenzie than we think at all necessary, or to the purpose. "Never, perhaps," says he, "was any biographical article written in more complete defiance of all accurate research." He has said Crichton was born in 1551, instead of placing that event ten years earlier, (an error which it is far from unlikely was a typographical one); he places Robert Crichton of Cluny at the head of the queen's troops at the battle of Langside, instead of the earl of Argyle; he affirms erroneously, that Trajan Boccalini "tells us he [Crichton] came to Rome, Boccalini being then at Rome himself;" he might have known that Crichton was killed in July, "had he weighed the account of Imperialis," and known that the assertion of Urquhart, that his

death happened at the carnival, could not be correct, " yet this accommodating author adopts both stories, without perceiving that there is any inconsistency between them ;" he adds expressions of his own to the account of Aldus, and mistakes the testimony of Astolfi ; and " concludes his career of misquotation, by placing amongst the catalogue of Crichton's works a comedy in the Italian language," which should not have been there, if, as he asserts, he copied that list from Dempster.

There is a much more important point to settle before coming to these minutiæ ; and however much the existence of such inconsistencies and inaccuracies may make against these, their correction by no means advances the favourite hypothesis of this author. What matters it spying out little faults on the surface of a great error? Mackenzie had three large folio volumes to write, and could not weigh every little matter with the minute accuracy Mr Tytler would expect of him ; as, whether the death of Crichton occurred in July or February, by drawing inferences about the time of the carnival. Nor are his slight variations from ancient authorities, at all more, than what were perfectly warrantable in the process of incorporating them into a continuous narrative. It was not from such blunders, as Mr Tytler would endeavour to persuade us, " that Baillet, Kippis, and Black regarded with doubt, and even treated with ridicule," the fame of Crichton ; but it was, in the first place, from the monstrous and unheard of nature of that reputation, and, on inquiry, its untenable and chimerical foundation.

After Mackenzie, followed Pennant, as a biographer of the Admirable Crichton ; and in his account, all the errors of which Mr Tytler complains are perpetuated ; it being an exact reprint from that author ; " with this difference," says he, " that he rendered detection more difficult ; because the Latin passages, which might possibly have excited curiosity, and provoked a comparison with the text and the original, were left out entirely, and a translation substituted in their place." And here we may remark the curious and inadvertent manner in which error will often take place. Sir John Hawkins acknowledges, that Sir Thomas Urquhart has produced no authorities in support of his surprising narrations ; but this defect, Sir John thinks, is supplied, in the life of Crichton, which is given in Pennant's tour. Now, Pennant copied immediately from a pamphlet printed at Aberdeen, which, with a few verbal alterations, was identically the life written by Mackenzie ; so that his account was but, in a genealogical sense, the great grand relation of the good knight himself. We may notice in this place, for the advantage of the polite reader, that Dr Johnson fell into the same error with his biographer ; and credited, if not the whole, at least the greater part, of this marvellous life ; and, as we are informed, dictated from memory to Hawkesworth, that delightful sketch of the Admirable Crichton which forms the 81st number of the Adventurer.

Having thus cleared the path to the ancient authorities, we come, for the first time, to consider who and what the Admirable Crichton really was. The account which we have already given of his birth, parentage, and success at the university, we hold to be authentic ; and to that part, therefore, of the biography we have no occasion to refer. Of the matters spoken of by Urquhart upon his own authority, we have said enough, and they come not within the sphere of such investigation.

And, firstly, we shall take up Aldus Manutius, whose dedication of the " Paradoxa Ciceronis" to Crichton, is to be considered as the foundation upon which all the biographies of that individual are built. Of Manutius, Dr Kippis has remarked, that he is to be regarded as the only living authority on the subject ; he was contemporary with Crichton ; he was connected with him in friend-

ship; and he relates several things on his own personal knowledge. That he is a positive and undoubted witness of Crichton's intellectual and literary exertions at Venice and Padua. Nevertheless, that even this author is to be read with some degree of caution; that dedications are apt to assume the style of exaggeration; and that, with regard to the present, such is the case. That the younger Aldus, besides that he might be carried too far by his affection for his friend, was not eminent for steadiness and consistency of character. That, independently of such considerations, the narrative, previously to Crichton's arrival at Venice, could not be derived from personal knowledge, and in that part he is very erroneous. That he does not appear to have been an eye-witness of the whole of the disputations held at Padua, as, in speaking of the oration in praise of Ignorance, he speaks from hearsay. That he was present at the disputation which lasted three days; but, at the same time, allows, that Crichton's extraordinary abilities were not universally acknowledged and admired; that some there were who detracted from them, and were displeased with Manutius for so warmly supporting his reputation.

Little more than this can, indeed, be said with regard to Aldus, without approaching too near to a flat denial of his assertions. With no such intention, it is not a little instructive to see how he has written upon an occasion similar to the one under consideration. There is prefixed to his edition of Aratus a dedication to a certain Polish scholar of the name of Stanislaus Niegoseusky, part of which we shall present to the reader:—"I send to you," says he, "those verses of Aratus, which have been translated by Cicero—one part to another—but with this difference, that it is a poet of inferior, to one of superior genius. My book, 'De Universitate,' was dedicated to my friend, alas! my departed friend, Crichton. Now that I inscribe to you the verses of Aratus, say, shall I dedicate them to you, as his rival, or his panegyrist, or his superior; or shall I ascribe to you all these characters at once?"—"It is not enough to say that you write verses; you pour them forth with that unexampled animation and facility, which instantly declares that you were born a poet." This dedication was written very shortly after Crichton's decease, as it bears date, 4th November, 1583.

Aldus, we have observed, from Dr Kippis, is to be considered as the only living testimony regarding our subject. Mr Tytler has discovered another, in the shape of an anonymous leaf, bearing the imprint of Venice, 1580. "This," says he, is a most curious and valuable document."—"It exhibits a minute, but confused and ill-arranged catalogue of his [Crichton's] various accomplishments, both mental and physical; of the books he had studied, the feats he had performed, the intellectual battles, in which his prowess had been so remarkably conspicuous. The beauty of his person, the elegance of his manners, the nobility of his descent and his services in the French army, are all particularly insisted upon; and upon all these points the highest praise is given, the richest colouring employed." We cannot quote all that Mr Tytler says of this paper; but shall, at once, consider it authentic, and proceed.

We have, indeed, every willingness to consider this as a genuine document; and, with some little deduction on the score of Italian exaggeration, and some little correction of the idolatrousness of expression natural to that people, may, probably, with assistance of it, arrive at a truer notion of the real Crichton, than we have effected hitherto.

The confusion which pervades this production, in so far as it indicates absence of design, we prefer to the studied eulogium of Aldus; and, at the same time, it declares a fact well known to literary men, that the person so writing could not have very clearly understood what he was writing about. We have in it the

confirmation of a suspicion long entertained, that Crichton's wonderful intellectual excellence did, in a great measure, consist in a most astonishing memory. With what discretion he used that faculty, there is not, and there cannot be, any satisfactory proof. His knowledge of so many languages, we at once admit; and this admission but makes the solution of the problem more easy. What mind, we would ask, so divinely endowed as Crichton's is represented to have been, could, in its young feelings, have voluntarily submitted to the drudgery of these twelve tongues; unless memory had been the paramount and principal faculty which it possessed. The paper before us is satisfactorily explicit on this point: "His memory is so astonishing that he knows not what it is to forget; and whenever he has heard an oration, he is ready to recite it again, word for word, as it was delivered. He possesses the talent of composing Latin verses, upon any subject which is proposed to him, and in every different kind of metre. Such is his memory, that, even though these verses have been extempore, *he will repeat them backwards, beginning from the last word in the verse.*" In a conference with the Greeks upon the Holy Spirit, he "exhibited an incalculable mass of authorities, both from the Greek and Latin fathers, and also from the decisions of the different councils." "He has all Aristotle and the commentators at his finger end; Saint Thomas and Duns Scotus, with their different disciples, the Thomists and Scotists, he has all by heart." With a memory so uncommon and astonishing, and it is within our compass to imagine such, it did not require that it should be conjoined with transcendent talent to produce effect.

One passage we ought by no means to omit quoting, as its effect is, in some measure, to bring more familiarly home to our ordinary conceptions, the life and feelings of a man whose fortune it has been to be made the subject of so many strange representations: "He has at present retired from town to a villa, to extend two thousand conclusions, embracing questions in all the different faculties, which he means, within the space of two months, to sustain and defend in the church of St John and St Paul; *not being able to give his attention both to his own studies, and to the wishes of those persons who would eagerly devote the whole day to hear him.*"

Another thing we have to remark upon in this place, is the assertion that Crichton held a command in the French army. We would have inserted this piece of information in the narrative we have given of his life; but confess, that we were at a loss where it should be placed, and so, preferred the old tract as it was. What else remains, may be summed up in a few words. Crichton was handsome in his person; and his address that of a finished gentleman. He possessed also the accomplishments befitting a military man; was an expert swordsman, and rode well.

We shall not task the reader's patience much longer. Of Imperialis, Dr Black very truly remarks, that "his work is a collection of heads, with short eulogies, in which almost every person is represented as a phœnix: and a mass of pompous epithets are heaped together, less for the purpose of celebrating the person, than of showing the eloquence of the author;" and that is "useless for every biographical purpose," as containing the most absurd panegyric. The character of Crichton, by Imperialis, we have already quoted; and by re-considering that piece of silly extravagance, the reader may judge of the moderation of these observations. Independently of all this, Imperialis did not publish his "Museum Historicum" till the year 1640; nearly sixty years after the events recorded by him happened. Dr Kippis has remarked, that "the information this author derived from his father was probably very imperfect. Imperialis the elder was not born till 1568; and, consequently, was only thirteen

years old, when Crichton displayed his talents at Padua; and, besides, his authority is appealed to for no more than a single fact, and that a doubtful one, since it does not accord with Manutius's narrative: and who ever heard (asks the learned critic with great simplicity) of the famous philosopher Arcangelus Mercenarius?" Mr Tytler, after a painful research, has discovered that he was a professor in the university of Padua.

The only other authority, which we at all think it necessary to animadvert upon, is that of Astolfi; and, as much is made of his testimony, we shall lay it fully before the reader:—"The abilities of this Scotsman," says he, "are known to all. His name was James Crichton, who appeared like a prodigy in these our times, and was admired for the stupendous powers of his memory. Although a youth of only twenty-two years of age, he yet penetrated into the most recondite sciences, and explained the most difficult passages and the most obscure processes of reasoning in the writings of theologians and philosophers; so that, to all who considered only his early youth, it seemed impossible that he could have read through, to say nothing of committing to memory, such a mass of erudition." That we may not appear invidious in reducing this account, as we have already done a similar one, to, what we conceive to be, consistency; we shall balance it with another contemporaneous document of a rather opposite tendency, that, between the two, we may possibly arrive at something like the truth. This authority is no other than that of the learned Scaliger; the most respectable name which has come in our way, in the course of this inquiry.

"I have heard," says this author, "when I was in Italy, of one Crichton, a Scotsman, who had only reached the age of twenty-one, when he was killed by the command of the duke of Mantua, who knew twelve different languages; had studied the fathers and the poets; disputed *de omni scibili*, and replied to his antagonists in verse. He was a man of very wonderfull genius; more worthy of admiration than of esteem. He had something of the coxcomb about him, and only wanted a little common sense. It is remarkable that princes are apt to take an affection for geniuses of this stamp, but very rarely for truly learned men." We do not agree with Mr Tytler, when he says, that the encomium of Scaliger, '*he was a man of very wonderfull genius*,' "comes with infinite force when we take into account the sarcastic matter with which it is accompanied;" and we cannot but be painfully sensible of the utter poverty of this well-intentioned writer's cause, when he makes appeal to the reader of the fact, that Crichton was even on terms of intimacy with Sperone Speroni.

It still remains, that we notice the four Latin poems, written by Crichton; and we shall do this in the words of Dr Kippis. "Some fancy, perhaps," says he, "may be thought to be displayed in the longest of his poems, which was written on occasion of his approach to the city of Venice. He there represents a Naiad as rising up before him, and, by the order of the muses and of Minerva, directing him how to proceed. But this is a sentiment which so easily presents itself to a classical reader, that it can scarcely be considered as deserving the name of a poetical invention. The three other poems of Crichton have still less to recommend them. Indeed, his verses will not stand the test of a rigid examination, even with regard to quantity."

"What, then," concludes the same learned authority, "is the opinion, which, on the whole, we are to form of the Admirable Crichton? It is evident, that he was a youth of such lively parts as excited great present admiration, and high expectations with regard to his future attainments. He appears to have had a fine person, to have been adroit in his bodily exercises, to have possessed a peculiar facility in learning languages, to have enjoyed a remarkably quick and retentive memory, and to have excelled in a power of declamation, a flu-

ency of speech, and a readiness of reply. His knowledge, likewise, was probably very uncommon for his years; and this, in conjunction with his other qualities, enabled him to shine in public disputation. But whether his knowledge and learning were accurate or profound may justly be questioned; and it may equally be doubted, whether he would have arisen to any extraordinary degree of eminence in the literary world. It will always be reflected upon with regret, that his early and untimely death prevented this matter from being brought to the test of experiment.

CRUDEN, Alexander, styled by himself, Alexander the Corrector, was born at Aberdeen, on the 31st May, 1700; the son of a respectable merchant and bailie of that city. Having received a good elementary education, he entered the Marischal college, with the intention of studying for the church. He there made considerable progress in his studies, and had the degree of Master of Arts conferred upon him, when decided symptoms of insanity appeared. His malady has been absurdly ascribed to the bite of a mad dog, and, with more probability, to a disappointment in love. At all events it is certain, that he became so unreasonably importunate in his addresses to the daughter of one of the clergymen of Aberdeen, that it was found necessary to put him under restraint. This lady, however, it afterwards appeared was unworthy of the devotion he paid her, and there is a very interesting anecdote of his meeting her many years afterwards in London, where she had hid herself after flying from Aberdeen. On his release from confinement, in 1722, he left the scene of his disappointments, and repairing to England, found employment as tutor for many years in a family in Hertfordshire, and afterwards in the Isle of Man. In the year 1732, he settled in London, where he was employed by Mr Watts the printer as corrector of the press; he also engaged in trade as a bookseller, which he carried on in a shop under the Royal Exchange. Having gained the esteem of many of the principal citizens of London, he was, on the recommendation of the lord mayor and aldermen, appointed bookseller to the queen.

Soon after Cruden's arrival in London, he had commenced his elaborate work called the Concordance of the Bible; and having, after inconceivable labour, finished it, he had the honour of dedicating and presenting it to queen Caroline, the consort of George II., who graciously promised to "remember him;" but, unfortunately for him, she died suddenly a few days after. Involved in embarrassments by the expense of publishing his Concordance, and by his neglect of business while he was compiling it, he abandoned his trade, and sunk into a state of melancholy despondency. His former mental disease now returned upon him with increased violence, and he was guilty of so many extravagances, that his friends were obliged to place him in a private lunatic asylum. On his recovery he published a lengthened account of his sufferings, under the title of, "The London Citizen exceedingly injured; giving an account of his severe and long campaign at Bethnal's Green, for nine weeks and six days; the Citizen being sent there in March, 1738, by Robert Wightman, a notoriously conceited whimsical man; where he was chained and handcuffed, strait-waistcoated and imprisoned; with a history of Wightman's blind bench, a sort of court that met at Wightman's room, and unaccountably proceeded to pass decrees in relation to the London Citizen," &c. &c. He also instituted legal proceedings against his physician and this Mr Wightman, the proprietor of the asylum, for cruelty. He was not able, however, to substantiate his charge, although there is much reason to fear, that, in pursuance of the treatment to which lunatics were at that time subjected, Cruden was harshly dealt with; which seems to have been the less excusable as he appears to have been at all times harmless.

The next fifteen years of his life were passed by him apparently in a state of inoffensive imbecility, although his former employers did not consider him incapable of continuing corrector of the press. In the year 1753, his relations conceived themselves justified in again putting him under restraint; but as he was perfectly inoffensive he was only confined for a few days. On his liberation he insisted that his sister, Mrs Wild, who sanctioned these proceedings, should consent to a species of retributory reconciliation with him, and submit to a confinement of forty-eight hours in Newgate, and pay him a fine of ten pounds. Her rejection of this proposal was a matter of great surprise to him, and he therefore brought an action of damages against her and others, laying his claim at ten thousand pounds. On the verdict being returned for the defendants, he was quite resigned; but published an account of his ill usage, under the title of "The Adventures of Alexander the Corrector," which, like all his other publications of a similar description, has that air of mingled insanity and reason which its title indicates, and which pervades other works by him on similar topics. His insanity now displayed itself in many ways sufficiently whimsical. Fully persuaded that he was commissioned by heaven to reform the manners of the age, he assumed the title of *Alexander the Corrector*. To impress the public with the validity of his pretensions he printed and circulated on small pieces of paper, sentences confirmatory of his high calling, such as that "Cruden was to be a second Joseph, to be a great man at court, and to perform great things for the spiritual Israel of Egypt." He went about the country exhorting the people to reform their manners and to keep holy the Sabbath day. In order that his exhortations might have greater weight with his hearers, he wished his authority to be recognised by the king and council, and that parliament should constitute him by act, "*the Corrector of the People.*" Still farther, to assist him in his mission, he made a formal application to his majesty, to confer on him the honour of knighthood; "for," said he, "I think men ought to seek after titles rather to please others than themselves." He gives an amusing account of his attendance at court while soliciting this honour, and of his frequent interviews with the lords in waiting, the secretaries of state, and other persons of rank; and complains grievously that his applications were not attended to. From his censure, however, he exempts the earl of Paulet, who, he says, "spoke civilly to him; for, being goutish in his feet, he could not run away from the Corrector as others were apt to do." Wearied, at length, by his unavailing attendance at court, he next aspired to the honour of representing the city of London in parliament, and was a candidate at the general election of 1754. His addresses to the livery were singularly ridiculous, but he was withheld by no discouragement; for, when one of the bishops, with whom he had obtained an interview, intimated to him that he had no chance of the election, unless Providence especially appeared for him. "This," he said in his account of the interview, "the Corrector readily acknowledged:" and indeed in his addresses he mentioned that he expected a Divine interposition in his favour. After his failure in this pursuit, he consoled himself with the reflection, "that he had their hearts, although their hands had been promised away." "The Corrector," he adds, "was very cheerful and contented, and not at all afflicted at the loss of his election."

Cruden, as a lover, was remarkably susceptible, and no less zealous in the pursuit of the objects of his admiration, than in his attempts to attain political distinction. Amongst others, Miss Abney, the daughter of Sir Thomas Abney, the late lord mayor of London, was persecuted by his addresses. She, of course, discountenanced this folly, and the result was, what her admirer styled, "his declaration of war," being a lengthened memorial, wherein he rehearses his mani-

fold grievances, and declares, that, since she had refused all his more reasonable overtures, he was now determined to carry on the war after an extraordinary manner, "by shooting of great numbers of bullets from his camp; namely, by earnest prayers to heaven, day and night, that her mind may be enlightened and her heart softened." This, and all his other absurdities, had their rise in the desire to increase his own importance and wealth, by which he expected to render himself more powerful and effective in the execution of his imaginary mission for the reformation of the manners of the age. In 1754, he was employed as corrector of the press, by Mr Woodfall, the well-known publisher of Junius' Letters; and, although his labours seldom terminated before one in the morning, yet he would be found again out of bed by six o'clock, busily employed turning over the leaves of his Bible, and with the most scrupulous care amending and improving his Concordance, preparatory to a new edition. In this drudgery he would patiently work until the evening, when he repaired to the printing office.

The benevolence which animated Cruden's exertions for the benefit of his fellow-creatures was most disinterested and unwearied; and as far as his advice or money went, he aided all who were miserable or in distress. In the year 1762, he was the means of saving the life of a poor sailor condemned for forgery: having been present at the trial, he became persuaded that the accused had been the dupe of one more designing than himself, and, as he afterwards found him to be simple, and even ignorant of the nature of the crime for which he was condemned to suffer; he importuned government so unceasingly, that at last he succeeded in getting the punishment commuted into banishment. On another occasion he rescued a wretched female from the streets, and received her into his house; and, having instructed her in her duties, she remained in his service until his death. Next to the desire of doing good, loyalty seems to have been the most prominent feature in Cruden's character. In the political struggle between Mr Wilkes and the administration he wrote a pamphlet against the Rabble's Patriot, and went about with a spunge and rubbed from the doors and walls of the metropolis the popular "No. 45."

In the year 1769, Cruden once more visited the scenes of his youth, where he was received with considerable respect, and was allowed the use of one of the public halls to deliver a lecture on the necessity of a reformation of manners, and of keeping holy the Sabbath day. Having remained about a year in Aberdeen, he returned to London, and soon after, having complained for a few days previous, he was found dead in his closet, in the pious attitude of prayer. He died at his lodgings in Camden Street, Islington, 1st of November, 1770, in the 71st year of his age. Never having been married, he left his moderate savings among his relations, with the exception of £100, which he bequeathed to endow a bursary in Marischal college, Aberdeen, and some other trifling legacies for charitable purposes in the metropolis. Cruden was remarkable for the courteous affability of his manners, his active benevolence, and his pious devotion. His published works are "*The history of Richard Potter*," 8vo. being that of the poor Sailor whose life he saved. "*The history and excellency of the Scriptures prefixed to the compendium of the Holy Bible*, Aberdeen, 2 vols. 24mo. "*An index to bishop Newton's edition of Milton's Works;*" an elaborate work only inferior to the Concordance. "*A Scripture-Dictionary*," which was published in Aberdeen soon after his death. Various pamphlets, particularly those wherein he gives a detailed account of "*His adventures.*" These display some humour and much single-hearted insanity. But his great work was his "*Concordance of the Old and New Testaments.*" This is a work of the most extraordinary labour, and although it was not the first

Concordance of the Bible, yet it affords a wonderful instance of what individual industry may accomplish. The first Concordance which was compiled, is said to have given employment to five hundred monks, yet did Cruden by his own unassisted exertions produce one infinitely more complete, elaborate, and accurate than had ever appeared, and this not by copying from others, but by the most careful examination and study of the Bible. It is satisfactory to know that the labour bestowed on this work did not go unrewarded. Although the first edition was for a long time unsuccessful, it was ultimately sold off, and in 1761, thirty years after its publication, a second edition was called for, which he dedicated to George III. who was graciously pleased to order him a hundred pounds, and a third edition was published in 1769. For the second edition the publishers gave Cruden five hundred pounds, and when the third was called for, an additional present of three hundred pounds, besides twenty copies on fine paper. An edition was published in 1810, under the careful superintendence and correction of Mr David Bye, and in 1825, the work had reached the 10th edition. Indeed so valuable and useful is this work that it is now reckoned an indispensable part of every clerical library.

CRUICKSHANKS, William, F.R.S. an eminent surgeon in London, the assistant, partner, and successor of the famous Dr William Hunter of the Windmill Street Anatomical School, was the son of an officer in the excise, and was born at Edinburgh in the year 1745. After completing the elementary branches of his education at the schools of Edinburgh, he commenced the study of divinity at that university; but he soon forsook his clerical studies and directed his attention to medicine. With a view to that profession, he removed to Glasgow, where he went through a complete course of medical education at the university. Having devoted eight years of his life to assiduous study, he obtained, through the recommendation of Dr Pitcairn, the situation of librarian to Dr William Hunter of London; and so highly did that great man estimate his talents, that he soon after appointed him his assistant, and ultimately raised him to the honour of being his partner, in superintending his establishment in Windmill Street. On the death of Dr Hunter in the year 1783, the students of that institution thought so favourably of Mr Cruickshanks' professional acquirements, that they presented an address to him, and to the late Dr Baillie, requesting that they might assume the superintendence of the school; which they did.

Mr Cruickshanks is known to the world by his medical publications; and as a teacher and writer he acquired a high reputation for his knowledge of anatomy and physiology. In the year 1786, he published his principal work "*The Anatomy of the absorbent vessels of the Human Body*," a production of acknowledged merit, which has been translated into several languages. He also wrote an ingenious paper on the nerves of living animals, which establishes the important fact of the regeneration of mutilated nerves. This paper, however, although read before the Royal Society, was not published in the transactions of that body until several years afterwards. This delay was owing to the interference of Sir John Pringle, who conceived that Mr Cruickshanks had controverted some of the opinions of the great Haller. In the year 1797, Mr Cruickshanks was elected fellow of the Royal Society. In 1799, he made his experiments on insensible perspiration, which he added to his work on the absorbent vessels. He had suffered for many years from acute pain in the head, and although warned that this pain arose from extravasated blood settled upon the *sensorium*, and that the greatest abstinence in his regimen was indispensable in order to prevent fatal consequences, yet, regardless of this warning, he continued to live freely; and as had been foreseen, he was cut off suddenly in

the year 1800, in the 55th year of his age. With much personal and intellectual vanity, Mr Cruickshanks was an excellent anatomist and able physiologist, and a cool and skilful surgeon. He was generous and truly benevolent, literally going about doing good. He was one of the medical men who had the melancholy honour of attending Dr Samuel Johnson in his last illness. In 1773, he was married to a lady from Dundee, who died in the year 1795, by whom he had four daughters.

CULLEN, William, M.D., one of the most highly gifted and accomplished physicians that Scotland has produced, was born on the 15th of April, 1710,[1] in the parish of Hamilton, in the county of Lanark. His father was by profession a writer or attorney, and also farmed a small estate in the adjoining parish of Bothwell, and was factor to the duke of Hamilton. His mother was the daughter of Mr Roberton of Whistlebury, the younger son of the family of Roberton of Ernock. The family consisted of seven sons, and two daughters, and the subject of the present biographical sketch was the second son. His father dying shortly after the birth of the youngest child, his mother afterwards married Mr Naismyth, a writer in Hamilton.

Poverty is too often the inheritance of genius, and in the present instance, although in a respectable station of life, the parents of young Cullen, from the scantiness of their means, found it necessary to place him at the grammar school of Hamilton. Institutions of this kind, are conducted on a scale so peculiarly liberal and extensive in Scotland, that in them the rudiments of education are often better and more profoundly taught, than they are in schools frequented by the children of the richer and higher classes of society. Accordingly at this grammar school Dr Cullen received the first part of his education. There are people here, says Mr John Naismyth (the minister of the parish in 1792,) who remember him at school, and saw him in girl's clothes, acting the part of a shepherdess in a Latin pastoral.[2] We do not find any anecdotes of him at this early period of his life, which indicate the features of the character he afterwards displayed; but we are informed that he was here particularly distinguished by the liveliness of his manner;—by an uncommon quickness of apprehension and by a most retentive memory; qualities which he continued to possess to the latest period of his life. Although the funds possessed by his family were not, as we have already intimated, very ample, he was sent from the grammar school of Hamilton to the university of Glasgow; and at the same time was bound apprentice to Mr John Paisley, who was a member of the faculty of Physicians and Surgeons, and enjoyed an extensive practice in that city. It does not appear that he went through a regular course of education at this seminary, but having early chosen medicine as a profession, the classes which he attended were probably regulated with a view to that object. "I am able," says Mr Bower, "to give only a very imperfect account of the manner in which medicine was taught at the time when Cullen's residence was fixed in Glasgow. There were professors whose business it was to give lectures on medical science; but these were on a comparatively small scale, and bore no proportion to the opportunities now afforded to students of physic in that university. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the principal means of improvement, which at this time he had within his power, were derived from observing his master's practice, and perusing such medical works as he could pro-

1 In most of the biographical notices published of Dr Cullen, the date of his birth is referred to the year 1712, an error corrected by Dr Thomson, in his elaborate life of Dr Cullen, 8vo. 1832, who states the year of his birth to have been 1710, on the authority of the Session Record of the parish of Hamilton.

2 Statist. Acc. of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 201.

cure."[3] Little is known concerning the persons with whom Dr Cullen associated at this period; but that he acquitted himself satisfactorily and honourably, and gained the approbation and esteem of his master is evident from the flattering manner in which Mr Paisley acted towards him; for many years after his apprenticeship had terminated, when Dr Cullen was a lecturer in the university of Glasgow, Mr Paisley testified his regard for him, by throwing open his library for the use of his students. The life of a man so devoted to science must necessarily be of a studious and sequestered character; but, that he felt that desire of distinction, which is so often the indication of superior talents and the best pledge of future improvement, appears, by a circumstance related of him by one of his early friends, the late Mr Thom, minister of Govan. This gentleman mentioned to Dr Thomson, that if Cullen happened to be in the company of his fellow students, when any subject of speculation or debate was started with which he was imperfectly acquainted, he took very little share in the conversation, but when they met again, if the same discussion happened to be introduced, he never failed to show that in the interval he had acquired a more useful knowledge of the question, in all its bearings and details, than that to which the best informed of his companions could pretend

Having terminated his studies at Glasgow, Dr Cullen, towards the end of the year 1729, went to London, with the view of improving himself in his profession, and there, soon after his arrival, through the interest of commissioner Cleland, who was a friend of Pope, and author of a letter prefixed to one of the editions of the Dunciad, he obtained the appointment of surgeon to a merchant ship, which traded between London and the West Indies. On the occasion of this appointment he underwent a medical examination, at which he acquitted himself with satisfaction to his examiners, "who," says his younger brother, "were pleased to pay him some very flattering compliments, and to encourage him strongly to persevere in that diligence which it was evident to them he had employed in the study of his profession." Mr Cleland, a relation of his own, was fortunately the captain of the vessel in which he obtained this appointment. During the voyage in which he was now engaged, he did not neglect the opportunity it afforded him of studying the effects of the diversity of climate on the human constitution, and the diseases which are so prevalent and fatal in our West Indian settlements. The facts he then gathered—the observations he then made,—he subsequently referred to in his lectures in Glasgow and in Edinburgh. After returning from the West Indies he remained a short time in London, where he attended the shop of Mr Murray, an apothecary; and it is supposed that here it was that he first paid particular attention to the study of materia medica. About this period—the end of the year 1731, or the beginning of the year 1732—in consequence of the death of his eldest brother, the duty of arranging his father's affairs devolved upon him; besides which, the necessity of providing for the education of his younger brothers and sisters, rendered it expedient for him to return to Scotland. Aware of these circumstances, his friend, captain Cleland, invited him to reside with him at his family estate of Auchinlee in the parish of Shotts, and to take charge of the health of his son, who was affected with a lingering disorder. This situation was peculiarly convenient for Dr Cullen in commencing the practice of his profession, for it was near to Hamilton, the place of his birth, and in the vicinity of the residences of many of the most respectable families in the county of Lanark, besides which, it was in the neighbourhood of his patrimonial property, the lands of Saughs, and of another small farm which belonged to his family in the parish of Shotts. Whilst residing there, he seems to have combined with his

[3] History of the University, vol. ii. p. 377.

medical practice the most unremitting application to his studies. Captain Cleland was often heard to say, that nothing could exceed his assiduity at this period; for when not engaged in visiting patients or in preparing medicines, his time was wholly occupied with his books.

Dr Cullen having remained practising in this situation nearly two years, succeeded to a small legacy by the death of a relation, and still ardent in the pursuit of knowledge, he determined to devote his attention exclusively to his studies, before fixing himself as a medical practitioner in the town of Hamilton. Accordingly he proceeded to the retired village of Rothbury, near Wooler in Northumberland, where he resided with a dissenting clergyman, and was there chiefly occupied with the study of general literature and philosophy. How long he remained there has not been exactly ascertained; but immediately afterwards he went to Edinburgh, where, engaged in the prosecution of his general studies, he remained during the winter sessions 1734-35-36. The medical school of the university of Edinburgh was at this period only beginning to attain the celebrity it now enjoys; for although professorships to each of the different branches of medical science had been instituted, and several attempts had been made to systematise a course of instruction, it was not until the year 1720, that these important objects were carried into effect. When Dr Cullen commenced his studies at this university, the celebrated Monro lectured on anatomy; the amiable and humane Dr St Clair on the theory of physic; Drs Rutherford and Jones on the practice of physic; Dr Plummer on chemistry; and the learned and the indefatigable Dr Alston on materia medica and botany. All these distinguished individuals having been pupils of the great Boerhaave, taught from their several chairs his doctrines, which for upwards of forty years held unlimited sway in the medical school of Edinburgh. The Royal Infirmary, although in progress, was not at this time open to the public, nor were the advantages that are to be derived from clinical lectures yet recognized. A useful adjunct to this school of medicine was at this period formed, by the institution of the Medical Society, which originated in the latter end of the August of 1734. Dr Cleghorn, Dr Cuming, Dr Russel, Dr Hamilton, Mr Archibald Taylor, and Dr James Kennedy, then fellow students at Edinburgh, and intimately acquainted with each other, after spending a social evening at a tavern, agreed to meet once a-fortnight at their respective lodgings, where it was arranged that a dissertation in English or Latin on some medical subject should be read, and afterwards discussed by the auditors. Dr Cullen, says the History of the Society, with the discrimination, characteristic of a mind devoted to activity, and eager in the pursuit of knowledge, hastened, as appears from a part of his correspondence still preserved, to unite himself with a society, which even in its infancy had honours and advantages at its disposal. In its labours it may safely be presumed he took a prominent and animated share, and there can be no doubt that the value of its discussions were both attested and augmented by his distinguished participation.[4] This Society, thus humble in its commencement subsequently held its meetings in a room in the Royal Infirmary, until adequate funds having been raised, the building, known as the hall of the Medical Society in Surgeon's square, was founded. On this occasion an elegant and appropriate oration was delivered by the present Sir Gilbert Blane, after which "the assembly rising to fulfil the purpose of their meeting, proceeded to the adjacent area, where the foundation-stone was laid by Dr Cullen, who, having shared the labours of the association during its early infancy, had now lived to participate the well earned triumph of its more mature age.[5] This fact is worthy

[4] History of the Medical Society of Edinburgh, printed for the Society, xxi. [5] Ibid.

of commemoration, because it was in the hall of that society that the doctrines of Boerhaave received their refutation, while they were yet taught within the walls of the university; and it is in the same hall of that society that the doctrines of Dr Cullen himself, are now as keenly contested, and are already, to the satisfaction of many persons, as satisfactorily overthrown. It appears indeed as if there were a fatality attending all systems of philosophy and science; for however correct the facts may appear on which such superstructures are raised, the progress of discovery must, by adding to our knowledge new facts, modify and alter the relations of those previously known, and thus undermine the whole foundation on which the superimposed fabric seemed to rest in perfect security.

Dr Cullen continued his studies in Edinburgh until the spring of 1736, when he left it, to commence business as a surgeon in Hamilton, where he appears to have been employed by the duke and duchess of Hamilton, and all the families of any consideration in that neighbourhood. During his residence there, the duke of Hamilton was attacked with an alarming disease, which did not readily yield to the remedies he prescribed, and therefore it was deemed adviseable to call in Dr Clerk, who was accordingly sent for from Edinburgh. This accomplished physician highly approved of Dr Cullen's management of the duke's case, and was so pleased with Dr Cullen, that he ever afterwards took every opportunity of cultivating his friendship. Thence arose an interesting correspondence between them on various literary and professional subjects, which, on the part of Dr Clerk, was chiefly conducted through his son, Dr David Clerk. In the year 1757, this intercourse was terminated by the death of Dr Clerk, on which occasion Dr Cullen evinced his esteem and respect for his deceased friend, by writing an account of his life and character, which he read to a numerous meeting of their mutual friends, held in the hall of the Royal Infirmary.

Dr Cullen appears to have been peculiarly fortunate in the choice of his companions and friends; among whom we find many individuals whose names are an ornament to science and literature. At Hamilton he became acquainted with Dr William Hunter, with whom he ever afterwards continued on terms of the greatest intimacy, each living to see the other placed, by the concurrent suffrages of their medical brethren, at the head of his own department of medical science. Dr Cullen and Dr William Hunter are said to have projected a singular partnership at this period; the popular account of which is, that being sensible of the great importance of a more scientific education than was then commonly enjoyed, and generously solicitous to increase each other's medical attainments, beyond the mere demands of lucrative occupation, they agreed, that each should alternately be at liberty to study for a season at Edinburgh or London, while the other conducted the business in the country for their mutual emolument:—but this does not appear to have been the true object of their arrangement. When Dr William Hunter became the friend of Dr Cullen, it is evident that Dr Cullen had completed his elementary education, and the agreement that took place between them was, that Dr William Hunter should go and prosecute his medical studies in Edinburgh and London, and afterwards return to settle in Hamilton, as a partner of Dr Cullen, the object of which partnership was to enable Dr Cullen, who disliked the surgical department of his profession, to practise only as a physician; while his friend and partner, Dr William Hunter, was to act among their connections only as a surgeon. Dr Hunter's biographer, Dr Foart Simmons, gives the following account of the nature and termination of this arrangement, "which," says Dr Thomson, "is, I have reason to believe, strictly correct. His father's consent having been previously obtained, Mr Hunter, in 1737, went to reside with Dr Cullen. In the

family of this excellent friend and preceptor he passed nearly three years, and these, he has been often heard to acknowledge, were the happiest years of his life. It was then agreed that he should go and prosecute his studies in Edinburgh and London, and afterwards return and settle in Hamilton in partnership with Dr Cullen. Mr Hunter, after prosecuting his studies for a winter at Edinburgh, went to London, where he was introduced to Dr James Douglas, who was at that time engaged in the composition of his great anatomical work on the bones, and looking out for a young man of abilities and industry, whom he might employ as a dissector. This induced him to pay particular attention to Mr Hunter; and finding him acute and sensible, he desired him to make another visit. A second conversation confirmed the Doctor in the good opinion he had formed of Mr Hunter; and, without any further hesitation, he invited him into his family to assist in his dissections, and to superintend the education of his son. Mr Hunter having communicated this offer to his father and Dr Cullen, the latter readily and heartily granted his concurrence to it, but his father, who was very old and infirm, and expected his return with impatience, consented, with reluctance, to a scheme, the success of which he thought precarious." Dr Cullen having, for the advantage of his friend, thus generously relinquished the agreement between them, was for a time deprived of a partner; but still determining to practise only as a physician, he took the degree of doctor of medicine at Glasgow in 1740, and, in the following year, entered into a contract with Mr Thomas Hamilton, surgeon, on terms similar to those which had been formerly agreed on, between him and Dr Hunter.

Dr Cullen, during his residence at Hamilton, was twice elected magistrate of that place; first, in the year 1738, and again in the year 1739. While in the magistracy, he appears to have taken an active share in the agricultural improvements, beginning at that time to be introduced into the west of Scotland. He frequently attended the meetings of the trustees appointed for the improvement of the high roads, and was much consulted by them on the different matters that came under their consideration. Some of his papers relative to these subjects, exhibit singular proofs of habits of arrangement, and accuracy in transacting business, and a knowledge of rural and agricultural affairs, which must have rendered his advice particularly acceptable.[1] Agriculture was a study which continued at an after period of his life to interest his attention; for we find him, when a lecturer on chemistry, endeavouring to throw light upon it by the aid of chemical science; and, in the year 1758, after finishing his course of chemical lectures, he delivered, to a number of his friends and favourite pupils, a short course of lectures on agriculture, in which he explained the nature of soils, and the operation of different manures.

Dr Cullen, early in life, became attached to Miss Anna Johnstone, daughter of the Rev. Mr Johnstone, minister of Kilbarchan, in the county of Renfrew. She was nearly of his own age; and he married her on the 13th of November, 1741. Mrs Cullen is described to have been a woman who possessed many personal charms; and also great mental endowments. Dr Anderson, who was the contemporary and intimate friend of Dr Cullen remarks,—"She was beautiful, had great good sense, equanimity of temper, an amiable disposition, and elegance of manners; and brought with her a little money, which, although it would be little now, was something in those days to one in his situation of life. After giving him a numerous family, and participating in the changes of fortune which he experienced, she peacefully departed this life, in the summer of 1786."[6]

After his marriage, Dr Cullen continued for three years to practise as a phy-

[6] The Bee, vol. i. 7.

sician at Hamilton; during which period, when not engaged in the more active and laborious duties of his profession, he devoted his time to the studies of chemistry, natural philosophy, and natural history; nor is there any doubt but that at this time, he was preparing and qualifying himself to teach those branches of science, on which he very shortly afterwards became so eminent a lecturer. Hitherto the prospects and advantages held out by the duke of Hamilton, prevented his seeking a wider and more appropriate field for the display of his abilities; but after the death of the duke, which happened at the end of the year 1743, he was induced, by the solicitations of his personal friends, and of many respectable families, to transfer his residence to Glasgow. He settled in that city in the end of the year 1744, or beginning of 1745, at which period Dr Johnstone was professor of medicine in the university, and Dr Hamilton was the professor of anatomy and botany, but neither of them gave lectures. Dr Cullen, who, we have already seen, possessed an active and enterprising mind, soon perceived the possibility of establishing a medical school in Glasgow, similar to that which had been established in Edinburgh. Accordingly, in the summer of 1746, he made arrangements with Dr Johnstone, the professor of medicine, to deliver, during the following winter, a course of lectures on the theory and practice of physic, in the university. This course lasted six months; and, in the following session of 1747, with the concurrence of Dr Hamilton, the professor of botany, besides lecturing on the practice of physic, he gave lectures, in conjunction with a Mr John Garrick, the assistant of Dr Hamilton, on materia medica and botany. Dr Cullen in his practice of physic class never read his lectures; in allusion to which practice, he observed, "written lectures might be more correct in the diction, and fluent in the style, but they would have taken up too much time that might be otherwise rendered useful. I shall be as correct as possible; but perhaps a familiar style will prove more agreeable than a formal one, and the delivery more fitted to command attention."

In the first lecture which Dr Cullen delivered in Glasgow, it is worthy of remark, that after explaining to his audience his reasons for not adopting as text books the Institutions and Aphorisms of Boerhaave—works at that period usually employed in the different medical schools of Europe—he added, "I ought to give a text-book myself; but shall not attempt it until after a little more experience in teaching. In the meantime, I shall endeavour to supply its place by an easy clear order and method, so that the want of it may be less felt." The modesty of feeling expressed by this determination not to publish any text-book, until a "little more experienced," is consonant with that pure spirit of philosophy which always characterises a high independent mind, that is animated by the love of truth, and not by the vain desire of personal aggrandisement. Dr Cullen, in delivering his lectures on the practice of physic, deviated from the old custom of lecturing in Latin, and gave his lectures in the English language, which was decidedly a very judicious innovation on the old practice, which was one of a monkish character. His lectures on botany were, however, delivered in Latin; and fortunately the notes of these lectures being still preserved, controvert the allegation that he adopted the custom of lecturing in the English because he was unable, from ignorance, to lecture in the Latin language. This decidedly was not the case; nor is there any reason to believe that he was actuated by any other motive in adopting this new custom, excepting that of facilitating the communication of knowledge to his students; an object which, throughout his whole life, he kept most steadily in view.

As the institution of a course of lectures on chemistry was essential to a regu-

lar medical school, Dr Cullen proposed to the faculty of the university of Glasgow, that lectures should be permitted to be given on that branch of science by himself, and Mr John Garrick, brother of the late Robert Garrick, Esq. of Hamilton, who was at that time assistant to Dr Hamilton, the professor of anatomy. These proposals having been approved, and the necessary preliminary arrangements made, the lectures on chemistry were commenced by Mr Garrick; but he being taken ill, the remaining part of the course was delivered by Dr Cullen. In commencing his second course of chemistry, Dr Cullen printed and distributed among his students, "The plan of a course of chemical lectures and experiments, directed chiefly to the improvement of arts and manufactures, to be given in the college of Glasgow, during the session 1748." But besides these lectures, Dr Cullen, in the summer of 1748, gave lectures in conjunction with Mr Garrick, on materia medica and botany. Of the lectures delivered on materia medica only a few fragments of notes have been preserved; and these are not sufficient to afford a precise idea of the general plan which he followed. The lectures on materia medica and botany were again delivered in 1749; but how long they were delivered after that period has not been ascertained."[7] In his lectures on botany, Dr Cullen followed the system of Linnæus, in reference to which, in one of his lectures introductory to the practice of physic, he observes, "When a little more than thirty years ago, I first got a sight of the Botanical System of Linnæus, the language in which it was expressed appeared to me a piece of the most uncouth jargon and minute pedantry that I had ever seen; but in length of time it became as familiar to me as my mother tongue; and with whatever difficulties this system was received in most parts of Europe, it has now surmounted these, and its utility has reconciled every person to the study of it." In thus introducing the Linnæan system of botany into the course of instruction at the university of Glasgow, Dr Cullen displayed no ordinary sagacity; for although the natural arrangements of Jussieu and Decandolle, are now also taught at the most celebrated universities in this country; yet no artificial classification has been yet devised superior or even equal to that of Linnæus, which, to the present day, is adopted by every scientific botanist. After Dr Cullen discontinued his lectures on botany, he still pursued his botanical studies; as appears from a letter of a Danish physician, which contains the answer of Linnæus to certain queries that had been referred to him by Dr Cullen. It does not appear from the MS. of Dr Cullen, that any intercourse was kept up after this between Linnæus and him; but Dr Thomson finds a letter from one of the pupils of Linnæus, requesting the introductory letters on botany which Dr Cullen had promised to Linnæus. Already it must be obvious that Dr Cullen, in devoting his attention so minutely, to so many branches of science, displayed a mind of no ordinary activity and comprehensiveness. He seems, indeed, to have felt in its full force the observation of Cicero, that, "all the sciences are connected, tendering to each other a mutual illustration and assistance."

During the period that he lectured on chemistry in Glasgow, the celebrated Dr Black became his pupil; and as Dr Cullen throughout his whole career as a lecturer and as a professor, took a warm interest in the progress of every emulous student, he was not long in discovering the talents of his young pupil. Professor Robison, in his memoir of the life of Dr Black, observes, that Dr Cullen was not long in attaching Mr Black to himself in the most intimate co-operation, insomuch, that the latter was considered as an assistant in all his operations, and his experiments were frequently introduced into the lecture as good authority. Thus began a mutual confidence and friendship, which did honour both

[7] The Bee, vol. i. 7.

to the professor and his pupil, and was always mentioned by the latter with gratitude and respect. Dr Black, after remaining nearly six years at the college of Glasgow, left it to terminate his studies in Edinburgh; and Dr Cullen continued to correspond with him during the time of his studies. Many of these letters have been preserved, and relate principally to the chemical investigations in which they were mutually engaged; but Dr Thomson observes, that, "During this intercourse, Dr Cullen seems to have been careful to avoid entering on any field of inquiry, in which he anticipated that his pupil might reap distinction." A letter of Dr Black's occurs, wherein, alluding to this ungenerous procedure, he thus addresses Dr Cullen:—"I received your packet of chemistry, which rejoiced me extremely. A new experiment gives me new life; but I wonder at the *reserve* and *ceremony* you use with respect to me. Did I learn chemistry from you only to be a bar to your enquiries? The subject is not so limited as to be easily exhausted, and your experiments will only advance me so much farther on." Helvetius, and many other philosophers have maintained, that all mankind must be more or less actuated by the dictates of self-interest; and difficult as it may be to analyse the motives by which human conduct is often regulated, yet it cannot be concealed that the narrow-minded policy which Dr Cullen in this instance betrayed, was significant of a selfishness altogether unworthy of the general tenor of his character.

During the period that Dr Cullen lectured on chemistry in Glasgow, his attention was particularly directed to the general doctrines of heat, on which various observations are found among his manuscripts, that have been preserved. The only essay which he published on this subject appears in the second volume of the Edinburgh Philosophical and Literary Transactions. He also, in the end of the year 1753, transmitted to the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh, a paper, entitled, "Some Reflections on the Study of Chemistry, and an essay towards ascertaining the different species of salts; being part of a letter addressed to Dr John Clerk." This letter afforded a specimen of an elementary work on chemistry, which he at that time meditated; but which, from other multifarious occupations, he did not execute. The reputation he was now daily acquiring as a lecturer on chemistry, obtained for him the acquaintance of many persons of distinction, who were celebrated for their talents and love of science. Among these was Lord Kaimes, then Mr Home, who, being devoted to scientific pursuits, naturally found pleasure in the correspondence and society of a man, whose mind was so congenial to his own. Lord Kaimes was especially delighted to find that Dr Cullen had devoted so much attention to his favourite pursuit, agriculture; and continually urged him to publish a work on this important science. That Dr Cullen had at this period made some progress in the composition of a work on agriculture, we learn from Dr Thomson, who informs us of the existence of a manuscript, part of which is in Dr Cullen's own hand-writing, entitled, "Reflections on the principles of Agriculture." Among his papers there is also an essay "On the Construction and Operation of the Plough;" composed apparently about the same period, and read before some public society, most probably the philosophical society in the college of Glasgow. The object of this essay was to explain the mechanical principles on which ploughs have been constructed, to find out what is the importance and effect of each part, and to examine what variation each, or all of them, require according to the difference of soil in which they are employed. In the year 1752, Dr Cullen's opportunities of cultivating agriculture were increased by his undertaking to manage and to improve the farm of Parkhead, situated about eight miles from Glasgow, which he had purchased for his brother, Robert Cullen, Esq. who was at the time employed in a mercantile situation in the West Indies. But much as the

attention of Dr Cullen was devoted to it, it does not appear that he published any thing theoretical or practical on agriculture; but he corresponded with lord Kaimes very particularly on the subject, and the letters that transpired between them are well worthy of perusal.

Dr Cullen, about the end of the year 1749, was introduced to the earl of Islay, afterwards the duke of Argyle; and, according to the authority of Dr Thomson, the introduction took place through the interest of lord Kaimes, who made a request to that effect through Mr Lind, the secretary to the duke. This appears from a letter addressed to Dr Cullen by Mr Martine, and which proceeds thus:—"August, 1749. Mr Lind, at Mr Home's desire, talked very particularly about you to the duke of Argyle; and your friends here desire that you will wait on his grace upon his arrival at Glasgow, which will be to-morrow evening." We are furthermore informed that the more immediate cause of Dr Cullen's being introduced to the duke of Argyle at this time, was to obtain his grace's consent and patronage to his succeeding Dr Johnstone as professor of medicine in the Glasgow university. A venerable member of the college of justice, who, in his youth, knew Dr Cullen, and remembers him well, has favoured us with the following anecdote. About this period, the duke of Argyle being confined to his room in Roseneath castle with swelled gums, sent for Dr Cullen. His grace, who was fond of dabbling occasionally in medicine, suggested a fumigation of a particular kind, and described an instrument which he thought would be suited to administer it. Dr Cullen, willing to humour his new patron, instantly set off for Glasgow, procured the instrument, which was made of tin, according to the fashion described, and sent it early next morning to Roseneath. The noble patient finding it adapted to the purpose required, and feeling himself better after the fumigation, was much pleased with the attention of his physician, in whose welfare he subsequently took considerable interest. The duke of Argyle had himself been educated at the university of Glasgow, had made a distinguished figure there, and had chosen the law as his profession. He afterwards studied law at Utrecht, but, on returning to Scotland, changed his determination, adopted the military profession, and became one of the most accomplished politicians of his age. By the influence of this nobleman with the crown, Dr Cullen was appointed to be the successor of Dr Johnstone in the university of Glasgow, and was formally admitted as the professor of medicine in that university, on the 2d of January, 1751.

During the residence of Dr Cullen in Glasgow, he still devoted a considerable portion of his time to chemistry, more especially investigating its application to the useful arts. He endeavoured particularly to suggest various improvements in the art of bleaching, and proposed an improved method in the manufacture or purification of common salt; which consisted in precipitating the earthy ingredients contained in the brine of sea-water, by a solution of common potash, by which a salt is obtained more pure than that prepared in the ordinary manner; but owing to this process being too expensive to be adopted in the manufacture of salt on a large scale, it has never yet been brought into general use. He wrote on this subject an essay, entitled, Remarks on Bleaching, which remains among his manuscript papers, but appears never to have been published, although a copy of it was presented to the board of trustees for the Encouragement of Fisheries, Arts, and Manufactures, in Scotland, in the records of which institution, for June, 1755, it is mentioned, that "three suits of table linen had been given as a present to Dr William Cullen for his ingenious observations on the art of bleaching."

From the period of his appointment to be professor of medicine in the university of Glasgow, until the year 1755, Dr Cullen, besides his lectures on chemis-

try, delivered annually a course of lectures on the theory and practice of physic. He also projected at this period the design of publishing an edition of the works of Sydenham, with an account, in Latin, of his life and writings; but although he made some few preparations to commence this work, he very shortly abandoned the undertaking. Dr Thomson informs us, that his private practice at this time, although extensive, was by no means lucrative, and as a considerable portion of it lay in the country, he had but little time to pursue his scientific studies. These circumstances seem to have induced some of his friends to propose his removing to Edinburgh; a scheme mentioned by himself in a letter to Dr Hunter, dated, August, 1751, which we here subjoin:—"I am quite tired of my present life; I have good deal of country practice, which takes up a great deal of my time, and hardly ever allows me an hour's leisure. I got but little money for my labour, and indeed by country practice with our payments a man cannot make money, as he cannot overtake a great deal of business. On this account I have some thoughts of acceding to a proposal that was lately made to me, of removing to Edinburgh. Dr Plummer, professor of chemistry, is a very rich man, has given up practice, and had proposed to give up teaching in favour of Dr Elliot; but this gentleman died about six weeks ago, and upon this event some friends of mine, and along with them, some gentlemen concerned in the administration of the town of Edinburgh, have proposed to use their influence with Dr Plummer to induce him to resign in my favour. As the income of that office cannot be very considerable, and my success in the way of practice is uncertain, I have hesitated about agreeing to their proposal; but provided they can make the establishment such as will afford me a livelihood, the situation and manner of life there will be so much more agreeable than at present, that I resolve to hazard something, and have agreed to accept the invitation when made to me in a proper way. However, Plummer's consent and some other circumstances are still in doubt; and this, with other reasons, requires the affair to be kept as secret as possible."

Lord Kaimes likewise wrote several letters to Dr Cullen, advising him to transfer his residence to Edinburgh, explaining to him, at the same time, various circumstances which promised favourably for his future success. Dr Cullen, in reply to these suggestions, explained the various reasons which induced him to decline at that time removing to Edinburgh, a step which he thought would then be hazardous to himself and family; but shortly after this, in the year 1755, Dr Plummer, the professor in the chair of chemistry, having suffered an attack of palsy, several candidates were put in nomination as his successor, and among these, Dr Home, Dr Black, and Dr Cullen. Dr Black took the earliest opportunity of acquainting Dr Cullen of Dr Plummer's illness, and declared his resolution not to allow any wishes or engagements of his own to interfere with the interests of his friend and preceptor. But Dr Plummer, in the meantime, remaining indisposed, his relations and the other professors of the university, prevailed on Dr Black to teach his class for the ensuing winter. Lord Kaimes in the meantime exerted himself in canvassing on the behalf of Dr Cullen; he wrote to provost Drummond urging his claims—to Dr Whytt, pointing him out as a desirable colleague—to lord Milton, assuring him that he was the fittest person in Europe to fill the chemical chair. At this critical juncture of affairs, the duke of Argyle arrived in Edinburgh, and employed the weight of his whole interest in favour of Dr Cullen. The arrangement which had been made by the friends and relations of Dr Black, for him to lecture during the illness of Dr Plummer, appears not to have given satisfaction to the town council, who, as patrons of the university, have the privilege of regulating its affairs.

At length, after the lapse of some months, Dr Plummer still continuing

unable to lecture, the town council appointed Dr Cullen joint professor of chemistry during the life of his colleague, with the succession in the event of his death; at the same time reserving to Dr Plummer all the rights and privileges of a professor, and particularly that of teaching whenever his state of health would permit of it. Dr Cullen, on receiving this intelligence, addressed a letter to Dr Black, from which, in reply to the generous offer made by Dr Black, we find the following passage:—"While you could expect to be elected a professor, I approved of every step you would take, though in direct opposition to myself; but now that I fancy your hopes of that kind are over, I do not expect opposition; I do expect your favour and concurrence."

Dr Cullen was thus appointed professor of chemistry in the university of Edinburgh; but the medical professors objected to his election, urging, "that it was made without the consent or demission of Dr Plummer, who, upon this ground, had resolved to protest against Dr Cullen's admission into the university," and they stated, "that the Senatus Academicus would therefore decline receiving Dr Cullen into their body, until he should either obtain Dr Plummer's demission and purchase his laboratory, or until the point at issue should be determined in a court of law, by a declaration of privileges." Notwithstanding this opposition, Dr Cullen entered on his duties as professor of chemistry, by beginning a course of lectures in the university, in the January of 1756. It does not appear that he took any step to obtain a formal admission into the university; but he consulted his friend, the celebrated George Drummond, who was then the provost of Edinburgh, who recommended the adoption of a measure, proposed by Dr Monro, *primus*, by which the difficulty was obviated. This consisted in Dr Cullen's giving up his appointment as sole professor, and being re-elected as the joint professor with Dr Plummer; a commission to which effect was signed on the 10th of March, 1756. Dr Plummer, however, did not survive long; he died in the July following, and then Dr Cullen was elected sole professor of chemistry in the university of Edinburgh.

The admission of Dr Cullen into that university, constitutes a memorable era in its history. Hitherto, chemistry had been reckoned of little importance, and the chemical class attended only by a very few students; but he soon rendered it a favourite study, and his class became more numerous every session. From the list of names kept by Dr Cullen, it appears that during his first course of lectures the number amounted only to seventeen; during the second course it rose to fifty-nine; and it went on gradually increasing so long as he continued to lecture. The greatest number that attended during any one session, was one hundred and forty-five; and it is curious to observe, says Dr Thomson, that several of those pupils, who afterwards distinguished themselves by their acquirements or writings, had attended three, four, five, or even six, courses of these lectures on chemistry. Dr Cullen's fame rests so much on his exertions in the field of medical science, that few are aware how much the progress of chemical science has been indebted to him. In the History of Chemistry, recently published by the celebrated professor of that science in Glasgow, we find the following just tribute to his memory. "Dr William Cullen, to whom medicine lies under deep obligations, and who afterwards raised the medical celebrity of the college of Edinburgh to so high a pitch, had the merit of first perceiving the importance of scientific chemistry, and the reputation which that man was likely to earn, who should devote himself to the cultivation of it. Hitherto, chemistry in Great Britain, and on the continent also, was considered as a mere appendage to medicine, and useful only so far as it contributed to the formation of new and useful remedies. This was the reason why it came to constitute an essential part of the education of every medical man, and why a physician was considered as

unfit for practice, unless he was also a chemist. But Dr Cullen viewed the science as far more important, as capable of throwing light on the constitution of bodies, and of improving and amending those arts and manufactures that are most useful to man. He resolved to devote himself to its cultivation and improvement; and he would undoubtedly have derived celebrity from this science had not his fate led rather to the cultivation of medicine. But Dr Cullen, as the true commencer of the study of scientific chemistry in Great Britain, claims a conspicuous place in this historical sketch.[4]"

Dr Cullen's removal to Edinburgh was attended by a temporary pecuniary inconvenience, for no salary being attached to his chair in the university, his only means of supporting himself and family, were derived from the fees of students, and such practice as he could command; under these circumstances, he appears to have undertaken a translation of Van Swieten's commentaries on Boerhaave, in which he expected the assistance of his former pupils, Dr William Hunter and Dr Black. But we have already seen that this class became more numerously attended every session; besides which his practice also began to increase, so that his prospects having brightened, he relinquished this undertaking. In addition to lecturing on chemistry, he now began to deliver lectures on clinical medicine in the Royal Infirmary. This benevolent institution was opened in the December of 1741, and soon afterwards Dr John Rutherford, who was then professor of the practice of physic, proposed to explain, in clinical lectures, the nature and treatment of the cases admitted; a measure highly approved of by the enlightened policy of the managers, who, besides permitting students on paying a small gratuity to attend the hospital at large, appropriated two of its wards for the reception of the more remarkable cases which were destined, under the selection and management of one or more of the medical professors, to afford materials for this new and valuable mode of tuition. The privilege of delivering a course of clinical lectures was granted by the managers of the Royal Infirmary to Dr Rutherford in the year 1748, and in the following year extended to the other professors of medicine belonging to the university; none of whom, however, seem to have availed themselves of it, excepting Dr Rutherford, until the year 1757, when Dr Cullen undertook to deliver a course of such lectures, and was soon joined in the performance of that duty by Drs White and Rutherford. Dr Cullen soon obtained great reputation as a teacher of clinical medicine. "His lectures," observes Dr Thomson, were distinguished by that simplicity, ingenuity, and comprehensiveness of view which marked at all times the philosophical turn of his mind, and I have been informed by several eminent medical men who had an opportunity of attending them, and more particularly by one who acted as his clinical clerk in 1765, were delivered with that clearness and copiousness of illustration with which in his lectures he ever instructed and delighted his auditors." [5]

In the winter session of 1760, Dr Alston, who was the professor of materia medica, died, shortly after commencing his course of lectures for the season. It was well known that Dr Cullen had already devoted considerable attention to this branch of medical science; and that he had lectured upon it in the university of Glasgow; and the students of medicine therefore presented a petition, soliciting him to lecture in the place of Dr Alston. Dr Cullen accordingly commenced a course of lectures on materia medica on the beginning of January 1761. Some years afterwards a volume was published entitled "Lectures on the Materia Medica, as delivered by William Cullen, M.D., professor of

[4] The History of Chemistry, by Thomas Thomson, M.D., F.R.S.E. Professor of Chemistry in the University of Glasgow. 1830.

[5] Thomson's Life of Cullen, vol. i.

medicine in the university of Edinburgh." In the preface of this work, the editors state "as the following sheets are not alleged to be printed by his (Dr Cullen's) directions, it may seem necessary to lay before the public the reasons that induced the editors to this step, as nothing can be farther from their thoughts than the least intention of injuring either the fame or interest of that gentleman, for whose mind and abilities they have the greatest esteem. This is so far the case, that they would think themselves extremely happy if, on a sight of this work, the learned author could be induced to favour the world with his improved sentiments on this subject, which could not fail of being a most useful as well as an acceptable present to the public. The editors have no other motive for making this work public, than a concern to find a performance, which so far excels in method, copiousness of thought, liberality of sentiment and judgment, all that have been before written on the subject, in danger of being lost to the world." Dr Cullen, however, objecting to the publication of this work, applied to the court of Chancery for an injunction to prohibit its sale, which was immediately granted. The physician who supplied the booksellers with the notes, is on all hands admitted to have been influenced by no pecuniary or unworthy motive; but the professor objected to the work, complaining, "that it was by no means sufficiently perfect to do him honour; that it had been unexpectedly undertaken and necessarily executed in a great hurry;—that it was still more imperfect from the inaccuracy of the gentleman who had taken the notes, &c." When, however, it was represented, that a great many copies were already in circulation, Dr Cullen was persuaded to allow the sale of the remaining copies, on condition "that he should receive a share of the profits, and that the grosser errors in the work should be corrected by the addition of a supplement. Accordingly, on these terms it was published, nor is it doing more than an act of justice to state, that it contains all the information on materia medica which was known at that period, and may yet be consulted with advantage by the student.

In consequence of his increasing infirmities and age, Dr John Rutherford, the professor of the practice of physic, resigned his chair in February, 1766, in favour of Dr John Gregory, who had held for several years the professorship of physic in the college of Aberdeen. When his intention of resigning became known, every effort was made by the friends of Dr Cullen to procure for him this professorship, the duties of which he had, by his clinical labours in the Infirmary, proved himself eminently qualified to discharge. The exertions of Dr Cullen's friends, however, proved unavailing, and Dr Gregory was duly appointed as the successor to Dr Rutherford. In the April of the same year the chair of the theory of physic was vacated by the death of Dr Whytt; but we are informed that Dr Cullen was so much disgusted with the conduct of the patrons of the university, and with the treatment he had received in relation to the chair of the practice of physic, that he rather wished to retain the chair of chemistry, than to be translated to that of the theory of medicine. His friends, however, earnestly urged him to take the chair vacated by the death of Dr Whytt; and on this occasion he received the most flattering and gratifying testimony of the esteem entertained towards him, both by his fellow professors and the students of the university. The professors came forward with a public address to him, wherein, after expressing their conviction that he was the most competent person to teach the theory of medicine, they added, that they "thought it a duty they owed the town, the university, and the students of physic, and themselves, to request of him, in the most public and earnest manner, to resign the professorship of chemistry, and to offer himself to the honourable patrons of the university as a candidate for the profession of the theory of physic." The students also

came forward, and presented an address to the lord provost, magistrates, and town council, wherein they boldly stated, " we are humbly of opinion that the reputation of the university and magistrates, the good of the city, and our improvement will all, in an eminent manner, be consulted by engaging Dr Gregory to relinquish the professorship of the practice for that of the theory of medicine, by appointing Dr Cullen, present professor of chemistry, to the practical chair, and by electing Dr Black professor of chemistry."

At length Dr Cullen consented to become a candidate for the chair of Dr Whytt, and was elected professor of the institutes, or theory of medicine, on the 1st of November, 1766 ; and, on the same day, his friend and former pupil Dr Black was elected in his place professor of chemistry. The proposal in the address of the students respecting Dr Cullen's lecturing on the practice of medicine, being, both by the professors and succeeding students, urged on the consideration of the patrons of the university, it was agreed that Dr Cullen should be permitted to lecture on that subject, and accordingly, with Dr Gregory's permission, Dr Cullen delivered a course of lectures in the summer of 1768, and during the remainder of Dr Gregory's life, Drs Cullen and Gregory continued to give alternate courses on the theory and practice of physic. The death of Dr Gregory, however, took place on the 10th of February, 1773, and Dr Cullen was immediately appointed sole professor of the practice of physic.

While Dr Cullen held the professorship of the institutes of medicine, he published heads of lectures for the use of students in the university ; which were translated into French, German, and Italian; but he went no further than physiology. After succeeding to the chair of the practice of physic, he published his Nosology, entitled " Synopsis Nosologiæ Methodicæ." It appeared in two 8vo volumes, which were afterwards in 1780 much improved. In this valuable work he inserted in the first volume abstracts of the nosological systems of Sauvages, Linnæus, Vogel, and Sagar ;—and in the second his own method of arrangement. His classification and definitions of disease have done much to systematise and facilitate the acquirement of medical knowledge ;—not but that, in some instances, he may have placed a disease under an improper head ; and in others given definitions that are very imperfect, for these are defects, which, considering the wide field he had to explore, might reasonably have been expected. Although it may be only an approximation to a perfect system, it is desirable to classify, as far as we are able, the facts which constitute the ground-work of every science ; otherwise they must be scattered over a wide surface, or huddled together in a confused heap—the *rudis indigestaque moles* of the ancient poet. The definitions contained in this Nosology are not mere scholastic and unnecessary appendages to medical science ;—so far from this, they express the leading and characteristic signs or features of certain diseases, and although it is true that a medical practitioner, without recollecting the definitions of Dr Cullen, may recognize the very same symptoms he has described, and refer them to their proper disease, still this does not prove that the definitions of Cullen are the less useful to those who have not seen so much practice, and who, even if they had, might pass over without observing many symptoms to which, by those definitions, their attention is called. The professors and teachers of every science know the necessity of inducing their pupils to arrange and concentrate their thoughts on every subject, in a clear and distinct manner ; and in effecting this, the study of the Nosology of Dr Cullen has been found so useful, that it is still constantly used by the students of the university, who find that, even although their professors do not at present require them to repeat the definitions of disease, given by Dr Cullen, verbatim, still they cannot express themselves, nor find, in any other nosological work, the method or man-

ner of describing the characteristic symptoms of disease, so concisely and correctly given as in his Nosology. Accordingly, notwithstanding the march of medical knowledge, and notwithstanding the Nosology of Dr Cullen was published more than half a century ago, it is still the text book of the most distinguished medical schools in Europe, and only recently an improved edition of it has come out, edited by the learned translator of Magendie, Dr Milligan.

When Dr Cullen succeeded to the chair of the practice of physic, we have stated, that the doctrines of Boerhaave were in full dominion; but these Dr Cullen felt himself justified in relinquishing, although his doing so made him appear guilty of little less than heresy in the eyes of his professional contemporaries. "When I studied physic," says he, "in this university, about forty years ago, I learned the system of Boerhaave, and except it may be the names of some ancient writers, of Sydenham and a few other practical authors, I heard of no other names or writers on physic; and I was taught to think the system of Boerhaave was very complete and sufficient. But when I retired from the university, being very much addicted to study, I soon met with other books that engaged my attention, particularly with Baglivi's *Specimen De Fibra motrice et Nervosa*, and at length with the works of Hoffman. Both of these opened my views with respect to the animal economy, and made me perceive something was wanting and required to be added to the system of Boerhaave. I prosecuted the inquiry; and, according to the opportunities I had in practice and reading, I cultivated the new ideas I had got, and formed to myself a system in many respects different to that of my masters. About twenty years after I had left the university, I was again called to it to take a professor's chair there. I still found the system of Boerhaave prevailing as much as ever, and even without any notice being taken of what Boerhaave himself, and his commentator Van Swieton, had added to his system. Soon after I came here I was engaged to give clinical, that is practical lectures, and in these I ventured to give my own opinion of the nature and cure of diseases, different in several respects from that of the Boerhaavians. This soon produced an outcry against me. In a public college, as I happened to be a professor of chemistry, I was called a Paracelsus, a Van Helmont, a whimsical innovator, and great pains were taken in private to disparage myself and my doctrines. This went so far, that my friend and patron, the late George Drummond, whose venerable bust you see in the hall of the Infirmary, came to me, requesting seriously that I would avoid differing from Dr Boerhaave, as he found my conduct in that respect was likely to hurt myself and the university; I promised to be cautious, and on every occasion spoke very respectfully of Dr Boerhaave. I have continued always to hold the same language as I expressed in my last lecture, and I shall do it most sincerely, as I truly esteem Dr Boerhaave as a philosopher, a physician, and the author of a system more perfect than any thing that had gone before, and as perfect as the state of science in his time would admit of. But with all this I became more and more confirmed in my own ideas; and especially from hence that I found my pupils adopt them very readily. I was, however, no violent reformer, and by degrees only I ventured to point out the imperfections and even the errors of Dr Boerhaave's system; and I have now done the same in the preface which I have given to the new edition of the First Lines."

The first edition of Dr Cullen's Practice of Physic was published in 1775;—it spread rapidly through Europe, and is said to have produced the author about three thousand pounds sterling—a very considerable sum in those days. Pinel and Bosquillon published several translations of it in Paris; and it also appeared translated into German, Italian and Latin. A valuable edition of it has recently appeared, edited by the late Dr William Cullen (a relation of the author)

and Dr J. C. Gregory, who have added, in an appendix, such illustrations as explain the progress of medical science since it was originally published. We need hardly add that the most valuable edition of it, as a work of Dr Cullen's, is that edited by Dr Thomson, who having access to Dr Cullen's manuscript notes, submitted to the profession an improved edition of this work in the year 1827. The system of medicine explained and advocated by Dr Cullen in his lectures and in his work "The First Lines of the Practice of Physic" is raised on the foundation which had previously been laid by Hoffman, who pointed out, more clearly than any of his predecessors, the extensive and powerful influence of the nervous system, in producing and modifying the diseases to which the human body is liable. Although the study of pathology does not appear to have been so zealously pursued at that period as it is at present, yet Dr Cullen, in his course of clinical instruction, always dwelt on the importance of inspecting the bodies of those who died under his treatment, and connecting the *post mortem* morbid appearances with the symptoms that had been exhibited during life. In addressing a letter to Dr Balfour Russel, the author of the best work on the Plague published in this country;—he observes, "you will not find it impossible to separate practice from theory altogether; and therefore if you have a mind to begin with the theory, I have no objection. I think a systematic study of the pathology and *methodus medendi* will be necessary previous to the practice, and you may always have in view a system of the whole of physic." But notwithstanding this, it must be admitted that Dr Cullen was too fond of theorising, and like all other philosophers who are anxious to frame a particular system, he often commenced establishing his superstructure before having accumulated a sufficient number of facts to give it a secure foundation. Hence the works of Bonetus, Morgagni, and Lieutaud contain more pathological knowledge than those published at a later date by Dr Cullen.

Dr Cullen, in discharging his duties as a professor, both in Glasgow and Edinburgh, took very great pains in the instruction of his students; perhaps he is entitled to the credit of having taken a deeper and more sincere interest in their progress than any professor with whose history we are acquainted. Dr James Anderson, who was his pupil and friend, bears the most unequivocal testimony to his zeal as a public teacher. For more than thirty years, says he, that the writer of this article has been honoured with his acquaintance, he has had access to know, that Dr Cullen was in general employed from five to six hours every day, in visiting his patients, and prescribing for those at a distance who consulted him in writing; and that, during the session of the college, which, in Edinburgh, lasts from five to six months, he delivered two public lectures of an hour each, sometimes four lectures a day, during five days of the week; and towards the end of the session, that his students might lose no part of his course, he usually, for a month or six weeks together, delivered lectures six days every week; yet, during all that time, if you chanced to fall in with him in public or in private, you never perceived him either embarrassed or seemingly in a hurry; but at all times he was easy and cheerful and sociably inclined; and in a private party of whist, for sixpence a game, he could be as keenly engaged for an hour before supper, as if he had no other employment to mind, and would be as much interested in it, as if he had a thousand pounds depending on the game.[6] The professors of universities are too generally apt to hold their offices like sinecures, going lazily through the business of their duties, by reading five times a week, in an indifferent tone, a lecture of an hour's length, after which, retiring within the magic circle of their dignity, they are too often above condescending

[6] The Bee, or Literary Intelligencer, vol. i. p. 8.

to come into any sort of personal contact with their pupils. It is particularly one of the evils of the Edinburgh university, that scarcely ever does any tie exist between the pupil and the professor; they seldom come necessarily into personal communication, and consequently the greater is the credit due to those professors who cultivate the acquaintance of their students, and take as much interest in their studies without as within the walls of the university. Dr James Anderson, who had every opportunity of judging correctly, informs us, that "the general conduct of Dr Cullen to his students was this;—with all such as he observed to be attentive and diligent he formed an early acquaintance, by inviting them by twos, by threes, or by fours, at a time, to sup with him; conversing with them on these occasions with the most engaging ease, and freely entering with them on the subject of their studies, their amusements, their difficulties, their hopes, and future prospects. In this way he usually invited the whole of his numerous class, till he made himself acquainted with their abilities, their private characters, and their objects of pursuit. Those among them whom he found most assiduous, best disposed, or the most friendless, he invited most frequently, until an intimacy was gradually formed which proved highly beneficial to them. Their doubts with regard to their objects of study, he listened to with attention, and solved with the most obliging condescension. His library, which consisted of an excellent assortment of the best books, especially on medical subjects, was at all times open for their accommodation, and his advice in every case of difficulty to them, they always had it in their power most readily to obtain. From his general acquaintance among the students, and the friendly habits he was on with many of them, he found no difficulty in discovering those among them who were rather in hampered circumstances, without being obliged to hurt their delicacy in any degree. He often found out some polite excuse for refusing to take payment for a first course, and never was at a loss for one to an after course. Before they could have an opportunity of applying for a ticket, he would lead the conversation to some subject that occurred in the course of his lectures, and as his lectures were never put in writing by himself, he would sometimes beg the favour to see their notes, if he knew they had been taken with attention, under a pretext of assisting his memory. Sometimes he would express a wish to have their opinion on a particular part of his course, and presented them with a ticket for that purpose, and sometimes he refused to take payment, under the pretext that they had not received his full course; in the preceding year, some part of it having been necessarily omitted for want of time, which he meant to include in this course. These were the particular devices he adopted with individuals to whom economy was necessary, and it was a general rule with him never to take money from any student for more than two courses of the same set of lectures, permitting him to attend these lectures for as many years longer as he pleased, gratis. He introduced another generous principle into the university, which ought not to be passed over in silence. Before he came to Edinburgh; it was the custom for medical professors to accept of fees for medical assistance when wanted, even from medical students themselves, who were perhaps attending the professor's own lectures at the time; but Dr Cullen would never take fees as a physician from any student at the university; although he attended them when, called in, with the same assiduity and care as if they had been persons of the first rank, who paid him most liberally. This gradually induced others to adopt a similar practice; so that it has now become a general rule at this university for medical professors to decline taking any fees when their assistance is necessary for a student."[1]

Dr Aiken, who was also a pupil of Dr Cullen, bears similar testimony to the

[1] The Bee, or Literary Intelligencer, vol. i. p. 48, 49.

generous conduct manifested by him to his students. "He was cordially attentive," says he, "to their interests; admitted them freely to his house; conversed with them on the most familiar terms; solved their doubts and difficulties; gave them the use of his library; and, in every respect, treated them with the respect of a friend, and the regard of a parent."[2] Nor was the kind interest which Dr Cullen took in the pursuits of young persons confined to his students alone. Mr Dugald Stewart informed Dr Thomson, that during a slight indisposition which confined him for some time to his room, when a boy of fourteen or fifteen years of age, he was attended by Dr Cullen. In recommending to his patient a little relaxation from his studies, and suggesting some light reading, the Doctor inquired whether he had ever read the history of Don Quixote. On being answered in the negative, he turned quickly round to Mr Stewart's father, and desired that the book should be immediately procured. In his subsequent visits to his patient, Dr Cullen never failed to examine him on the progress he had made in reading the humorous story of the great pattern of chivalry, and to talk over with him every successive incident, scene, and character, in that history. In mentioning these particulars, Mr Stewart remarked, that he never could look back on that intercourse, without feeling surprise at the minute accuracy with which Dr Cullen remembered every passage in the life of Don Quixote, and the lively manner in which he sympathized with him in the pleasure he derived from the first perusal of that entertaining romance. In what degree of estimation Mr Stewart continued to hold that work, may be seen by the inimitable character which he has given of it, in his dissertation on the progress of metaphysical, ethical, and political philosophy.[3]

Dr Cullen, after having been elected professor of the practice of medicine, devoted his time entirely to his duties as a public lecturer, and to his profession; for his fame having extended, his private practice became very considerable. Already we have observed that he had a large family; and about this time, having become acquainted with the celebrated John Brown, a sketch of whose life we have already given in this Biographical Dictionary, he engaged him to live in his family as the preceptor of his children, and also as an assistant at his lectures, the substance of which Brown repeated and expounded in the evening to his students; for which purpose the manuscript notes of the morning lectures were generally intrusted to him. It is well known that the habits of John Brown were extremely irregular. His son, who has written a short memoir of him, observes, "Unfortunately, among his qualifications, economy held no place. At the commencement of his medical studies, he very naturally turned his attention to cultivate the acquaintance of those individuals among whom he proposed earning a livelihood. It was not among the serious, the wise, or the aged, that he was likely to procure pupils; his companions therefore would necessarily be the young, the thoughtless, and, very frequently, the dissipated. The pleasures of the table, and the unconstrained hilarity he enjoyed at the convivial meetings of such companions, were, by nature, sufficiently agreeable to one of his vivacity of disposition and strong passion; but the distinguished figure he made on such occasions, as a man of brilliant wit, and the deference paid to his superior talents, must have rendered these meetings still more gratifying to him. It is not surprising, then, that after having been habituated to such association for a succession of years, he acquired a taste for company and high living, which was confirmed as he advanced in life, exposed to the same necessity of cultivating the acquaintance and rendering himself agreeable to those on whom his liveli-

[2] General Biography, vol. iii. p. 255.
[3] Thomson's Life of Dr Cullen, vol. i. p. 136.

hood depended."[4] After having been his most favourite pupil, John Brown became the most intimate of Dr Cullen's friends; but, three or four years afterwards, a quarrel took place between them, after which they ever regarded each other with feelings of the most determined hostility. By the friends of John Brown it is alleged, that Dr Cullen behaved towards him in a deceitful manner, for that he held out promises to interest himself in assisting him to obtain a professor's chair in the university; instead of which, when the opportunity presented itself, knowing that John Brown had adopted a theory of medicine different from his own, he tacitly opposed his election; and when the magistrates, or patrons of the university, asked him who John Brown was, so far from giving him his support, he, after some pretended hesitation, blasted his success, by observing, with a sarcastic smile, "Surely this can never be *our Jock*." Besides which, it is also affirmed, that when John Brown applied for admission into the society which published the Edinburgh essays, Dr Cullen, who had great influence there, contrived to get a majority to reject his petition. In reply to all this,—" and without attempting to vindicate either party, it must appear obvious, that John Brown's rejection by the patrons of the university as a professor must have been the necessary consequence of the dissipated character which he possessed; and it is more than probable that Dr Cullen himself, having sons now advancing in life, saw the necessity of discountenancing their intimacy with one whose habits of intemperance were likely to lead them into dissipation." John Brown soon became the founder and champion of a system of medicine opposed to that of Dr Cullen; and the palæstra where the opponents and advocates of both theories met, and where their disputations were carried on with the greatest vigour, was the hall of the medical society. The doctrines of Cullen had there, some years previously, triumphed over those of Boerhaave; but they in their turn were now destined to receive a shock from the zealous advocates of the new theory, which was warmly espoused by many, both at home and abroad.

Dr Cullen continued to deliver his lectures until within a few months of his death, when, feeling himself subdued by the infirmities of age, he was induced to resign his professorship; " but, for some years before his death," observes Dr James Anderson, " his friends perceived a sensible decline of that ardour and energy of mind which characterized him at a former period. Strangers, who had never seen him before, could not be sensible of this change; nor did any marked decline in him strike them, for his natural vivacity still was such as might pass in general as the unabated vigour of one in the prime of life." He resigned his professorship in the end of December, 1789. In the medical commentaries published at that period, his death is thus announced: " About the end of December, 1789, Dr William Cullen, after having taught medicine at Edinburgh for many years, with a degree of reputation which not only did honour to himself, but also to the university of which he was a member, being now arrived at his seventy-seventh (ninth) year, and finding himself unable, from age and infirmities, any longer to discharge the duties of his office, sent a letter to the patrons of the university of Edinburgh, resigning into their hands his professorship of the practice of physic."[5]

Dr Cullen, on the occasion of his resignation, received many honourable testimonies of regard from the different public societies in Edinburgh.

The lord provost, magistrates, and town council presented him with an elegant piece of silver plate, with a suitable inscription, in acknowledgment of the services he had rendered to the university and to the community.

[4] Life of Dr John Brown,—prefixed to his works by William Cullen Brown, M.D. lii.
[5] Medical Commentaries, vol. v. 491.

The senatus academicus of the university, the medical society, the physical society, and many other scientific and literary societies, voted addresses to him, expressive of the high sense entertained of his abilities and services.

The physical society of America also forwarded to him a similar address, and concluded by expressing the same wish which had been likewise embodied in the other addresses. It thus concludes—"And, finally, we express our most cordial wishes that the evening of your days may be crowned with as great an exemption from pain and languor as an advanced state of life admits of, and with all the tranquillity of mind which a consciousness of diffusive benevolence to men and active worth aspires."

The several deputations from these public bodies were received by his son Henry, who replied to them by acknowledging the satisfaction which they gave to his father, and the regret he felt, that, in consequence of his ill state of health, he was unable to meet them, and express his sentiments in person to them.[6]

Dr Cullen did not long survive his resignation of the professorship; he lingered a few weeks; and died on the 5th of February, 1790, in the eightieth year of his age. His funeral was a private one, and took place on the following Wednesday the 10th of February; when his remains, attended by a select number of friends, were interred in his burial-place in the church-yard of Kirk Newton, near his house of Ormiston Hill, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh.

Of the character of Dr Cullen, in the more retired circle of private life, we know little; few anecdotes having been preserved illustrative of the peculiarities of his habits, disposition, or domestic manners. We have been informed, by one who remembers him well, that he had no sense of the value of money. He used to put large sums into an open drawer, to which he and his wife went whenever either of them wanted money. He and his wife lived happily, and many who recollect them, have borne testimony to the delightful evenings they always spent whenever they visited them. Dr Cullen's external appearance, says his friend Dr Anderson, though striking and not unpleasing, was not elegant. His countenance was expressive, and his eye, in particular, remarkably lively, and, at times, wonderfully expressive. In his person he was tall and thin, stooping very much about the shoulders. When he walked, he had a contemplative look, and did not seem much to regard the objects around him.[7]

After Dr Cullen's death, his son, the late lord Cullen, entertained the intention of writing his life, which, however, he did not accomplish. Soon after his lordship died, Dr Cullen's papers, consisting of letters from private friends, sketches of essays, notes of lectures, and medical consultations, were placed by his surviving family in the hands of Dr Thomson, with a request that he would endeavour to draw up, from these documents, and from the information he could procure from other sources, such an account of his life, lectures, and writings, as might in some degree satisfy the curiosity of the public. We need only state, that Dr Thomson has executed their wishes in a most able manner; his life of Dr Cullen supplying us with all the information concerning his public career that can possibly be desired. It remains only for us to add, that the doctrines promulgated by Dr Cullen, which have had so great an influence on medical science, are now keenly contested; but whether, in after years, they stand or fall, all parties must unite in paying a just tribute of admiration to the genius and acquirements of a man who was certainly an ornament to the age in which he lived.

[5] Evening Courant, January and February, 1790.
[7] The Bee or Literary Intelligencer, vol. i. 166.

CUNNINGHAM, Alexander, fifth earl of Glencairn, was the son and successor of William the fourth earl, and the seventeenth in descent from the founder of his family, Warnebald de Cunningham, a Norman settler under Hugh de Moreville, constable of Scotland, who died in 1162.

There is hardly any patriotic name in Scottish history entitled to more of the credit of a firm and zealous pursuit of liberty, than Alexander earl of Glencairn. His father, having been one of the Scottish nobles taken prisoner at Solway Moss, was gained over in England to the interest of the Reformation, which he undertook to advance in his own country. The subject of this memoir was therefore introduced, at an early period, into the political convulsions which took place, on account of religion and the English alliance, during the minority of queen Mary. He succeeded his father in 1547, and, on the return of John Knox in 1554, was one of those who openly resorted to hear him preach. The reformer was afterwards received by the earl at his house of Finlayston, where the sacrament of the Lord's supper was dispensed, according to the forms of the church of Geneva, to his lordship, his tenantry, and friends. When Knox was summoned to appear before a catholic tribunal, on a charge of preaching heretical doctrine, he was recommended, by the earl and others, to write a letter of remonstrance to the queen regent, which Glencairn was so bold as to deliver into her own hands. It was of this letter that the queen said, in handing it afterwards to archbishop Beaton, "Please you, my lord, to read a pasquil." The earl of Glencairn was one of those eminent persons who, in 1557, associated themselves in a covenant, for the purpose of promoting the establishment of the reformed religion in Scotland. This body has received in history the well-known title of "Lords of the Congregation." In all the subsequent struggles with existing authority, Glencairn took an active and prominent part. Being deputed, in 1558, along with his relative, Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudoun, to remonstrate with the queen against her intended prosecution of the preachers, she answered, that "in spite of all they could do, these men should be banished, although they preached as soundly as ever did St Paul." The earl and Sir Hugh then reminded her of a former promise to a different effect; to which she answered, that "the promises of princes were no further to be urged upon them for performance than it stood to their conveniency." The two deputies then informed her, that "if these were her sentiments, they would no longer be her subjects;" which staggered her so much, that she said she would advise. In May, 1559, when the reformers drawn together at Perth found it necessary to protect themselves by force of arms from the designs of this princess, letters were sent into Ayrshire, as into other parts of Scotland, desiring all the faithful to march to that town, in order to defend the good cause. The reformers of Ayrshire met at the kirk of Craigie, where, on some objections being started, the earl of Glencairn, "in zeal burst forth in these words, 'Let every man serve his conscience. I will, by God's grace, see my brethren in St Johnston: yea, albeit never a man shall accompany me; I will go, if it were but with a pick [mattock] over my shoulder; for I had rather die with that company than live after them.'" Accordingly, although the queen regent planted guards on all the rivers in Stirlingshire to prevent his approach, he came to Perth in an incredibly short space of time, with twelve hundred horse and thirteen hundred foot, having marched night and day in order to arrive in time. The appearance of so determined a leader, with so large a force, subdued the regent to terms, and might be said to have saved the cause from utter destruction. Besides serving the reformers with his sword and feudal influence, he wielded the pen in the same cause. Knox has preserved, in his History of the Reformation, a clever pasquinade by the earl upon a shameless adherent of the old

religion—the hermit of Loretto, near Musselburgh. After he had seen the triumph of the protestant faith in 1559-60, he was nominated a member of queen Mary's privy council. Zeal for the same religion afterwards induced him to join in the insurrection raised against the queen's authority by the earl of Murray. After her marriage to Bothwell, he was one of the most active of the associated lords by whom she was dethroned. At Carberry, where he had an important command, when the French ambassador came from the queen, promising them forgiveness if they would disperse, he answered, with his characteristic spirit, that "they came not to ask pardon for any offence they had done, but to grant pardon to those who had offended." After the queen had been consigned to Lochleven, he entered her chapel at Holyrood House with his domestics, and destroyed the whole of the images and other furniture. This he did from the impulse of his own mind, and without consulting any of his friends. In the whole of the subsequent proceedings for establishing the protestant cause under a regency, he took a zealous part. His lordship died in 1574, and was succeeded by his son William, the sixth earl.

CUNNINGHAM, Alexander, the historian, was born in the year 1654, in the county of Selkirk, and parish of Ettrick, of which his father was minister. Having acquired the elementary branches of learning at home, he, acording to the prevailing custom among Scottish gentlemen of that period, proceeded to Holland to finish his education, and it is believed that it was there that he made those friends, among the English refugees at the Hague, who afterwards contributed so powerfully to the advancement of his fortunes. He came over to England with the prince of Orange in 1688, and was honoured with the intimacy of the leading men by whom the revolution was accomplished, more especially with that of the earls of Sunderland and Argyle. After his return to Britain he was employed as tutor and travelling companion to the earl of Hyndford, and also to that nobleman's brother, the honourable Mr William Carmichael, who was solicitor-general of Scotland in the reign of queen Anne. Mr Cunningham was afterwards travelling companion to lord Lorne, better known under the title of John the great duke of Argyle.

While Mr Cunningham was travelling on the continent with lord Lorne, he was employed by the administration in transmitting secret intelligence on the most important subjects, and he was also intrusted by the confederate generals of the allied army to make representations to the British court. When in Holland in 1703, along with lord Lorne, he met the celebrated Addison, and was received in the most gracious manner by the elector and the princess Sophia. It is supposed that it is to the knowledge of military affairs, acquired through his intimacy with lord Lorne, that the description of battles, and the other operations of war contained in Mr Cunningham's history, owe that lucid distinctness for which they are so remarkable. During the year 1710, he travelled on the continent with lord Lonsdale.

Through the interest and friendship of Argyle and Sunderland, and of Sir Robert Walpole, Mr Cunningham, on the accession of George I, was sent as British envoy to the republic of Venice, where he remained from the year 1715 to 1720. His despatches from Venice have been collected and arranged by Mr Astle. For many years after Mr Cunningham's return from Italy, he passed his life in studious retirement in London. In 1735, he was visited by lord Hyndford, to whose father he had been tutor, who found him a very infirm old man, sitting in a great arm chair, habited in a night-gown. He is believed to have lived until the year 1737, and to have been buried in the vicars' chancel of St Martin's church, where an Alexander Cunningham lies interred, who died on the 15th May, 1737, in the 83d year of his age, which

correspnods with the date of Mr Cunningham's birth. He seems to have died rich, as, by his will, he directs his landlord not to expend more than eighty pounds on his funeral. He left the bulk of his fortune to his nephew, Archibald Cunningham of Greenock, reserving eight thousand pounds in trust for his nieces, and four thousand pounds to Cunningham of Craigends.

Mr Cunningham's history of Britain, which was originally written in Latin, but afterwards translated into English by Dr William Thomson, is the performance on which his claim to be remembered by posterity chiefly rests. It was first published in 1787, many years after his death, in two vols. 4to. This work embraces the history of Britain from the Revolution of 1688 to the accession of George I.; and being written by a man who was not only well versed but deeply concerned in many of the political events of the period, and who was intimately acquainted with most of the leading men of the age, it is a production of great historical importance. His characters are drawn with much judgment and discrimination and generally with impartiality, although his prejudices against bishop Burnet and general Stanhope led him to do injustice to these two great men. He also indulged himself in severe sarcasms against the clergy and the female sex, a weakness for which it is difficult to find any excuse. His work abounds in just observations on the political events of the times, and his facts are related with much perspicuity, and occasionally with great animation, more especially where he treats of the operations of war.

"A coincidence of name has led to the confounding of this historian with Alexander Cunningham, the celebrated editor and emendator of Horace, and the antagonist of Bentley; but the evidence produced by Dr Thomson in a very elaborate preface to Cunningham's history, leads to a strong presumption that they were different persons: and a late writer, under the signature of Crito, in the Scots Magazine for October, 1804, seems to have put this fact beyond question; the editor of Horace having died at the Hague in 1730, and the historian at London in 1737." *Tytler's Life of Kaimes, vol.* 1. *Appen. No.* 1.

CURRIE, James, M.D. an eminent physician of Liverpool, was born, May 31, 1756, in the parish of Kirkpatrick-Fleming, Dumfriesshire. His father was the minister of that parish, but obtained, soon after the birth of his son, the living of Middlebie. His mother was Jane Boyd, a woman of superior understanding, but who unfortunately died of consumption shortly after their removal to Middlebie. Young Currie was the only son in a family of seven children. Having been at an early age deprived of his mother, his aunt, Miss Duncan, kindly undertook the management of the family. To the anxious care which Miss Duncan took of his early education, Currie owed many of those virtues which adorned his after life. He commenced his education at the parochial school of Middlebie, and at the age of thirteen was removed to Dumfries, and placed in the seminary of the learned Dr Chapman, where he remained for upwards of two years. He was originally intended for the profession of medicine, but having accompanied his father in a visit to Glasgow, he was so much delighted with the bustle and commercial activity displayed in that city, that he obtained his father's consent to betake himself to a mercantile life; and accordingly he entered the service of a company of American merchants. This, as frequently happens, where the wishes of an inexperienced young man are too readily yielded to, proved a very unfortunate change. He sailed for Virginia just at the commencement of those disputes with the American colonies which terminated in their independence, and the commercial embarrassment and losses which were occasioned by the consequent interruption of trade have been offered as an apology for the harsh and ungenerous manner in which Currie was treated by his employers. To add to his distress, he fell sick of a dangerous

illness, and before he was completely restored to health, he had the misfortune to lose his father, who left his family in very narrow circumstances. Young Currie, with that generosity and sanguine disregard of the difficulties of his situation, which formed so remarkable a feature in his character, immediately on learning of the death of his father, and of the scanty provision made for his sisters, divided among them the small portion which fell to his share. And, disgusted with the hardships he had encountered in the commencement of his mercantile education, he determined to renounce the pursuits of commerce. For a time he seems to have turned his attention to politics; writing several papers on the then all-engrossing subject of the quarrel between Great Britain and America. At length, however, he saw the necessity of making choice of some profession; and, led by the advice of his near relation Dr Currie of Richmond, New Carolina, with whom he was then living, he determined to resume his original intention of studying medicine. In pursuance of this plan, he proceeded to Britain, returning home by the West Indies; being prevented by the war from taking a more direct route. After encountering many difficulties, he reached London in 1776, having been absent from his native country for five years. From London he proceeded to Edinburgh, where he prosecuted his studies with unremitting assiduity until the year 1780. He early became conspicuous among his fellow-students by his talents. As a member of the medical society he greatly distinguished himself, and the papers which he read before that body, not only give evidence of his superior abilities, but afford an interesting proof that, even at that early period, he had given his attention to those subjects in his profession which he afterwards so fully and ably illustrated. Although the rapid progress he was making in his studies, and the high station he held among his cotemporaries, rendered a continuance at college very desirable, still he was too deeply impressed with the necessity of attaining independence and of freeing his sisters and aunt of the burden of his support, not to make every exertion to push himself into employment. Accordingly, having procured an introduction to general Sir William Erskine, he obtained from that officer an ensigncy in his regiment, with the situation of surgeon's mate attached to it. He does not appear, however, to have availed himself of these appointments; for learning that a medical staff was about to be formed in Jamaica, he hurried to Glasgow, where he obtained a degree as a physician; his attendance at college having been insufficient to enable him to graduate at the university of Edinburgh. Having got his degree, and having furnished himself with numerous introductions, he proceeded to London, in the hope of obtaining an appointment in the West India establishment. But, on reaching the capital, he found that all the appointments were already filled up. Although disappointed in obtaining an official situation, he still determined to sail to Jamaica, with the intention of establishing himself there in private practice; or, failing that, to proceed to Richmond, and join his kinsman Dr Currie. He was induced, however, by the persuasion of his friends in London, to abandon this plan, even after his passage to Jamaica had been taken out. They strongly urged him to establish himself in one of the large provincial towns of England; for, from the high estimate which they had formed of his abilities and professional acquirements, they were convinced that he would speedily raise himself to eminence in his profession. In accordance with this view, he proceeded to Liverpool in October, 1780. He was induced to select that town in consequence of a vacancy having occurred there by the removal of Dr Dobson to Bath. But, even without such an opening, it is evident, that to a young physician of talent and enterprise, a wealthy and rapidly increasing commercial town like Liverpool holds out peculiar advantages, and great facilities

for getting into practice, where the continual fluctuation of society presents an open field for professional abilities, widely different from that of more stationary communities. Hence, as had been anticipated, Dr Currie's talents and gentlemanly manners brought him rapidly into practice; although on his first arrival he was an utter stranger in Liverpool, and only found access to society there, by the introductions he brought with him. His success was early confirmed by being elected one of the physicians to the Infirmary, and strengthened by his marriage in the year 1783, to Miss Lucy Wallace, the daughter of a respectable merchant of Liverpool.

Although busily engaged in the arduous duties of his profession, Dr Currie yet found time to cultivate literature. A similarity of tastes having led to an intimacy with the well known Mr Roscoe, Dr Currie and Mr Roscoe, along with Mr William Rathbone, formed a Literary Club, which deserves to be remembered as being the first of those numerous literary institutions by which Liverpool is now so creditably distinguished.

The pulmonary affection under which Dr Currie began to suffer about this time, has been ascribed to the fatigue and the night journeys to which he was exposed in his attendance on the sick bed of his friend, Dr Bell of Manchester. His first attack was so violent as completely to incapacitate him for business; and finding no mitigation of the paroxysms of the hectic fever, except in travelling, he undertook a journey to Bristol; but unfortunately the good effects which the change might otherwise have produced, were neutralized by the distressing circumstance of his arriving just in time to witness the death of his sister; the second who had, within the year, fallen a victim to the same disease under which he was himself labouring. Deriving no benefit from his residence in Bristol, he removed to Matlock, in the hope that the drier air and the hot baths of that inland town, would prove more beneficial. Disappointed in this expectation, he resolved to try the effect of his native air; and in the hope of again seeing a third sister who was sinking under the disease so fatal to his family, he made a hurried journey to Scotland. As regarded his health, his expectations were wonderfully gratified; for when he reached Dumfriesshire he was so much recruited, that he was able to ride on horseback for an hour at a time; but he was too late to see his sister, who was conveyed to the grave on the very day of his arrival. Notwithstanding this distressing event, his native air and exercise on horseback, proved so beneficial, that, after remaining a few weeks at Moffat, he returned to Liverpool on horseback, varying his journey by visiting the lakes of Cumberland. In this journey he was able to ride forty miles on the day on which he reached Liverpool. A very interesting account of Dr Currie's illness and recovery will be found in the second volume of Darwin's Zoonomia.

The first work which, after his recovery, Dr Currie undertook, was a translation of his friend Dr Bell's inaugural dissertation. This he did at the request of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, and it was published in the Society's transactions. The translation was accompanied by several valuable notes, and a short biographical sketch of the author; in which Dr Currie appears to have given a very correct and impartial delineation of his friend's character. The elegance of the style and execution of this work gained for Dr Currie very considerable reputation as an author.

On being elected member of the Medical Society of London, he communicated an essay, (published in the Society's transactions,) on "Tetanus and Convulsive Disorders." In the year following, he presented to the Royal Society, a paper giving "An account of the remarkable effect of shipwreck on mariners, with experiments and observations on the influence of immersion in fresh and salt

water, hot and cold, on the powers of the body," which appeared in the philosophical Transactions of that year, and which may be regarded as introductory of a more mature production, which appeared in 1792, under the title of "Medical reports on the effects of water, cold and warm, as a remedy for fever and other diseases, whether applied to the surface of the body or used internally;" a work on which Dr Currie's fame as a medical author principally rests. Immediately on its publication, it attracted the attention, not only of the profession, but of the public in general. But the practice which it recommended not having been found uniformly successful, and being repugnant to the preconceived notions on the subject, it fell gradually into disrepute. Still, however, cold ablutions in fever is unquestionably a remedy of great power, and has been found very salutary when used with judgment, particularly in the violent fevers of tropical climates. That the practice has hitherto been less successful than it should be, arises from its having been often resorted to by the patients themselves, and from its being prescribed by the ignorant, too late in the hot stage of the fever. The profession, therefore, is deeply indebted to Dr Currie for the introduction of this practice; which, in skilful hands, has proved most efficacious, and has been the means of saving many lives.

Dr Currie, on several occasions, indulged himself in writing on political topics; but by some remarkable fatality, although by no means a consistent adherent to one side, he invariably took the unpopular side of the question. While in America, he had defended the mother country against the colonies. He afterwards joined in the *no popery* enthusiasm, during the disgraceful riots raised by lord George Gordon, bringing himself into disrepute by the ill chosen time he took to indulge in a cry which was otherwise popular with the best classes of society. And the principles which he advocated in his "Letter, commercial and political, addressed to the Right Hon. William Pitt," under the assumed name of Jasper Wilson, raised him a host of enemies, by whom he was attacked in the most violent and scurrilous manner.

While on an excursion to Dumfriesshire, on account of his health, Dr Currie made the acquaintance of Robert Burns the Scottish poet; and, like all who had the good fortune to meet that extraordinary man, he became one of his enthusiastic admirers. On the death of Burns, when the friends of the poet were exerting themselves to raise his family from the state of abject poverty in which it had been left, they strongly urged Dr Currie to become his editor and biographer, to which he at length consented; and, in the year 1800, he published for the behoof of the poet's familly, "The Works of Robert Burns, with an account of his life, and criticisms on his writings; to which are prefixed, some observations on the character and condition of the Scottish peasantry." It is by this work that Dr Currie has established his fame in the republic of letters. He has, at the same time, by the manner in which he has accomplished his task, conferred a lasting favour on all who can appreciate the language and beauties of our national poet.

Although Dr Currie had been restored to comparative good health after his first attack of illness in 1784, still from that period he continued to be subject to pulmonary threatenings; but it was not until the year 1804, that his constitution gave way, so as to force him to retire from his professional duties in Liverpool. In the hope that his native air might again restore him to health, he made a journey to Scotland; but deriving no benefit from the change, he returned to England, and spent the ensuing winter alternately at Clifton and Bath. For a time his health seemed to recruit, and he was even enabled to resume his professional avocations in the latter city; but on his complaints returning with increased violence, he, with that restlessness incident to consumption,

removed to Sidmouth, where he died, 31st August, 1805, in the 50th year of his age.

Dr Currie was of a kind and affectionate disposition; and he was active and judicious in his benevolence. To his strenuous exertions Liverpool owes many of the charitable and literary institutions of which it can now boast.

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DALGARNO, George,[1] an almost forgotten, but most meritorious and original writer, was born in Old Aberdeen, about the year 1626. He appears to have studied at Marischal college, New Aberdeen, but for what length of time, or with what objects, is wholly unknown. In 1657 he went to Oxford, where, according to Anthony Wood, he taught a private grammar school with good success for about thirty years. He died of a fever on the 28th of August, 1687, and was buried, says the same author, "in the north body of the church of St Mary Magdalen." Such is the scanty biography that has been preserved, of a man who lived in friendship with the most eminent philosophers of his day, and who, besides other original speculations, had the singular merit of anticipating, more than a hundred and thirty years ago, some of the most profound conclusions of the present age respecting the education of the deaf and dumb. His work upon this subject is entitled, "Didascalocophus, or the Deaf and Dumb Man's Tutor," and was printed in a very small volume at Oxford, in 1680. He states the design of it to be, to bring the way of teaching a deaf man to read and write, as near as possible to that of teaching young ones to speak and understand their mother tongue. "In prosecution of this general idea," says an eminent philosopher of the present day, who has, on more than one occasion, done his endeavour to rescue the name of Dalgarno from oblivion, "he has treated in one short chapter, of a *deaf man's dictionary;* and, in another, of a *grammar for deaf persons;* both of them containing a variety of precious hints, from which useful practical lights might be derived by all who have any concern in the tuition of children, during the first stage of their education." (*Mr Dugald Stewart's Account of a boy born blind and deaf.*) Twenty years before the publication of his *Didascalocophus*, Dalgarno had given to the world a very ingenious piece, entitled, *Ars Signorum*, from which, says Mr Stewart, it appears indisputably that he was the precursor of bishop Wilkins in his speculations respecting "a real character and a philosophical language." Leibnitz has, on various occasions, alluded to the *Ars Signorum* in commendatory terms. Both of these works of Dalgarno are now exceedingly rare.

DALRYMPLE, Alexander, F.R.S., F.S.A., an eminent hydrographer, the son of Sir James Dalrymple, of Hailes, baronet, was born at New Hailes, (near Edinburgh,) the family seat, on the 24th July, 1737. His mother was lady Christian Hamilton, daughter of the earl of Haddington, and he was the seventh son of a family of sixteen children, all of whom he survived. He received the primary branches of his education at the school of Mr David Young, in Haddington; but having been taken from under the charge of his preceptor on the death of his father, before he had reached the age of fourteen, his progress could not have been very great. His eldest brother, however, continued to give him

[1] I am indebted for this article to the Supplement to the sixth edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica; the only source from which I am aware that the information contained in it could have been derived.

instruction in classical learning during the two succeeding years that he remained at home. In 1752, through the interest of the Hon. General St Clair, who was married to his father's sister, he obtained an appointment as writer in the East India Company's service; and his brother, Sir David, afterwards the well known explorer of the early annals of his country, and the subject of an ensuing article, proceeded with him to London, and placed him under the charge of Mr Kinross, at whose academy, at Fort Hills, he received instruction in arithmetic and book-keeping, the only preparatory attainments at that time deemed necessary to qualify young men destined for the civil service of the company. Having, with some difficulty, passed his examinations on these branches of education, and having obviated the difficulty arising from his being some months under the age entitling him to accept the appointment, he embarked for India about the middle of December, 1752; and reached Madras on the 11th of May following. Owing to the deficiency of his education, he was placed, on his arrival in India, under the storekeeper, but afterwards, through the fatherly kindness of the governor, lord Pigot, and of Mr Orme, the historian, then one of the members of council, he was removed to the secretary's office. In order to render him fit for this situation, lord Pigot himself condescended to give him lessons in writing, while Mr Orme gave him some instructions in accounts. In the records of the secretary's office, Mr Dalrymple, unluckily for himself, discovered certain papers on the subject of the commerce of the Eastern Archipelago; and immediately became so much interested in the subject, that he forsook the beaten path of his official duty, which must have ended in his promotion to the secretaryship, and involved himself in speculations on the advantages which might accrue to the company from the opening up, and extension of our trade, into the eastern islands. On this favourite subject he displayed much talent and indefatigable perseverance; but the company had always discountenanced such schemes; and the consequence, to Mr Dalrymple, was, that by relinquishing his appointment, (which he did in the face of lord Pigot's earnest remonstrances,) in order that he might give his undivided exertions to the promotion of his project, he lost the certainty of acquiring a large fortune, and at the same time involved himself in disputes and misunderstandings with the company, which embittered his after life. So deeply impressed, however, was Mr Dalrymple with the importance of his scheme, that he made a voyage of observation among the eastern islands. At Sooloo, in the course of this expedition, he made a commercial treaty with the Sultan, which might have led to beneficial results, but the instability of all the petty governments of eastern Asia rendered it utterly abortive; for, upon his return, in 1762, with a vessel freighted with goods, to take advantage of the arrangement and to prepare a cargo for an east Indiaman, which was to follow, he found the political affairs of Sooloo completely altered, in consequence of the disastrous effects of the small-pox, which had swept off many of the principal inhabitants, and, among others, those official friends on whom the fulfilment of the treaty chiefly depended. He was therefore obliged entirely to renew the arrangement, and although he was in that way enabled to provide a cargo for the Indiaman, yet the vessel not having made its appearance, he was constrained to return to Madras, completely disappointed in his sanguine hopes of extending our commerce among those islands. He obtained a grant, however, of the island of Balambagan, which, under proper management, might have been rendered a valuable possession; but this, too, was ultimately lost to the country. In 1765 he returned to England, in the hope of impressing upon the authorities there, the importance of extending our trade in the eastern seas; but his representations proved unavailing. In order to show the public the benefit which would arise from adopting his views, he published a pamphlet on the subject. At one

time he was considered as a proper person to be employed in a South Sea expedition of discovery, which the Admiralty was about to send out; but owing to some official etiquette the appointment did not take place. In 1769, he received a grant of £5,000, as an equivalent for his having relinquished the situation of secretary, when he proceeded on his voyage of observation, in 1759; but was disappointed of being sent out as governor or chief of the island of Balambagan, another being appointed in his stead, through whose mismanagement the settlement was lost to the company.

From the time of Mr Dalrymple's return home, he had devoted himself to the task of collecting and arranging materials for a full exposition of the importance of the eastern islands, and to show how valuable their commerce might be rendered to this country; and the court of directors were so convinced of the value of the information which he possessed, that he published several charts of the eastern seas under their authority. Mr Dalrymple had taken every occasion to keep up his claim on the Madras establishment; and on the appointment of his friend, lord Pigot, to be governor of Fort St George, in 1775, he made application to be reinstated in the service, which was granted; and he went out to Madras as a member of council, and as one of the committee of Curcuit. Although there seems to have been no ground of complaint against him, he again returned home in 1777, in obedience to an order of the general court, to have his conduct inquired into. In the year 1779, he was appointed to the office of hydrographer to the East India Company; it was not, however, until the year following, that the court of directors resolved, that as there appeared to be no charges against him, he should be again employed in their service; but he never received any appointment, although he obtained a pension from the company.

In the year 1795, when the Admiralty resolved on establishing the office of hydrographer, they conferred it on Mr Dalrymple. In the year 1808, however, they insisted on his resigning his appointment on a retired allowance, and on his obstinately resisting their wishes, they superannuated him; which proceeding affected him so deeply, that it is believed to have caused his death. He died at his house in Mary-le-bone on the 9th June, 1808, in the 71st year of his age, and was buried in the small cemetery adjoining the church. He left a most valuable library, particularly rich in works on navigation and geography, all of which were purchased by the Admiralty. His collection of poetry was also very valuable, and that he directed to be deposited in the library at New Hailes as an heir-loom of the family. His other books were sold, and produced a considerable sum. His own works, as will be observed by the subjoined list,[1] were very numerous.

[1] Account of discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean before 1764; 1767, 8vo. Memorial to the proprietors of East India stock, 1768, 8vo. An account of what has passed between the East India directors and Alexander Dalrymple, 1768, 8vo. An account of what has passed, &c. 8vo. Plan for extending the commerce of this kingdom, and of the East India Company, by an establishment at Balambagan, 1771. Letter concerning the proposed supervisors, 20th June, 1769, 8vo. Letter concerning the proposed supervisors, 30th June, 1769, 4to. Second letter, 10 July, 1769, 4to. Vox Populi vox Dei, lord Weymouth's appeal to the general court of Indian proprietors, considered, 14th August, 1769, 4to. Historical collection of South sea voyages, 1770, 2 vols. 4to; 1771, 4to. Proposition of a benevolent voyage to introduce Corn, &c. into New Zealand, &c., 1771, 4to. Considerations on a pamphlet, (by general Johnston, intitled thoughts on our acquisitions in the East Indies, particularly respecting Bengal, 1772, 8vo. General view of the East India Company's affairs (written in January, 1679), to which are added, some observations on the present state of the Company's affairs, 1772, 8vo. A paper concerning the general government of India, 8vo. Rights of the East India Company; N.B. printed at the East India Company's expense, 1773, 8vo. Letter to Dr Hawkesworth, 1773, 4to. Observations on Dr Hawkesworth's Preface to 2d edition, 1773, 4to. Memorial of Dr Juan Lewis Arias (in Spanish), 1773, 4to. Proposition for printing by subscription the MS. Voyages and Travels in the British Museum, 1773, 4to. A full

DALRYMPLE, Sir David, a celebrated Scottish judge and antiquary, was born at Edinburgh, on the 28th of October, 1726. His father was Sir James Dalrymple, of Hailes, bart., and his mother lady Christian Hamilton, a daughter of the earl of Haddington. His grandfather, who was lord advocate for Scotland during the reign of George I., was the youngest son of the first lord Stair, and distinguished for ability even among the members of his own able family; and his father, Sir James, had the auditorship of the exchequer bestowed upon him for life. Sir David Dalrymple was sent to be educated at Eton, where he was eminently distinguished for ability and general good conduct. At this seminary he acquired, with a competent share of classical learning, a fine classical taste and a partiality for English manners and customs, which marked through life both his public and private conduct. From Eton he returned to Edinburgh, where he went through the usual course at the university; and afterwards went to Utrecht, where he prosecuted the study of the civil law, till the suppression of the rebellion in the year 1746, when he returned to his native country. From the sobriety of his character, with his ardour and diligence in prosecuting whatever subject arrested his attention, the highest hopes of his future eminence were now entertained by his friends. Nor were these hopes disappointed; although circumstances led him into studies not altogether such as he would have pursued, had he been left to the bent of his own genius. The study of antiqui-

and clear proof that the Spaniards have no right to Balambagan, 1671, 8vo. An historical relation of the several expeditions from Fort Marlbro to the islands off the west coast of Sumatra, 1775, 4to. Collection of voyages, chiefly in the South Atlantic ocean, from the original MS. by Dr Halley, M. Rouvit, &c. with a preface concerning a voyage of discovery proposed to be undertaken by Alexander Dalrymple at his own expense; letters to lord North on the subject and the plan of a republican colony, 1775, 4to. Copies of papers relative to the restoration of the king of Tanjore, the imprisonment of lord Pigot, &c. printed by the East India Company for the use of the proprietors, 1777, 4to. Several pieces on the same subject, 1777, 4to. Notes on lord Pigot's Narrative. Letter to the proprietors of the East India stock, 8th May, 1777. Account of the transactions concerning the revolt at Madras, 30th May, 1777, Appendix. Letter to the court of directors, 19th June, 1777, Memorial 19th June, 1777. Account of the subversion of the legal government of Fort St George, in answer to Mr Andrew Stuart's letter to the court of directors, 1778, 4to. Journal of the Grenville. Philosophical Transaction, 1778. Considerations on the present state of affairs between England and America, 1778, 8vo. Considerations on the East India Bill, 1769, 8vo, 1778. State of the East India Company and sketch of an equitable agreement, 1780, 8vo. Account of the loss of the Grosvenor, 1783, 8vo. Reflections on the present state of the East India Company, 1783, 8vo. A short account of the Gentoo mode of collecting the revenue on the coast of Coromandel, 1783, 8vo. A retrospective view of the ancient system of the East India Company, with a plan of regulation, 1784, 8vo. Postscript to Mr D's account of the Gentoo, &c. being observations made on a perusal of it by Moodoo Krotna, 1785, 8vo. Extracts from Juvenilia, or poems by George Wither, 1785, 24mo. Fair state of the case between the East India Company and the owners of the ships now in their service; to which are added, considerations on Mr Brough's pamphlet concerning the East India shipping, 1786, 8vo. A serious admonition to the public on the intended thief colony at Botany Bay. Review of the contest concerning the four new regiments graciously offered by his majesty to be sent to India, &c., 1788, 8vo. A plan for promoting the fur-trade, and securing it to this country, by uniting the operations of the East India and Hudson Bay Companies, 1789, 4to. Memoir of a map of the lands around the North Pole, 1789, 4to. An historical journal of the expedition by sea and land to the north of California, in 1768, 69, 70, when the Spanish establishments were first made at San Diego Monteray, and translated from the Spanish MS. by William Revely, Esq., to which is added, translations of Cabrera Bueno's description of the coast of California, and an extract from the MS. journal of M. Sauvagne le Muet, 1714; 1790, 4to. A letter to a friend on the test act, 1790, 8vo. The Spanish pretensions fairly discussed, 1790, 8vo. The Spanish memorial of 4th June considered, 1790, 8vo. Plan for the publication of a Repertory of Oriental information, 1790, 4to. Memorial of Alexander Dalrymple, 1791, 8vo. Parliamentary reform, as it is called, improper in the present state of this country, 1793, 8vo. Mr Fox's letter to his worthy and independent electors of Westminster, fully considered, 1793, 8vo. Observations on the copper coinage wanted for the Circars; printed for the use of the East India Company, 1794, 8vo. The poor man's friend, 1795, 8vo. A collection of English songs, with an appendix of original pieces, 1796, 8vo. A fragment on the India trade, written in 1791; 1797, 8vo. Thoughts of an old man of independent mind, though dependent fortune, 1800, 8vo. Oriental Repertory, vol. 1st, 4to, April, 1791, to January, 1793. Oriental Repertory, vol. 2d not complete.

ties and the belles lettres were the most congenial to his own mind, and in both he was eminently fitted to excel; but from the state of his affairs on the death of his father, who left a large family and an estate deeply encumbered, he found it necessary to adopt the law as a profession, that he might be able to meet the demands which lay against the family inheritance, and make suitable provision for those dependent on him. He accordingly made his appearance as an advocate, or, as it is technically expressed, was called to the Scottish bar, in the year 1748. Here however, though he had considerable practice, his success was not equal to the sanguine expectations of his friends. In the science of law few men were more expert than Sir David Dalrymple, and in point of industry, he was surpassed by no one of his contemporaries; but he had certain peculiarities, probably inherent in his nature, strengthened by study, and confirmed by habit, that impeded his progress, and rendered his efforts less effective than those of men who were far his inferiors in natural and acquired abilities. From natural modesty and good taste, he had a sovereign contempt for verbal antitheses, rounded periods, and every thing that had the semblance of declamation, for excelling in which he was totally unqualified—his voice being ill-toned, and his manner ungraceful. In consequence of these defects, his pleadings, which were always addressed to the judgment, never to the passions, often fell short of those of his opponents, who, possessing less enlarged views of their subject, but having higher rhetorical powers, and being less fastidious in the choice of words, captivated their auditors by the breadth of their irony and the sweeping rotundity of their periods. Nor did his memorials, though classically written, and replete with valuable matter, at all times meet with the approbation of the court, which was disposed at times to find fault with their brevity and sometimes with the extreme attention they manifested to the minutiæ of forms, in which it was alleged he concealed the merits of the case. On points, however, which interested his feelings, or which involved the interests of truth and virtue, he lost sight of the intricacies of form; his language became glowing, and his arguments unanswerable. No advocate of his own standing was at the time more truly respectable; and he was often employed as advocate-depute, which gave him frequent opportunities of manifesting that candour of heart and tenderness of disposition, which were at all times striking features of his character, and which so well become the prosecutor in a criminal court. Going the western circuit on one occasion, in this capacity, he came to the town of Stirling, where, the first day of the court, he was in no haste to bring on the business; and being met by a brother of the bar, was accosted with the question, Why there was no trial this forenoon. "There are," said Sir David, "some unhappy culprits to be tried for their lives, and therefore it is proper they have time to confer for a little with their men of law." "That is of very little consequence," said the other. "Last year I came to visit lord Kaimes, when he was here on the circuit, and he appointed me counsel for a man accused of a rape. Though I had very little time to prepare, yet I made a decent speech." "Pray, Sir," said Sir David, "was your client acquitted or condemned?" "O," replied the other, "most unjustly condemned." "That, Sir," said the depute-advocate, "is no good argument for hurrying on trials."

Having practised at the bar with increasing reputation for eighteen years, Sir David Dalrymple was, with the warmest approbation of the public, appointed one of the judges of the court of session, in the year 1766. He took his seat on the bench with the usual formalities, by the title of lord Hailes, the designation by which he is generally known among the learned throughout Europe. This was a situation, which it was admitted on all hands, that Sir David Dalrymple was admirably calculated to fill. His unwearied assiduity in sifting dark

and intricate matters to the bottom was well known, and his manner of expression, elegant and concise, was admirably suited to the chair of authority. That his legal opinions had always been found to be sound, was also generally believed; yet it has been candidly admitted, that he was, as a judge, neither so useful nor so highly venerated as the extent of his knowledge and his unquestioned integrity led his friends to expect. The same minute attention to forms, which had in some degree impeded his progress at the bar, accompanied him to the bench, and excited sometimes the merriment of lighter minds. It is to be noticed, however, that too little regard has been, on some occasions, in the very venerable court of session, paid to forms; and that forms, apparently trifling, have seldom, in legal proceedings, been disregarded, without in some degree affecting the interests of truth and justice. It has also been remarked, that such was the opinion which the other judges entertained of the accuracy, diligence, and dignified character of lord Hailes, that, in the absence of the lord president, he was almost always placed in the chair. After having acted as a lord of session for ten years, lord Hailes was, in the year 1776, nominated one of the lords of justiciary, in which capacity he commanded the respect of all men. Fully impressed with a sense of the importance of his office in the criminal court, all his singularities seemed to forsake him. Before the time of Hailes, it had been too much the case in the Scottish criminal courts, for the judge to throw all the weight of his influence into the scale of the crown. Lord Hailes, imitating the judges of England, threw his into the scale of the prisoner, especially when the king's counsel seemed to be overpowering, or when there was any particular intricacy in the case. It is to be regretted, that, in almost all of our courts of justice, oaths are administered in a manner highly indecorous, tending rather to derogate from the importance of that most solemn act. In this respect, lord Hailes was the very model of perfection. Rising slowly from his seat, with a gravity peculiarly his own, he pronounced the words in a manner so serious as to impress the most profligate mind with the conviction that he was himself awed with the immediate presence of that awful Majesty, to whom the appeal was made. When the witness was young, or appeared to be ignorant, his lordship was careful, before putting the oath, to point out its nature and obligations in a manner the most perspicuous and affecting. It is perhaps impossible for human vigilance or sagacity, altogether to prevent perjury in courts of justice; but he was a villain of no common order, that could perjure himself in the presence of lord Hailes. In all doubtful cases it was his lordship's invariable practice, to lean to the side of mercy; and when it became his painful duty to pass sentence of death upon convicted criminals, he did so in a strain so pious and so pathetic, as often to overwhelm in a flood of tears the promiscuous multitudes that are wont to be assembled on such occasions. In the discharge of this painful part of his duty, lord Hailes may have been equalled, but he was certainly, in this country at least, never surpassed.

While lord Hailes was thus diligent in the discharge of the public duties of his high place, he was, in those hours which most men find it necessary to devote to rest and recreation, producing works upon all manner of subjects, exceeding in number, and surpassing in value, those of many men whose lives have been wholly devoted to literature. Of these, as they are in few hands, though some of them at least are exceedingly curious and highly interesting, we shall present the reader with such notices as our limits will permit, in the order in which they were published. His first work seems to have been Sacred Poems, a Collection of Translations and Paraphrases from the Holy Scriptures, by various authors, Edinburgh, 1751, 12mo, dedicated to Charles, lord Hope, with a preface of ten pages. The next was, The Wisdom of Solomon, Wisdom of Jesus, the son

of Sirach or Ecclesiasticus, from the Apocrypha, 12mo, Edinburgh, 1755, without preface or commentary. In the year following, 1756, he published, in 12mo, Select Discourses, by John Smith, late fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, with a preface, many quotations from the learned languages translated, and notes added, containing allusions to ancient mythology, and to the erroneous philosophy which prevailed in the days of the author, &c. &c. Next year, 1757, he republished, with notes, A Discourse of the unnatural and vile conspiracy attempted by John, earl of Gowrie, and his brother, against his majesty's sacred person at St Johnstoun, 5th of August, 1600, 12mo. Two vessels, the Betsey Cunningham, and the Leith packet, Pitcairn, from London to Leith, being wrecked on the shore between Dunbar and North Berwick, in the month of October, 1761, and pillaged by the country people, as was too often done on all the coasts of Britain, and is sometimes done to this day, Sir David published A Sermon, which might have been preached in East Lothian, on the 25th day of October, 1761; Acts xxvii, 1, 2, "The barbarous people showed us no little kindness." This is an admirable discourse, deeply affecting, and calculated in a particular manner to carry conviction to the offenders. In 1762, he published from the press of the Foulises, Glasgow, Memorials and Letters relating to the History of Britain in the reign of James I. of England, from a collection in the Advocates' Library, by Balfour of Denmyln, with a preface and a few notes. This is an exceedingly curious little volume, throwing much light on the character of the British Solomon and his sapient courtiers. In 1765 he published, from the same press, the works of the ever memorable Mr John Hailes of Eaton, now first collected together, in three volumes, with a short preface, and a dedication to bishop Warburton, the edition said to be undertaken with his approbation. The same year, he published a specimen of a book, entitled, Ane compendious Booke of Godly and Spiritual Sangs, collectit out of sundrie parts of Scripture, with sundrie of other ballotis changed out of prophane sangs for avoyding of sin and harlotrie, &c. This was printed at Edinburgh, in 12mo, and was the first introduction of that singular performance to the notice of modern readers. In 1766, he published at Glasgow, Memorials and Letters relating to the history of Britain, in the reign of Charles I., published from the originals, collected by Mr Robert Wodrow, the historian of the sufferings of the church of Scotland. This is a very curious performance; and it was followed, the same year, by one, perhaps, still more so, an account of the preservation of king Charles II. after the battle of Worcester, drawn up by himself; to which are added, his letters to several persons. The same year, he published the secret correspondence between Sir Robert Cecil and James VI.; and the year following, A Catalogue of the Lords of Session, from the institution of the college of justice, in the year 1532, with historical notes. The private correspondence of Dr Francis Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, and his friends, in 1725, was published by lord Hailes, in 1768-69. An examination of some of the arguments for the high antiquity of *Regiam Majestatem*, and an inquiry into the authenticity of the *Leges Malcolmi*.—Also, Historical Memoirs, concerning the provincial councils of the Scottish clergy, from the earliest accounts to the era of the Reformation. At the same time he published, Canons of the Church of Scotland, drawn up in the provincial councils, held at Perth, A. D. 1242 and 1269. In 1770, he published, Ancient Scottish Poems, published from MS. of George Bannatyne, 1568, with a number of curious notes, and a glossary. His lordship's next performance was, The Additional case of Elizabeth, claiming the title and dignity of countess of Sutherland by her guardian; wherein the facts and arguments in support of her claim are more fully stated, and the errors in the additional cases for the other claimants are detected.

This most singularly learned and able case was subscribed by Alexander Wedderburn, afterwards lord chancellor of England, and Sir Adam Ferguson, but is the well-known work of lord Hailes. This performance is not to be regarded merely as a law paper of great ability, but as a treatise of profound research into the history and antiquity of many important and general points of succession and family history. In 1773, he published, Remarks on the History of Scotland, inscribed to George, lord Lyttleton. In 1776, he published, Huberti Langueti Epistolæ ad Philippum Sydneium, Equitem Anglum, &c,. inscribed to lord chief baron Smythe. The same year were published, his Annals of Scotland, from the accession of Malcolm III., surnamed Canmore, to the accession of Robert I. This was followed, three years after, by Annals of Scotland, from the accession of Robert I., surnamed the Bruce, to the accession of the house of Stuart. This is a most admirable work, but as it enjoys universal celebrity, and is in the hands of every one who is studious of Scottish history, we do not think it necessary to give any particular remarks upon it. In 1776, he published the first volume of the Remains of Christian Antiquity, a work of great erudition, containing accounts of the martyrs of Smyrna and Lyons in the second century, with explanatory notes; dedicated to bishop Hurd. This is a new and correct version of two most ancient epistles, the one from the church at Smyrna to the church at Philadelphia; the other from the Christians at Vienne and Lyons, to those in Asia and Phrygia; their antiquity and authenticity are undoubted. Great part of both is extracted from Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History. The former was first completely edited by archbishop Usher. Lord Hailes, with that singular modesty which characterized him, says of his notes to this work, that they will afford little new or interesting to men of erudition, though they may prove of some benefit to the unlearned reader. The erudition lord Hailes possessed on these subjects was of a kind so singular, and is so little studied, that he might have spared any apology on the subject, the learned being, in fact, for the most part, on these subjects more ignorant than the unlearned. With much useful learning, however, these notes display what is still better, true piety and ardent zeal connected with an exemplary knowledge of Christianity. In 1778, his lordship published the second volume of this work, dedicated to Dr Newton, bishop of Bristol. This volume contains the trial of Justin Martyr and his companions; the epistle of Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, to Fabius, bishop of Antioch; the trial and execution of Fructuosus, bishop of Torrocena in Spain, and of his two demons Augurius and Eulogius; the maiden of Antioch, &c. These are all newly translated by lord Hailes from Ruinart, Eusebius, Ambrose, &c. The notes of this volume display a most intimate acquaintance with antiquity, great critical acumen, both in elucidating the sense and detecting interpolations, and, above all, a fervent and enlightened zeal in vindicating such sentiments and conduct as are conformable to the word of God, against the malicious sarcasms of Mr Gibbon. The third volume appeared in 1780, dedicated to Thomas Balgray, D.D. It contains the history of the martyrs of Palestine in the third century, translated from Eusebius. In the notes and illustrations to this volume, Gibbon comes again under review, and his partiality and misrepresentations are most satisfactorily exposed. In 1781, he published Octavius, a dialogue by Marcus Minucius Felix, with notes and illustrations. The speakers are Cœcilius a heathen, and Octavius a Christian, whose arguments prevail with his friend to become a Christian proselyte. In 1782, he published a Treatise, by L. C. F. Lactantius, of the manner in which the persecutors died. This was dedicated to Dr Porteous, bishop of Chester, afterwards bishop of London, and largely illustrated by critical notes. In 1783, he published, Disquisitions concerning the Antiquity of the Christian church, inscribed to Dr Halifax,

bishop of Gloucester. This small, but highly original work, consists of six chapters; 1st, of the conduct and character of Gallio; 2d, of the time at which the Christian religion became known at Rome; 3d, of the cause of the persecution of the Christians under Nero, in which the hypothesis of Gibbon is examined; 4th, of the eminent heathens who are said, by Gibbon, to have contemned Christianity, viz. Seneca, the Plinys, elder and younger, Tacitus, Galen, Epictetus, Plutarch, and Marcus Antoninus. This chapter is particularly interesting to the admirer of heathen philosophers and heathen philosophy; 5th, is an illustration of a conjecture of Gibbon respecting the silence of Dion Cassius concerning the Christians; and the 6th, treats of the circumstances respecting Christianity, that are to be found in the Augustan history. There can scarcely be a doubt, that all these works treating of the early ages of Christianity, were suggested by the misrepresentations of Gibbon, and were they circulated as widely as Gibbon's work, would be found a complete antidote. His lordship, however, was not satisfied with this indirect mode of defence, and, in 1786, published An Inquiry into the Secondary Causes which Mr Gibbon has assigned for the rapid growth of Christianity; in which he has most triumphantly set aside his conclusions. This performance he gratefully and affectionately inscribed to Richard Hurd, bishop of Worcester. The same year, his lordship published sketches of the lives of John Barclay; of John Hamilton, a secular priest; of Sir James Ramsay, a general officer in the army of Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden; of George Leslie, a capuchin friar; and of Mark Alexander Boyd. These lives were written and published as a specimen of the manner in which a biographica Scotica might be executed, and we do not know that he proceeded any further with the design. In 1788, he published, from her original MSS. the opinions of Sarah, duchess of Marlborough; with notes, corrective of her ladyship's splenetic humour; and, in 1790, he translated and published, with notes and illustrations, The Address of Q. Sept. Tertullian to Scapula Tertullus, proconsul of Africa. This address contains many particulars relating to the church after the third century, and in the notes some strange inaccuracies of Mr Gibbon are detected.

This was the last work which lord Hailes lived to publish. His constitution had been long in an enfeebled state, which so much diligence in study must have tended to increase. He continued, however, to prosecute his studies and to attend his duty on the bench, till within three days of his death, which happened on the 29th of November, 1792, in the 66th year of his age. His lordship was twice married. By his first wife, Anne Brown, only daughter of lord Coalston, one of the judges of the court of session, he left issue one daughter, who inherited his estate. By his second wife, Helen Ferguson, youngest daughter of lord Kilkerran, he left also issue, one daughter. Having no male issue, his baronetcy descended to his nephew. Of the character of lord Hailes, there can be but one opinion. As an able lawyer and an upright judge, he stands eminently conspicuous in an age and a country where such characters were not rare, and when the exercise of such qualities, from their superabundance, scarcely could merit praise. As a man of general erudition, he stands, if we except Warburton, almost without a rival in the age he lived in. His skill in classical learning, the belles lettres, and historical antiquities, especially those of his own country, have been universally admitted, and had popularity been his intention, as it was of too many of his contemporaries, there cannot be a doubt but that he could have made himself the most shining meteor among them. Instead, however, of fixing upon subjects that might interest the frivolous, or draw upon him the smiles of the fashionable and the gay, he sedulously devoted his studies to such subjects as he thought particularly called for by the circumstances

of the times, and with which all would be benefited by becoming acquainted. A shallow spirit of scepticism was abroad, which, aided by ignorance and misrepresentation, was threatening to become universal, and to change the sober and meditative character of Britons, into frothy petulance and flippant vanity. This he attempted to meet by sober investigations into the truth of the facts that had been so confidently assumed respecting the early history of Christianity, by which he certainly left his opponents without the shadow of an excuse for persisting in their conclusions, having proved to a demonstration that their premises were false. Whether he might not have done this in a more popular form, we cannot now stay to inquire into. We certainly think the mode he adopted that which was best calculated to cut off the cavilling of adversaries, and to carry conviction to the mind of the reader; and to those who wish to treat the subject in a more popular form, his lordship has furnished abundant materials. His various republications of the ancient poetry of Scotland, and the publication of original letters regarding her history and manners, while they throw much light upon the history of the country and the domestic economy of the times to which they relate, present his lordship in a most amiable point of view; and, while we admire the scholar and the philosopher, we cannot cease to venerate and to love the man. Of his Annals we have already spoken. Though necessarily written in a close and severe style, they have long ago risen to a pitch of popularity far beyond many works that took a more immediate hold of the public mind; and we have no doubt that ages will only add to their value. Indeed, he has left nothing to be done for the periods that came under his review. His inquiry into the secondary causes which Gibbon has assigned for the rapid progress of Christianity, is also a masterpiece of its kind, displaying great critical acumen, close reasoning, and great zeal for truth, without the smallest particle of that rancour which too often runs through the theological controversy. With all his virtues and all his acquirements, joined to the finest natural abilities, lord Hailes was not one of those who could boast of the immense sums he received for the copyright of his works. He was most commonly his own publisher; and, as is commonly the case in such circumstances, the circulation of his writings was, with a few exceptions, confined to the particular friends and acquaintances whom he had drawn around him. The consequence is, that there are many of them no longer to be met with, being wholly confined to the cabinets of the curious. It would be a meritorious work, in these days of literary enterprise, and we cannot doubt that an intelligent and spirited publisher might find it a profitable speculation, to publish a neat, cheap, and uniform edition of his multifarious publications. Lord Hailes possessed a natural taste for retirement. The state of his affairs, at a most important period of his life, rendered it necessary for him, and the habit grew upon him as he advanced in years. His constitution, of which he was careful, as well as his principles and habits, rendered him averse to every kind of dissipation. After he was constituted a judge, he considered it unbecoming his character to mingle much with the fashionable and the gay world. When he chose to unbend his mind, therefore, it was in the society of a few easy friends whom he had selected, as much on account of their moral and religious worth, as for their genius or learning. With that constellation of men of genius and science which illuminated Edinburgh at that period, lord Hailes had much agreeable and profitable conversation, but it was impossible for friendship or close intimacy to subsist between men who thought so differently, as he and the most of them did, upon the most important of all subjects. Though a whig, and strongly attached to the best principles of the revolution, he took no part in the broils, civil or ecclesiastical, which agitated the country in the first period of the reign of George III. Some of these he regarded as frivolous, and others

as mischievous, and, from conscience, could not allow himself to take any part in them. Conscious at all times of the dignity and importance of the high office which he held, he never departed from the decorum becoming that reverend character. This decorum it cost him no effort to support, because he acted from principle improved into a daily sentiment of the heart. Affectionate to his family and relations, simple and mild in his manners, pure in his morals, enlightened and entertaining in his conversation, he left society only to regret, that devoted as he was to more important employments, he had so little time to spare for intercourse with them.

DALRYMPLE, James, viscount Stair, an eminent lawyer and statesman, and the progenitor of many distinguished persons, was born at Drummurchie, in the parish of Barr, Ayrshire, in the month of May, 1619. His father, who bore the same name, was proprietor of the small estate of Stair, in that county, which, on his death, in 1624, fell to his son. James Dalrymple received his education at the parish school of Mauchline, and the university of Glasgow, and at an early age entered the army raised in Scotland to repel the religious innovations of Charles I. In 1641, when he had attained a captaincy in the earl of Glencairn's regiment, he became a competitor for the chair of philosophy at Glasgow, and gained it against several rivals. Former writers have made a wonder of his appearing at this competition in his military dress of buff and scarlet, and also at his retaining his commission as captain for some time after assuming the philosophy chair. The truth is, he, and his brethren in arms, could hardly be considered as soldiers, but rather as civilians taking up arms for a temporary purpose; and, by the same enthusiasm, even clergymen appeared occasionally with sword and pistol. Dalrymple held this chair for six years, during which he employed much of his time in the study of civil law, which was not then taught publicly in Scotland. His mind being thus turned to the law as a profession, he resigned his chair in 1647, and in the ensuing year became an advocate at the Scottish bar. His abilities soon procured him both legal and political distinction. In 1649, he was appointed secretary to the commissioners who were sent by the Scottish parliament to treat with Charles II., then an exile in Holland, for his return to his native dominions. He held the same office in the more successful mission of 1650, and we are told that, on this occasion, he recommended himself to the king by his "abilities, sincerity, and moderation."[1] After a short residence in Holland, during which he saw a number of the learned men of that country, he returned to Scotland, and was one of two persons sent by the parliament to attend the king at his landing. In the Cromwellian modification of the court of session, he was, in 1657, appointed one of the "Commissioners for administration of justice," chiefly upon the recommendation of general Monk, who thus characterized him in a letter to the protector—"a very honest man, a good lawier, and one of a considerable estate." It was not, however, without great difficulty that he was prevailed upon to accept office under the government of Cromwell. He took the earliest opportunity, after the restoration, of paying his respects to the king, who knighted him, and nominated him one of the new judges. From this office, however, he retired in 1663, in order to avoid taking "the declaration," an oath abjuring the right to take up arms against the king. Next year, on the personal solicitation of the king, he resumed his duties, with only a general declaration of his aversion to any measures hostile to his majesty's just rights and prerogatives, the king granting him a sanction in writing for this evasion of the law. On this occasion, Charles conferred upon him the title of a baronet. In 1671, he succeeded Gilmour of Craigmiller as lord president, and immediately availed himself of the situation

[1] Forbes' Journal of the Session.

to effect some important improvements in the system of judicature. He also, at this time, employed his leisure hours in recording the decisions of the court. As a member of the privy council, he was invariably the advocate, though not always successfully, of moderate measures, and he remonstrated as warmly as he durst against all which were of an opposite character. When the celebrated test oath was under consideration, in 1681, Dalrymple, for the purpose of confounding it altogether, suggested that John Knox's confession of faith should be sworn to as part of it. As this inculcated resistance to tyranny as a duty, he thought it would counterbalance the abjuration of that maxim contained in another part of the oath. The discrepancy passed unobserved, for not a bishop in parliament was so far acquainted with ecclesiastical history as to know the contents of that confession. However, inconsistent as it was, it was forced by the government down the throats of all persons in office, and thus became the occasion of much mischief. Lord Stair himself refused to take it, and accordingly had to retire from his offices. Before this period, he had prepared his celebrated work, "the Institutions of the Law of Scotland," which was now published. This work still continues to be the grand text-book of the Scottish lawyer. "It is not without cause," says Mr Brodie, in a late edition, "that the profound and luminous disquisitions of lord Stair have commanded the general admiration of Scottish lawyers. Having brought to the study of jurisprudence a powerful and highly cultivated intellect, he was qualified to trace every rule to principle. Yet such was his sterling practical good sense, that he rarely allowed himself to be carried away by theory, too frequently the failing of philosophic minds, less endowed with this cardinal virtue. His philosophy and learning have enabled him to enrich jurisprudence with a work, which, in embodying the rules of law, clearly developes the ground on which they are founded.

Lord Stair lived for about a year at his country seat in Wigtonshire, but experiencing much persecution from the government, found it necessary, in October, 1682, to take refuge in Holland. In his absence he was accused of high treason, on the grounds, that some of his tenants had been concerned in the insurrection at Bothwell bridge. An attempt, however, which was made to obtain a surrender of his person from Holland, proved abortive. From his retirement at Leyden, he sent forth his "Decisions," through the medium of the press at Edinburgh, the first volume appearing in 1684, and the second in 1687. In 1686, he published, at Leyden, a Latin treatise of much originality, under the title of "Physiologia Nova Experimentalis." He also busied himself at this time in a work respecting the mutual obligations of the sovereign and his people, on which subject he entertained more liberal opinions than what were generally received in that age. This work, however, was never published. When the prince of Orange was about to sail for Britain, lord Stair requested to know what was the object of his expedition. The prince replied, that it was not personal aggrandizement, but "the glory of God, and the security of the protestant religion, then in imminent danger." The reply of lord Stair was a strange mixture of the sublime and ludicrous. Taking off his wig, and exhibiting his bald head, he said, "Though I be now in the seventieth year of my age, I am willing to venture that, (pointing to his head,) my own and my children's fortune, in such an undertaking." He accordingly accompanied the prince, and was rewarded, after the settlement of affairs under William and Mary, with a re-appointment to the presidency of the court of session, and a peerage under the title of viscount Stair. Though thus restored to his country, and to more than his former honours, the latter years of this great man were not happy. He had never been the friend of the high church party, and therefore he could expect no favour from that class of malcontents under the revolution settlement.

But the presbyterian party, also, for which he had done and suffered so much, also treated him with little respect, considering him too deeply concerned in the late oppressive and cruel system to be worthy of their confidence. Under these circumstances he breathed his last, on the 25th of November, 1695, in the 77th year of his age, and was buried in the High church of Edinburgh.

Lord Stair had been married, in 1643, to Margaret Ross, co-heiress of the estate of Balneil, in Wigtonshire; by whom he had five sons, and four daughters. The eldest son, John, having held office under James II., was, like his father, held in suspicion by the presbyterian party; but nevertheless attained high office under the revolution government. He was secretary of state for Scotland, and elevated to the rank of earl of Stair, in 1703. On his death, in 1707, he was succeeded in his title by the celebrated commander and diplomatist, John, second earl of Stair. The junior branches of the family have produced fruit almost equally distinguished. Sir James Dalrymple, the second son, was himself the author of "Collections concerning Scottish History preceding the death of David I.," which appeared in 1705, and the grandfather of Sir John Dalrymple, of Cranston, author of that excellent work, "Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, from the dissolution of the last parliament of Charles II., until the sea battle off La Hogue," in two volumes, 4to. The youngest son, Sir David, was the grandfather of lord Hailes, and Alexander Dalrymple, two persons already commemorated in this work. Through these channels, and by the alliances of his daughters, the blood of lord Stair now flows in most of the noble families in Scotland. The historical eminence of the family is only to be parallelled by the immense influence which it possessed for many years in this country, an influence hardly matched by that of the Dundasses in later times.[1]

DALRYMPLE, John, second earl of Stair, was the second son of the first earl, and the grandson of the subject of the preceding memoir. He was born at Edinburgh, July 20, 1673, and, while yet a mere boy, had the misfortune to kill his elder brother by the accidental discharge of a pistol. Although a royal remission was procured for this offence, his parents found it necessary for their own comfort to banish him from their sight, as his presence awakened the most painful associations. He was therefore placed for some years under the charge of a clergyman in Ayrshire, a humane and sensible man, who soon perceived the excellent qualities of his pupil's character. Under the charge of this person, he became an excellent scholar, and in the course of time, through a series of favourable reports to his parents, he had the satisfaction of seeing the young exile restored to the bosom of his family, of which he was destined to be the principal ornament. The more advanced parts of his education, he received at Leyden, where he was reputed one of the best scholars in the university, and subsequently at the college of his native city. His first appearance in life was as a volunteer under the earl of Angus, commander of the Cameronian regiment, at the battle of Steinkirk, in August, 1692, being then nineteen years of age. For some years afterwards, he devoted himself at Leyden to the study of that profession in which two preceding generations of his family had already gained

[1] We preserve, for drollery's sake, the following easy rhymes which lord Auchinleck, father of James Boswell, used to repeat, as descriptive of the succession of predominating influences in Scotland during the last century:—

> First cam the men o' mony wimples,
> In common language ca'd Da'rumples,
> And after them cam the Dundasses,
> Wha raide our lords and lairds like asses.

A quatrain, it must be confessed, more true than respectful, although, in both cases alike, the predominance was grounded on inherent family talent.

so much distinction. But, on returning in 1701, from his continental travels, he accepted a commission as lieutenant-colonel of the Scottish regiment of foot guards. In the succeeding year, he served as aid-de-camp to the duke of Marlborough at the taking of Venlo and Liege, and the attack on Peer. In the course of 1706, he successively obtained the command of the Cameronian regiment and the Scots Greys. His father dying suddenly, January 8, 1707, he succeeded to the family titles, and was next month chosen one of the Scottish representative peers in the first British parliament. In the subsequent victories of Marlborough—Oudenarde, Malplaquet, and Ramilies—the earl of Stair held high command, and gained great distinction. But the accession of the tory ministry, in 1711, while it stopped the glorious career of Marlborough, also put a check upon his services. He found it necessary to sell his command of the Scots Greys, and retire from the army.

As one who had thus suffered in the behalf of the protestant succession, the earl was entitled to some consideration, when that was secured by the accession of George I. He was, on that occasion, appointed to be a lord of the bed-chamber, and a privy councillor, and constituted commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland, in the absence of the duke of Argyle. Next year he was sent as ambassador to France, with the difficult task of conciliating the government of the duke of Orleans to the new dynasty of Britain. It is allowed on all hands that his lordship conducted this business with unexampled address and dignity, his diplomatic skill being only equalled by the external splendours of his cortege. Unfortunately, his usefulness was destroyed in 1719, by the Mississippi enthusiasm. His lordship could not stoop to flatter his countryman, Mr Law, then comptroller-general of the French finances, but whom he probably recollected as a somewhat disreputable adventurer on the streets of Edinburgh. The British government, finding that the hostility of this powerful person injured their interests, found it necessary—if a mean action can ever be necessary—to recal the earl of Stair, notwithstanding their high sense of his meritorious services. He returned to his native country in 1720, and for the next twenty-two years lived in retirement, at his beautiful seat of Newliston, near Edinburgh, where he is said to have planted several groups of trees in a manner designed to represent the arrangement of the British troops at one of Marlborough's victories. He also turned his mind to agriculture, a science then just beginning to be a little understood in Scotland, and it is a well attested fact, that he was the first in this country to plant turnips and cabbages in the open fields. On the dissolution of the Walpole administration in 1742, his lordship was called by the king from his retirement, appointed field-marshal, and sent as ambassador and plenipotentiary to Holland. He was almost at the same time nominated to the government of Minorca. In the same year, he was sent to take the supreme command of the army in Flanders, which he held till the king himself arrived to put himself at the head of the troops. His lordship served under the king at the battle of Dettingen, June 16, 1743; but, to use the indignant language of lord Westmoreland, in alluding to the case in parliament, he was reduced to the condition of a statue with a truncheon in its hand, in consequence of the preference shown by his majesty for the Hanoverian officers. Finding himself at once in a highly responsible situation, and yet disabled to act as a free agent, he resigned his command. France, taking advantage of the distraction of the British councils respecting the partiality of his majesty for Hanoverian councils, next year threatened an invasion; and the earl of Stair came spontaneously forward, and, on mere grounds of patriotism, offered to serve in any station. He was now appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Great Britain. In the succeeding year, his brother-in-law, Sir James Campbell, being killed at the battle of

Fontenoy, the earl was appointed his successor in the colonelcy of the Scots Greys, a command he had been deprived of thirty-one years before by queen Anne. His last appointment was to the command of the marine forces, in May 1746. His lordship died at Queensberry-house, Edinburgh, on the 9th of May, 1747, and was buried with public honours in the church at Kirkliston. It is matter of just surprise, that no monument has ever been erected to this most accomplished and patriotic nobleman—neither by the public, which was so much indebted to him, nor by his own family, which derives such lustre from his common name. His lordship left a widow without children; namely, lady Eleanor Campbell, grand-daughter of the lord chancellor Loudoun, and who had previously been married to the viscount Primrose.

DALYELL, Thomas, an eminent cavalier officer, was the son of Thomas Dalyell, of Binns, in west Lothian, whom he succeeded in that property. The lairds of Binns are understood to have been descended from the family afterwards ennobled under the title of earl of Carnwath. The mother of the subject of this memoir, was the honourable Janet Bruce, daughter of the first lord Bruce of Kinloss, a distinguished minister of James VI., and who, with the earl of Marr, was chiefly instrumental in securing the succession of that monarch to the English crown. Thomas Dalyell, who is said to have been born about the year 1599, entered the service of Charles I., and had at one time the command of the town and garrison of Carrickfergus, where he was taken prisoner by the rebels. He was so much attached to his master, that, to testify his grief for his death, he never afterwards shaved his beard. In the army which Charles II. led from Scotland, in 1651, he had the rank of major-general, in which capacity he fought at the battle of Worcester. Being there taken prisoner, he was committed to the Tower, had his estates forfeited, and was himself exempted from the general act of indemnity. However, he made his escape, and seems to have gone abroad, whence he returned, and landed with some royalists in the north of Scotland, in March, 1654. Supported by a small party, he took possession of the castle of Skelko, and assisted in the exertions then made for the restoration of Charles, who soon afterwards transmitted the following testimony of his approbation:—

"Tom Dalyell,

"Though I need say nothing to you by this honest bearer, captain Mewes, who can well tell you all I would have said, yett I am willing to give it you under my own hand, that I am very much pleased to hear how constant you are in your affection to me, and in your endeavours to advance my service. We have all a harde work to do: yett I doubt not God will carry us through it: and you can never doubt [fear] that I will forgett the good part you have acted; which, trust me, shall be rewarded, whenever it shall be in the power of your affectionat frind,

"Colen, 30th Dec. 1654. Charles R."

All hope of an immediate restoration being soon after abandoned, Dalyell obtained recommendations from his majesty for eminent courage and fidelity, and proceeded to Russia, then an almost barbarous country, where he offered his services to the reigning czar, Alexis Michaelowitch. He seems to have entered the Muscovite service as a lieutenant-general, but soon was elevated to the rank of general. In these high commands, he fought bravely against the Turks and Tartars. After active employment for several years, general Dalyell requested permission to return to Scotland, whereupon the czar ordered a strong testimony of his services to pass under the great seal of Russia. Part of this document was conceived in the following terms:

"That he formerly came hither to serve our great czarian majesty: whilst he

was with us, he stood against our enemies, and fought valiantly. The military men that were under his command he regulated and disciplined, and himself led them to battle; and he did and performed every thing faithfully, as a noble commander. And for his trusty services we were pleased to order the said lieutenant-general to be a general. And now having petitioned us to give him leave to return to his own country, we, the great sovereign and czarian majesty, were pleased to order, that the said noble general, who is worthy of all honour, Thomas, the son of Thomas Dalyell, should have leave to go into his own country. And by this patent of our czarian majesty, we do testify of him, that he is a man of virtue and honour, and of great experience in military affairs. And in case he should be willing again to serve our czarian majesty, he is to let us know of it beforehand, and he shall come into the dominions of our czarian majesty with our safe passports, &c. Given at our court, in the metropolitan city of Muscow, in the year from the creation of the world, 7173, January 6."

On his return to Scotland, Charles II. manifested a better sense of his promises towards him than was customary with that monarch. "Tom Dalyell" was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces, and a privy councillor, in 1666; subsequently, he represented the county of Linlithgow in parliament, his estates being now restored. In the year just mentioned, general Dalyell suppressed the ill-starred insurrection of the covenanters. By a bold march across the Pentland hills, he came upon the insurgents by surprise, and, on the evening of the 28th of November, gained a complete victory over them. In this year, also, he raised a regiment of foot; but its place in the military lists is not now known. It is known, however, with historic certainty, that some years afterwards, he raised the distinguished horse regiment called the Scots Greys, which was at first composed exclusively of the sons of the cavalier gentry, and was intended to keep down the unruly children of the covenant. The letters of service for raising the Greys are dated the 25th of November, 1681. The commission of general Dalyell was intermitted for a fortnight in June, 1679, when the duke of Monmouth was entrusted with his office, in order to put down the Bothwell Bridge insurrection. It was generally believed, that, if he had commanded at Bothwell instead of Monmouth, there would have been sharper execution upon the insurgents. Being offended at the promotion of Monmouth, the old man resigned all his employments, but was quickly restored to them, and an ample pension besides. Some years before this period, he had received a gift of the forfeited estate of Muir of Caldwell, who was concerned in the insurrection suppressed by him in 1666; but his family complain that they were deprived of this by the reversal of Muir's attainder after the Revolution, and that they never received any other compensation for an immense sum expended by their ancestor in the public service.

An individual who rode in Dalyell's army, has left the following graphic account of him:—

"He was bred up very hardy from his youth, both in diet and clothing. He never wore boots, nor above one coat, which was close to his body, with close sleeves, like those we call jocky coats. He never wore a peruke, nor did he shave his beard since the murder of king Charles the first. In my time his head was bald, which he covered only with a beaver hat, the brim of which was not above three inches broad. His beard was white and bushy, and yet reached down almost to his girdle.[1] He usually went to London once or twice in a

[1] The comb with which he used to dress this ornament of his person is still preserved at Binns. It gives a vast idea of the extent of the beard, and of the majestic character of Dalyell in general—being no less than twelve inches broad, while the teeth are at least six inches deep.

year, and then only to kiss the king's hand, who had a great esteem for his worth and valour. His unusual dress and figure when he was in London, never failed to draw after him a great crowd of boys and other young people, who constantly attended at his lodgings, and followed him with huzzas as he went to court or returned from it. As he was a man of humour, he would always thank them for their civilities, when he left them at the door to go into the king; and would let them know exactly at what hour he intended to come out again and return to his lodgings. When the king walked in the park, attended by some of his courtiers, and Dalyell in his company, the same crowds would always be after him, showing their admiration at his beard and dress, so that the king could hardly pass on for the crowd; upon which his majesty bid the devil take Dalyell, for bringing such a rabble of boys together, to have their guts squeezed out, whilst they gaped at his long beard and antic habit; requesting him at the same time (as Dalyell used to express it) to shave and dress like other christians, to keep the poor bairns out of danger. All this could never prevail upon him to part with his beard; but yet, in compliance to his majesty, he went once to court in the very height of fashion; but as soon as the king and those about him had laughed sufficiently at the strange figure he made, he reassumed his usual habit, to the great joy of the boys, who had not discovered him in his fashionable dress." *Memoirs of Captain Creichton, by Swift.*

On the accession of James VII, in 1685, Dalyell received a new and enlarged commission to be commander-in-chief; but the tendency of the court to popery offended his conscience so grievously, that it is not probable he could have long retained the situation. Death, however, stepped in, and "rescued him," to use Creichton's language, "from the difficulties he was likely to be under, between the notions he had of duty to his prince on one side, and true zeal for his religion on the other." He died about Michaelmas, 1685. A contemporary historian informs us, that "after he had procured himself a lasting name in the wars, he fixed his old age at Binns, his paternal inheritance, adorned by his excellence with avenues, large parks, and fine gardens, and pleased himself with the culture of curious flowers and plants." His estate was inherited by a son of the same name, who was created a baronet of Nova Scotia, and was succeeded by a daughter Magdalene, who marrying James Menteith of Auldcathy, transmitted the property and title to her son, Sir James Menteith Dalyell, great-grandfather to the present representative. Through this alliance, the family now claims to represent the old line of the earls of Menteith.

General Dalyell, as might be expected, is represented by the presbyterian historians as "a man naturally rude and fierce, who had this heightened by his breeding and service in Muscovy, where he had seen little but the utmost tyranny and slavery." There are two ways, however, of contemplating the character of even so blood-stained a persecutor as Dalyell. He had, it must be remarked, served royalty upon principle in its worst days; had seen a monarch beheaded by a small party of his rebellious subjects, and a great part of the community, including himself, deprived of their property and obliged to fly for their lives to foreign lands; and all this was on account of one particular way of viewing politics and religion. When the usual authorities of the land regained their ascendancy, Dalyell must naturally have been disposed to justify and support very severe measures, in order to prevent the recurrence of such a period as the civil war and usurpation. Thus all his cruelties are resolved into an abstract principle, to the relief of his personal character, which otherwise, we do not doubt, might be very good. How often do we see, even in modern times, actions justified upon general views, which would be shuddered

at if they stood upon their naked merits, and were to be performed upon the sole responsibility of the individual!

DALZELL, Anthony, A. M. & F. R. S. was born in the year 1759, at a farm house in the parish of Ratho near Edinburgh, the son of an industrious husbandman. He acquired the principles of his classical education at the parochial school of the parish; from thence he went to the university of Edinburgh. There by his assiduity and the gentleness and purity of his manners and conduct, he acquired the esteem of the professors, and, in consequence of their high recommendation, was appointed tutor to lord Maitland, now earl of Lauderdale. He attended lord Maitland to the university of Glasgow, where he assisted him in his studies, and with him heard the celebrated professor Millar deliver a course of his juridical lectures. Having accompanied his pupil to Paris, he was on his return home recommended, and through the interest of the Lauderdale family appointed, to succeed Mr Hunter as professor of Greek in the university of Edinburgh. Classical learning had fallen into great neglect in Edinburgh when Mr Dalzell assumed his chair, for while professor Moore, one of the most profound and accurate scholars of the age, was raising the celebrity of the Glasgow university, by his teaching of the Greek language, and while the Foulises were printing in their press at that city, their beautiful editions of the Greek classics, the literati of the Scottish capital were dedicating their whole attention to the cultivation of English and French literature. It became therefore the anxious desire of professor Dalzell to revive the taste for ancient learning. To promote this object he delivered a course of lectures on the language, history, eloquence, philosophy, poetry, literature, antiquities, and fine arts of the Greeks. Possessed of a perfect knowledge of the subject, these lectures were admirable for their systematic arrangement and the elegance of the language in which they were clothed, and being delivered in a distinct tone, with much suavity of manner, they caused a general and enthusiastic study of the language. Indeed it became a sort of fashion of the students of the university to attend his lectures, and the celebrity he acquired had the effect of drawing many students to Edinburgh from England, and from distant parts of the kingdom. In order still farther to increase that enthusiastic love of Grecian literature which he wished to instil into the minds of his pupils, he published several volumes of collections of select passages from the Greek writers. These he accompanied with short Latin notes, which are remarkable for their perspicuity and judgment, and for the classical purity of their language. The unremitting care which he bestowed on the improvement of his students, was repaid by them with the most affectionate respect, nor did the interest he felt in them, terminate with the discharge of his academical duties, for he exerted himself to the utmost in promoting their future welfare, and to him, hundreds owed their establishment in life. But although he was thus eminently successful in reviving the love of ancient literature in Edinburgh, it was often a subject of deep regret to him, that his influence over the minds of his pupils was only transitory, and that when he happened to meet them in after life, he almost invariably found that they had neglected their classical studies. Such, it is much to be feared, must ever be the case, the prosecution of ancient learning being, generally speaking, incompatible with the struggle and bustle of the world. The only satisfaction which remains, is that the deficiency is daily becoming less important in the increasing beauty and copiousness of modern, more especially of English literature.

On the death of Dr James Robertson, professor of oriental languages, Mr Dalzell was appointed to succeed him as keeper of the library of the university. He was afterwards chosen to succeed the Rev. Dr John Drysdale, as principal

clerk to the General Assembly of the church of Scotland, being the first layman who had ever held that honourable appointment. For some time before his death, the delicate state of his health prevented him from performing his public duties, when his place was ably supplied by Dr Thomas Macknight, one of the city clergymen of Edinburgh. He died on the 8th December, 1806, having for upwards of thirty years shed a lustre on the university by his many virtues, his high talents, and great classical attainments. Remarkable for many amiable qualities, and endowed with high talents, it may easily be supposed that his society was the delight of his friends; and as he had the good fortune to live during one of the brightest periods of Scottish literary history, when a galaxy of great men adorned the society of Edinburgh, he included in the circle of his acquaintance many of the greatest men this country ever produced. Of the number of his intimate friends were Dr Gilbert Stewart, Dr Russel the historian, Sir Robert Liston, Dr Robertson the historian, Lord Monboddo, Dugald Stewart, and professor Christison. Mr Dalzell, in his stature was about the middle height; his features were full but not heavy, with a fair complexion and a mild and serene expression of countenance. His address was pleasing and unpretending, and his conversation and manner singularly graceful. He was frequently to be met in his solitary walks in the king's park, which was one of his favourite lounges. He was married to the daughter of the well known Dr John Drysdale of the Tron church, and left several children.

His works consist of the collections from Greek authors, which he published in several volumes, under the title of "Collectanea Minora," and "Collectanea Majora," a translation of Chevalier's Description of the Plain of Troy, and many valuable papers of biography, and on other subjects, which he contributed to the Edinburgh Royal Society's Transactions. He also edited Dr Drysdale's Sermons.

DAVID I., a celebrated Scottish monarch, was the youngest of the six sons of Malcolm III., who reigned between 1057, and 1093, and who must be familiar to every reader, as the overthrower of Macbeth, and also the first king of the Scots that was entitled to be considered as a civilized prince. The mother of king David was Margaret, the sister of Edgar Atheling, heir to the Saxon line of English princes, but displaced by William the Conqueror. The year of David's birth is not known; but it is conjectured to have been not long antecedent to the death of his father, as all his elder brothers were then under age. It is conjectured that he must have received the name of David, from having been born at a time when his mother had no hope of more children, in reference to the youngest son of Jesse. Owing to the usurpations of Donald Bane, and Duncan, he spent his early years at the English court, under the protection of Henry I., who had married his sister Matilda or Maud, the celebrated founder of London bridge. There, according to an English historian, "his manners were polished from the rust of Scottish barbarity." Here also he took to wife, Matilda, the daughter of Waltheof, earl of Northumberland, and widow of Simon de St Liz, earl of Northampton. After the Scottish throne had been occupied successively by his elder brothers, Edgar and Alexander, he acceded to it on the 27th of April, 1124, when he must have been in the very prime of life. Soon before this time, namely, in 1113, he had manifested that zeal for the church, which distinguished him throughout his reign, by bringing a colony of Benedictine monks from Tyron, in France, whom he settled at Selkirk. These he subsequently translated to Roxburgh, and finally, 1128, to Kelso. In the latter year, besides founding the magnificent monastery of Kelso, he erected that of Holyrood at Edinburgh, which he endowed in the most liberal manner.

During the reign of Henry I., David maintained a good understanding with

England, and seems to have spent a considerable part of his time in the court of his brother-in-law and sister. The following curious anecdote of one of his visits, is related in a volume entitled "Remaines concerning Britain," published in 1614. "Queen Maud was so devoutly religious, that she would go to church barefooted, and always exercised herself in works of charity, insomuch, that when king David her brother came out of Scotland to visit her, he found her in her privy chamber with a towell about her middle, washing, wiping, and kissing poore people's feete; which he disliking, said, 'verily, if the king your husband knew this, you should never kisse his lippes!' She replied, 'that the feete of the king of heaven were to be preferred before the lippes of a king in earth!'" On the death of Henry, in 1135, his daughter Maud was displaced by the usurper Stephen, and, to enforce her right, David made a formidable incursion into England, taking possession of the country as far as Durham. Not being supported, however, by the barons, who had sworn to maintain his niece in her right, he was obliged, by the superior force of Stephen, to give up the country he had acquired, his son Henry, accepting at the same time, from the usurper, the honour of Huntingdon, with Doncaster, and the castle of Carlisle, for which he rendered homage. Next year, David made a new incursion, with better success. He is found in 1138 in full possession of the northern provinces, while Stephen was unable, from his engagements elsewhere, to present any force against him. The Scots ravaged the country with much cruelty, and particularly the domains of the church; nor was their pious monarch able to restrain them. The local clergy, under these circumstances, employed all their influence, temporal and spiritual, to collect an army, and they at length succeeded. On the 22nd of August, 1138, the two parties met on Cutton Moor, near Northallerton, and to increase the enthusiasm of the English, their clerical leaders had erected a standard upon a high carriage, mounted on wheels, exhibiting three consecrated banners, with a little casket at the top, containing a consecrated host. The ill-assorted army of the Scottish monarch gave way before the impetuosity of these men, who were literally defending their altars and hearths. This rencounter is known in history, as the battle of the Standard. Prince Henry escaped with great difficulty. Next year, David seems to have renounced all hopes of establishing his niece. He entered into a solemn treaty with Stephen, in virtue of which, the earldom of Northumberland was conceded to his son Henry. In 1140, when Stephen was overpowered by his subjects, and Maud experienced a temporary triumph, David repaired to London, to give her the benefit of his counsel. But a counter insurrection surprised Maud; and David had great difficulty in escaping along with his niece. He was only saved by the kindness of a young Scotsman, named Oliphant, who served as a soldier under Stephen, and to whom David had been godfather. This person concealed the monarch from a very strict search, and conveyed him in safety to Scotland. David was so much offended at the manner in which he had been treated by Maud, that he never again interfered with her affairs in England, for which he had already sacrificed so much. He was even struck with remorse, for having endeavoured, by the use of so barbarous a people as the Scots, to control the destinies of the civilized English, to whom, it would thus appear, he bore more affection than he did to his own native subjects. At one time, he intended to abdicate the crown, and go into perpetual exile in the holy land, in order to expiate this imaginary guilt; but he afterwards contented himself with attempting to introduce civilization into his country. For this purpose, he encouraged many English gentlemen and barons to settle in Scotland, by giving them grants of land. In like manner, he brought many different kinds of foreign monks into the country, settling them in the

various abbeys of Melrose, Newbottle, Cambuskenneth, Kinloss, Dryburgh, and Jedburgh, as well as the priory of Lesmahago, and the Cistercian convent of Berwick, all of which were founded and endowed by him. The effects which these comparatively enlightened bodies of men must have produced upon the country, ought to save David from all modern sneers as to his apparently extreme piety. Sanctimoniousness does not appear to have had any concern in the matter: he seems to have been governed alone by a desire of civilizing his kingdom, the rudeness of which must have been strikingly apparent to him, in consequence of his education and long residence in England. The progress made by the country, in the time of David, was accordingly very great. Public buildings were erected, towns established, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce promoted. Laws, moreover, appear to have been now promulgated for the first time. David was himself a truly just and benevolent man. He used to sit on certain days at the gate of his palace, to hear and decide the causes of the poor. When justice required a decision against the poor man, he took pains to explain the reason, so that he might not go away unsatisfied. Gardening was one of his amusements, and hunting his chief exercise; but, says a contemporary historian, I have seen him quit his horse, and dismiss his hunting equipage, when any, even the meanest of his subjects, required an audience. He commenced business at day break, and at sunset dismissed his attendants, and retired to meditate on his duty to God and the people. By his wife, Matilda, David had a son, Henry; who died before him, leaving Malcolm and William, who were successively kings of Scotland; David, earl of Huntingdon, from whom Bruce and Baliol are descended, and several daughters. David I. is said, by a monkish historian, to have had a son older than Henry, but who perished in childhood after a remarkable manner. A person in holy orders had murdered a priest at the altar, and was protected by ecclesiastical immunity from the punishment due to his offence. His eyes, however, were put out, and his hands and feet cut off. He procured crooked irons or hooks to supply the use of hands. Thus maimed, destitute, and abhorred, he attracted the attention of David, then residing in England as a private man. From him this outcast of society obtained food and raiment. David's eldest child was then two years old; the ungrateful monster, under pretence of fondling the infant, crushed it to death in his iron fangs. For this crime, almost exceeding belief, he was torn to pieces by wild horses. On losing his son Henry in 1152, king David sent his son Malcolm on a solemn progress through the kingdom, in order that he might be acknowledged by the people as their future sovereign. He in like manner recommended his grandson William to the barons of Northumberland, as his successor in that part of his dominions. Having ultimately fixed his residence at Carlisle, the pious monarch breathed his last, May 24th, 1153; being found dead in a posture of devotion. David I., by the acknowledgment of Buchanan himself, was "a more perfect exemplar of a *good king* than is to be found in all the theories of the learned and ingenious."[1]

DAVIDSON, John, an eminent divine, was born, we may suppose, some time about the year 1550, as he was enrolled a student of St Leonard's college in the university of St Andrews, in the year 1567; where he continued

[1] James I. is recorded by Mair to have pronounced this sentence over the grave of his illustrious ancestor—"Rest there, thou most pious monarch, but who didst no good to the commonwealth, nor to kings in general;" which Bellenden has rendered—"he was ane soir sanct for the crown." This only shows that the utility of monasteries was less in the time of James I. than in the days of David I., and that king James regarded nothing as useful but what was conducive to his grand object, the increase of the royal authority. The death of James I. is a sufficient answer to his apophthegm: he was assassinated in consequence of his attempts to render himself *useful to kings in general*—that is to say, his attempts to rise upon the ruins of the nobility.

until 1570. Being educated for the ministry, he early displayed much fervour in his piety, and a fearless boldness and constant zeal in the cause of the reformation in Scotland. When the regent Morton, in the year 1573, obtained an order in the privy council, authorizing the union of several parishes into one, Davidson, then a regent in St Leonard's college, expressed his opposition to, and displeasure at that crying abuse in the church, in a poem, which, although printed without his knowledge, brought him into great trouble. He was summoned to a justice-ayre held at Haddington, when sentence of imprisonment was pronounced against him; he was, however, soon after liberated on bail, in the hope that the leniency thus shown would induce him to retract what he had written, or at least that his brethren might be prevailed upon to condemn the poem. But these expectations were disappointed, and Davidson, finding the intercession even of some of the principal gentry in the country unavailing, and that nothing but a recantation would save him from punishment, fled to the west of Scotland, and thence into England, where he remained until the degradation of the regent, when he returned home. He ultimately attended the earl, along with other clergymen, when his lordship was about to suffer on the scaffold, and on that occasion a reconciliation took place between them.

Davidson again involved himself in difficulties by the active part which he took against Robert Montgomery, minister of Stirling. Robert Montgomery, it appears, had made a Simoniacal purchase of the archbishopric of Glasgow from the earl of Lennox; after which, accompanied by a number of soldiers, Montgomery came to Glasgow, and proceeded to the church. He there found the incumbent in the pulpit, when going up to him he pulled him by the sleeve, and cried "Come down, sirrah." The minister replied, "He was placed there by the Kirk, and would give place to none who intruded themselves without orders." Thereupon much confusion and bloodshed ensued. The presbytery of Stirling suspended Montgomery, and were supported in their authority by the General Assembly; but the earl of Lennox, not inclined to submit to this opposition, obtained a commission from the king, to try and bring the offenders to justice. Before this court could be held, however, the earl of Gowrie and other noblemen seized upon the young king, and carried him to the castle of Ruthven, and there constrained him to revoke the commission, and to banish the earl of Lennox from the kingdom. But the king having afterwards made his escape from his rebel nobles, banished all those who had been engaged in this treasonable enterprise. Montgomery, who in the meanwhile had made submission to the church, again revived his claim to the archbishopric of Glasgow, whereon Mr Davidson, then minister of Libberton, was appointed by the presbytery of Edinburgh to pronounce sentence of excommunication against him; which duty he performed with great boldness. He was also appointed one of the commission sent to Stirling to remonstrate with the king on account of this measure in favour of Montgomery. In consequence, however, of the "*faithfulness*" with which he had admonished his majesty, Davidson found it expedient to make a hurried journey into England, where he remained for a considerable time.

Having returned to Scotland, Mr Davidson signalized himself in the year 1590, by his letter in answer to Dr Bancroft's attack on the church of Scotland. In 1596, while minister of Prestonpans, he took an active part in accomplishing the renewal of the national covenant. He was chosen to minister unto the assemblage of divines and elders which congregated for confession and prayer in the Little Church of Edinburgh, as a preparatory step to the introduction of the overture for that purpose into the general assembly;

and on this occasion "he was so assisted by the Spirit working upon their hearts, that within an hour after they had convened, they began to look with quite another countenance than at first, and while he was exhorting them, the whole assembly melted into tears before him." "Before they dismissed, they solemnly entered into a new League and Covenant, holding up their hands, with such signs of sincerity as moved all present." And "that afternoon, the (general) assembly enacted the renewal of the covenant by particular synods."—*Calderwood's Church History.*

In the general assembly, held at Dundee in the year 1598, it was proposed that the clergy should vote in Parliament in the name of the church. David son, looking upon this measure as a mere device for the introduction of bishops, opposed it violently. "Busk, busk, busk him," he exclaimed, "as bonnily as you can, and bring him in as fairly as you will, we still see him weel eneugh—we can discern the horns of his mitre." He concluded by entreating the assembly not to be rash; for, "brethren," said he, "see you not how readily the bishops begin to creep up." He would have protested against the measure, but the king, who was present, interposed and said, "That shall not be granted: see, if you have voted and reasoned before." "Never, Sir," said Davidson, "but without prejudice to any protestation made or to be made." He then tendered his protestation, which, after having been past from one to another, was at last laid down before the clerk; whereon the king took it up, and having showed it to the moderator and others who were around him, he put it in his pocket. The consequences of this protest did not however end here; Davidson was charged to appear before the council, and was by order of the king committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh; but on account of the infirm state of his health, the place of his confinement was changed to his own manse. Afterwards his liberty was extended to the bounds of his own parish, in which he was allowed to perform the duties of his charge: and there, after labouring in his vocation for some years, during which he suffered much from bad health, he died at Prestonpans in the year 1604.

He was unquestionably a man of sincere piety, although of an ardent and bold disposition, which, on many occasions, induced him to take the lead in somewhat violent measures. Davidson is particularly deserving of notice on account of the exertions which he made for the religious and literary instruction of his parishioners in Prestonpans. At his own expense he built the church, the manse, and the school, and school-master's house. The school was erected for teaching the three learned languages, and he bequeathed all his heritable and moveable property for its support. But by much the most extraordinary feature in his character, was his pretensions to prophetic powers; and the following anecdotes, if they do not confirm these pretensions, at least prove him to be long headed and sagacious, and possessed of a little of that priestcraft for which his Roman catholic brethren were so remarkable. Calderwood tells, that Davidson "one day seeing Mr John Kerr, the minister of Prestonpans, going in a scarlet cloak like a courtier, told him to lay aside that abominable dress, as he (Davidson) was destined to succeed him in his ministry; which accordingly came to pass." On another occasion, when John Spottiswood, minister of Calder, and James Law, minister of Kirkliston, were called before the synod of Lothian, on the charge of playing at foot-ball on Sunday; Davidson who was acting as moderator, moved that the culprits should be deposed from their charges. The synod however awarded them a slighter punishment; and when they were called in to receive their sentence, Davidson called out to them, "Come in, you pretty foot-ball men, the synod ordains you only to be rebuked." Then, addressing the meeting, he said, "And now, brethren, let me

tell you what reward you shall get for your lenity; these two men shall trample on your necks, and the necks of the whole ministry of Scotland." The one was afterwards archbishop of St Andrews, and the other of Glasgow.—We quote the following from Wodrow's MS. "Lives of Scottish Clergymen." When Davidson was about to rebuild the church of Prestonpans, "a place was found most convenient upon the lands of a small heritor of the parish, called James Pinkerton. Mr Davidson applied to him, and signified that such a place of his land, and five or six acres were judged most proper for building the church and churchyard dyke, and he behoved to sell them." The other said "he would never sell them, but he would freely gift those acres to so good a use;" which he did. Mr Davidson said, "James, ye shall be no loser, and ye shall not want a James Pinkerton to succeed you for many generations:" and hitherto, as I was informed some years ago, there has been still a James Pinkerton succeeding to that small heritage in that parish, descending from him; and after several of them had been in imminent danger when childless.

DEMPSTER, Thomas, a learned professor and miscellaneous writer, was born at Brechin, in the shire of Angus, sometime in the latter part of the sixteenth century. Of his family or education nothing certain has been preserved, farther than that he studied at Cambridge. In France, whither he went at an early period of his life, and where probably he received the better part of his education, he represented himself as a man of family, and possessed of a good estate, which he had abandoned for his religion, the Roman catholic. He was promoted to a professor's chair at Paris, in the college of Beauvais. Bayle says, that though his business was only to teach a school, he was as ready to draw his sword as his pen, and as quarrelsome as if he had been a duellist by profession; scarcely a day passed, he adds, in which he did not fight either with his sword or at fisty cuffs, so that he was the terror of all the school-masters. Though he was of this quarrelsome temper himself, it does not appear however that he gave any encouragement to it in others; for one of his students having sent a challenge to another, he had him horsed on the back of a fellow-student, and whipped him upon the seat of honour most severely before a full class. To revenge this monstrous affront, the scholar brought three of the king's lifeguards-men, who were his relations, into the college. Dempster, however, was not to be thus tamed. He caused hamstring the lifeguards men's horses before the college gate; themselves he shut up close prisoners in the belfrey, whence they were not relieved for several days. Disappointed of their revenge in this way, the students had recourse to another. They lodged an information against his life and character, which not choosing to meet, Dempster fled into England. How long he remained, or in what manner he was employed there, we have not been informed; but he married a woman of uncommon beauty, with whom he returned to Paris. Walking the streets of Paris with his wife, who, proud of her beauty, had bared a more than ordinary portion of her breast and shoulders, which were of extreme whiteness, they were surrounded by a mob of curious spectators, and narrowly escaped being trodden to death. Crossing the Alps, he obtained a professor's chair in the university of Pisa, with a handsome salary attached to it. Here his comfort, and perhaps his usefulness was again marred by the conduct of his beautiful wife, who at length eloped with one of his scholars. Previously to this, we suppose, for the time is by no means clearly stated, he had been professor in the university of Nîmes, which he obtained by an honourable competition in a public dispute upon a passage of Virgil. "This passage," he says himself, "was proposed to me as a difficulty not to be solved, when I obtained the professorship in the royal college of Nîmes, which was disputed for by a great number of candidates, and

which I at once very honourably carried from the other competitors; though some busy people would have had it divided among several, the senate declaring in my favour, and not one among so many excellent men, and eminent in every part of learning dissenting, besides Barnier. The choice being also approved by the consuls, and the other citizens, excepting some few whom I could name if they deserved it; but since they are unworthy so much honour, I shall let their envy and sly malice die with them, rather than contribute to their living by taking notice of them." At this period Dempster must have professed to be a Huguenot, the university of Nîmes being destined solely for the professors of the reformed religion. Be this as it may, Dempster, driven from Pisa by the infidelity of his wife, proceeded to Bologna, where he obtained a professorship which he held till his death in the year 1625.

Dempster was the author of many books, and during his own life certainly enjoyed a most extensive reputation. His powers of memory were so great, that he himself was in the habit of saying, that he did not know what it was to forget. Nothing, it was said by some of his encomiasts, lay so hidden in the monuments of antiquity, but that he remembered it; and they gave him on this account the appellation of a speaking library. He was also allowed to have been exceedingly laborious, reading generally fourteen hours every day. If he really devoted so large a portion of his time to reading, his knowledge of books, even though his memory had been but of ordinary capacity, must have been immense; but he wanted judgment to turn his reading to any proper account. What was still worse, he was destitute of common honesty; "and shamefully," says Bayle, "published I know not how many fables." In his catalogue of the writers of Scotland, it has been observed that he frequently inserted those of England, Wales, and Ireland, just as suited his fancy; and to confirm his assertions, very often quoted books which were never written, and appealed to authors which never existed. "Thomas Dempster," says M. Baillet, "has given us an ecclesiastical history of Scotland in nineteen books, wherein he speaks much of the learned men of that country. But though he was an able man in other respects, his understanding was not the more sound, nor his judgment the more solid, nor his conscience the better for it. He would have wished that all learned men had been Scots. He forged titles of books which were never published, to raise the glory of his native country; and has been guilty of several cheating tricks, by which he has lost his credit among men of learning.

The catalogue of Dempster's works is astonishingly ample, and they undoubtedly exhibit proofs of uncommon erudition. Of his numerous writings, however, his *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, is the most remarkable, though, instead of being as its title would indicate, an ecclesiastical history of Scotland, it is merely a list of Scottish authors and Scottish saints. The work was composed in Italy, where, it is presumable, the works of Scottish authors were not easily accessible; in consequence of which he could not be expected to proceed with any very great degree of accuracy; but many of his errors, even candour must admit, are not the result of inadvertency, but of a studied intention to mislead. A more fabulous work never laid claim to the honours of history. Of the names which he so splendidly emblazons, a large proportion is wholly fictitious, and his anecdotes of writers who have actually existed, are entitled to any kind of commendation but that of credibility. In extenuation of this fabulous propensity, however, it ought to be observed, that he lived in an age when such fabrications were considered as meritorious rather than reprehensible. The rage for legends framed for promoting the practice of piety, as was foolishly imagined, gave a general obliquity to the minds of men, rendering them utterly insensible

to the sacred claims and the immutable character of truth. The most impudent lie, if it was supposed to favour the cause of religion, was dignified with the name of a *pious* fraud; and the most palpable falsehood, if it was designed to promote national glory, met, from the general impulse of national vanity, with the same indulgence. Hence that contemptible mass of falsehood and of fiction, which darkens and disfigures all, and has totally blotted out the early history of some nations. Dempster had certainly an irritable, and, in some degree, a ferocious disposition, but we do not see that he ought to be charged with moral turpitude beyond the average of the men of his own age and standing in society. Yet for the honour of his country, as he foolishly imagined, he has amassed an immense mass of incredible fictions, which he has gravely told; and seems to have hoped mankind in general would receive as well authenticated historical facts. Losing in the brilliancy of his imagination any little spark of integrity that illumined his understanding, when the reputation of his native country was concerned, he seems to have been incapable of distinguishing between truth and falsehood. In this respect, however, he does not stand alone, the earlier historians of every country being in some degree chargeable with the same failing. Even in the most splendid works of the same kind, written at periods comparatively late, many passages might be pointed out, which there is no necessity for supposing their compilers seriously believed. With all his faults, the reputation of Dempster certainly extended itself to every country of Europe; and though his most elaborate works are digested with so little care or so little skill, that they can only be regarded as collections of ill assorted materials, exhibiting little merit beyond assiduity of transcription; yet it would perhaps be difficult to point out another Scottish writer who had the same intimate acquaintance with classical antiquity.

DEMPSTER, George, of Dunnichen, (an estate near Dundee, which his grandfather, a merchant in that town, had acquired in trade), was born about the year 1735. He was educated at the grammar school of Dundee, and the university of St Andrews; after which he repaired to Edinburgh, where in 1755 he became a member of the faculty of advocates. Possessed of an ample fortune, and being of a social disposition, Mr Dempster entered eagerly into all the gayeties of the metropolis; and at the same time he cultivated the friendship of a group of young men conspicuous for their talents, and some of whom afterwards attained to eminence. In the number were William Robertson and David Hume, the future historians. Mr Dempster became a member of the "*Poker Club*" instituted by the celebrated Dr Adam Ferguson, which met in a house near the Nether-bow, and had for its object harmless conviviality: but a society which included David Hume, William Robertson, John Home (the author of 'Douglas'), Alexander Carlyle, and George Dempster, must necessarily have conduced to the intellectual improvement of its members. It was succeeded, in the year 1756, by the "*Select Society*," a much more extensive association, consisting of most of the men of talent, rank, and learning in Scotland. The object of this society was the advancement of literature and the promotion of the study and speaking of the English language in Scotland, and Dempster was one of the ordinary directors. A list of the members of this society will be found in the appendix to professor Dugald Stewart's life of Dr Robertson.

After travelling some time on the continent, Mr Dempster returned to Scotland, and practised for a short while at the bar. But, abandoning that profession early in life, he turned his attention to politics, and stood candidate for the Fife and Forfar district of burghs. His contest was a very arduous one, and cost him upwards of £10,000; but it was successful, for he was returned

member to the twelfth parliament of Great Britain, which met on the 25th November, 1762. He entered the house of commons as an independent member unshackled by party. In the year 1765, he obtained the patent office of secretary to the Scottish order of the Thistle, an office more honourable than lucrative; and it was the only reward which he either sought or procured for twenty-eight years of faithful service in parliament. Mr Dempster was decidedly opposed to the contest with the American colonies, which ended in their independence; and concurred with Mr Pitt and Mr Fox, in maintaining, that taxes could not be constitutionally imposed without representation. He did not, however, enter into any factious opposition to the ministry during the continuance of the first American war; but on its conclusion he was strenuous in his endeavours to obtain an immediate reduction of the military establishment, and the abolition of sinecure places and pensions. He joined Mr Pitt, when that great statesman came into power, and supported him in his financial plans, particularly in the establishment of the sinking fund. Mr Dempster had directed much of his attention to the improvement of our national commerce and manufactures, which he desired to see freed from all restraint. But the object to which at this time and for many years afterwards he seems to have directed his chief attention, was the encouragement of the Scottish fisheries. This had been a favourite project with the people of Scotland, ever since the time when the duke of York, afterwards James II. patronized and became a subscriber to a company formed expressly for the purpose. At length Mr Dempster succeeded in rousing the British parliament to a due appreciation of the national benefits to be derived from the encouragement of the fisheries on the northern shores, and was allowed to nominate the committee for reporting to the house the best means of carrying his plans into execution.

About this period, Mr Dempster was elected one of the East India Company's directors. It is believed that his election took place in opposition to the prevailing interest in the directory; and certainly his mistaken notions on the subject of oriental politics must have rendered him an inefficient member of that court. Misled by the commercial origin of the corporation, he would have had the company, after it had arrived at great political influence, and had acquired extensive territorial possessions in India, to resign its sovereign power and to confine itself to its mercantile speculations. The policy of relinquishing territorial dominion in India, has long been a cry got up for party purposes; but it seems very extraordinary that Dempster, controlled by no such influence, should have so violently opposed himself to the true interest of the country. The error into which he fell is now obvious; he wished to maintain an individual monopoly, when the great wealth of the country rendered it no longer necessary, while he proposed to destroy our sway over India, when it might be made the means of defending and extending our commerce. Finding himself unable to alter our Indian policy, he withdrew from the directory and became a violent parliamentary opponent of the company. He supported Mr Fox's India bill, a measure designed chiefly for the purpose of consolidating a whig administration; and on one occasion he declared, that "all chartered rights should be held inviolable,—those derived from one charter only excepted. That is the sole and single charter which ought in my mind to be destroyed, for the sake of the country, for the sake of India, and for the sake of humanity."—"I for my part lament, that the navigation to India had ever been discovered, and I now conjure ministers to abandon all ideas of sovereignty in that quarter of the world: for it would be wiser to make some one of the native princes king of the country, and leave India to itself."

In 1785, Mr Dempster gave his support to the *Grenville act*, by which

provision was made for the decision of contested elections by committees chosen by ballot. On the regency question of 1788-9, he was opposed to the ministry; declaring that an executive so constituted would "resemble nothing that ever was conceived before; an un-whig, un-tory, odd, awkward, anomalous monster."

In the year 1790, Mr Dempster retired from parliamentary duties. Whether this was owing to his own inclination, or forced upon him by the superior influence of the Athole family, a branch of which succeeded him in the representation of his district of burghs, seems doubtful. He now devoted his undivided attention to the advancement of the interests of his native country. It was chiefly through his means that an act of parliament had been obtained, affording protection and giving bounties to the fisheries in Scotland; and that a joint stock company had been formed for their prosecution. In the year 1788, he had been elected one of the directors of this association, and on that occasion he delivered a powerful speech to the members, in which he gave an historical account of the proceedings for extending the fisheries on the coasts of Great Britain. He then showed them that the encouragement of the fisheries was intimately connected with the improvement of the Highlands; and in this manner, by his zeal and activity in the cause, Mr Dempster succeeded in engaging the people of Scotland to the enthusiastic prosecution of this undertaking. The stock raised, or expected to be raised, by voluntary contribution, was estimated at £150,000. Even from India considerable aid was supplied by the Scotsmen resident in that country. The company purchased large tracts of land at Tobermory in Mull, on Loch-Broom in Ross-shire, and on Loch-Bay and Loch-Folliart in the isle of Sky; at all of these stations they built harbours or quays and erected storehouses. Every thing bore a promising aspect, when the war of 1793 with France broke out, and involved the project in ruin. The price of their stock fell rapidly, and many became severe sufferers by the depreciation. Still, however, although the undertaking proved disastrous to the shareholders, yet the country at large is deeply indebted to Mr Dempster for the great national benefit which has since accrued from the parliamentary encouragement given to our fisheries.

In farther prosecution of his patriotic designs, Mr Dempster attempted to establish a manufacturing village at Skibo, on the coast of Caithness; but the local disadvantages, in spite of the cheapness of labour and provisions, were insuperable obstacles to its prosperity; and the consequence was, that he not only involved himself, but his brother also, in heavy pecuniary loss, without conferring any lasting benefit on the district.

On the close of his parliamentary career, Mr Dempster had discontinued his practice of passing the winter in London, and spent his time partly at his seat at Dunnichen, and partly in St Andrews. In that ancient city he enjoyed the society of his old friend Dr Adam Ferguson, and of the learned professors of the university; and we have a pleasing picture of the happy serenity in which this excellent and truly patriotic statesman passed the evening of his life, in the fact that he was in use to send round a vehicle, which he facetiously denominated "*the route coach*," in order to convey some old ladies to his house, who, like himself, excelled in the game of whist, an amusement in which he took singular pleasure. His time while at Dunnichen was more usefully employed. When Mr Dempster first directed his attention to the improvement of his estate, the tenantry in the north of Scotland were still subject to many of the worst evils of the feudal system. "I found," he says (speaking of the condition of his own farmers), "my few tenants without leases, subject to the blacksmith of the barony; thirled to its mills; wedded to the wretched system of

out-field and in; bound to pay kain and to perform personal services; clothed in hodden, and lodged in hovels." The Highland proprietors, instead of attempting to improve the condition of their farmers and peasantry, were driving them into exile, converting the cultivated lands on their estates into pasturage, and supplying the place of their tenantry with black cattle. Mr Dempster, in order to find employment for the population thus cruelly driven from their native country, became more strenuous in his endeavours for the encouragement of our fisheries; while, in the course he pursued on his own estate, he held out a praise-worthy example to the neighbouring proprietors, of the mode which they ought to pursue in the improvement of their estates. He granted long leases to his tenants, and freed them from all personal services or unnecessary restrictions in the cultivation of their grounds; he inclosed and drained his lands; he built the neat village of Letham; he drained and improved the loch or moss of Dunnichen, and the peat bog of Restennet, by which he added greatly to the extent and value of his property, and rendered the air more salubrious. And having ascertained by experiments that his land abounded in marl, he immediately rendered the discovery available; in so much, it is estimated, that he acquired a quantity of that valuable manure of the value of £14,000. But nothing can prove more encouraging to the patriotic endeavours of proprietors for the promotion of agriculture and the improvement of their estates, than the following letter, addressed by Mr Dempster to the editor of the Farmer's Magazine—a work which had been dedicated to himself:

"Sir,—How much depends upon mankind thinking soundly and wisely on agricultural topics, which, in point of extent, surpass all others, and which may be said to embrace the whole surface of the globe we inhabit! I would still be more lavish in my commendation of your design, were it not that I should thereby indirectly make a panegyric on myself. For these last forty years of my life, I have acted in the management of my little rural concerns on the principles you so strenuously inculcate. I found my few tenants without leases, subject to the blacksmith of the barony; thirled to its mills; wedded to the wretched system of out-field and in: bound to pay kain, and to perform personal services; clothed in hodden, and lodged in hovels. You have enriched the magazine with the result of your farming excursions. Pray, direct one of them to the county I write from; peep in upon Dunnichen, and if you find one of the evils I have enumerated existing; if you can trace a question, at my instance, in a court of law, with any tenant as to how he labours his farm; or find one of them not secured by a lease of nineteen years at least, and his life,—the barony shall be yours You will find me engaged in a controversy of the most amiable kind with lord Carrington, defending the freedom of the English tenants from the foolish restrictions with which their industry is shackled; prohibitions to break up meadow land, to sow flax, to plant tobacco, &c., all imposed by foolish fears, or by ignorance; and confirmed by the selfish views of land stewards, who naturally wish the dependence of farmers on their will and pleasure. God knows, Scotland is physically barren enough, situated in a high latitude, composed of ridges of high mountains; yet, in my opinion, moral causes contribute still more to its sterility.

"I urge the zealous prosecution of your labours, as a general change of system and sentiment is only to be effected slowly; your maxims are destined, first, to revolt mankind, and, long after, to reform them. There never was a less successful apostle than I have been. In a mission of forty years, I cannot boast of one convert. I still find the tenants of my nearest neighbours and best friends, cutting down the laird's corn, while their own crops are imperiously calling for their sickles. I am much pleased with the rotations you suggest;

and as those topics are very favourite ones with me, they occupy no small portion of my leisure moments.

"The Highland Society's being silent on the subject of the emigration of the Highlanders, who are gone, going, and preparing to go in whole clans, can only be accounted for by those who are more intimately acquainted with the state of the Highlands than I pretend to be. One would think the society were disciples of Pinkerton, who says, the best thing we could do, would be to get rid entirely of the Celtic tribe, and people their country with inhabitants from the low country. How little does he know the valour, the frugality, the industry of those inestimable people, or their attachment to their friends and country! I would not give a little Highland child for ten of the highest Highland mountains in all Lochaber. With proper encouragement to its present inhabitants, the next century might see the Highlands of Scotland cultivated to its summits, like Wales or Switzerland; its valleys teeming with soldiers for our army, its bays, lakes, and friths with seamen for our navy.

"At the height of four hundred feet above the level of the sea, and ten miles removed from it, I dare not venture on spring wheat, but I have had one advantage from my elevation; my autumn wheat has been covered with snow most of the winter, through which its green shoots peep very prettily. I have sometimes believed that this hardy grain is better calculated for our cold climate than is generally thought, if sown on well cleaned and dunged land, very early, perhaps by the end of September, so as to be in ear when we get our short scorch of heat from 15th July to 15th August, and to profit by it.

"I was pleased with your recommending married farm servants. I don't value mine a rush till they marry the lass they like. On my farm of 120 acres, I can show such a crop of thriving human stock as delights me. From five to seven years of age, they gather my potatoes at 1d, 2d, and 3d per day, and the sight of such a joyous busy field of industrious happy creatures revives my old age. Our dairy fattens them like pigs; our cupboard is their apothecary's shop; and the old casten clothes of the family, by the industry of their mothers, look like birthday suits on them. Some of them attend the groom to water his horses; some the carpenter's shop, and all go to the parish school in the winter time, whenever they can crawl the length."

There is something extremely delightful in the complacency with which the good old man thus views the improvements he had wrought on his estate, and the happiness he had diffused among those around him.

After having enjoyed much good health, and a cheerful old age, until his last illness, Mr Dempster died on the 13th of February, 1818, in the 84th year of his age. We cannot more appropriately finish our imperfect sketch of this good and able patriot, than by subjoining an extract from one of his letters to his friend Sir John Sinclair—"I was lately on my death-bed, and no retrospect afforded me more satisfaction than that of having made some scores—hundreds of poor Highlanders happy, and put them in the way of being rich themselves, and of enriching the future lairds of Skibo and Portrossie.—Dunnichen, 2nd Nov. 1807."

DICK, Sir Alexander, Bart., of Prestonfield, near Edinburgh, was born on the 23d of October, 1703. He was the third son of Sir William Cunningham of Caprington, by dame Janet, daughter and heiress of Sir James Dick of Prestonfield. While his two elder brothers were to succeed to ample fortunes, one from the father, and the other from the mother, Alexander was left in a great measure dependent on his own exertions. He accordingly chose the profession of medicine; and after acquiring the preliminary branches of his profession in Edinburgh, proceeded to Leyden, where he pursued his medical studies under

the famous Dr Boerhaave. On the 31st of August, 1725, he obtained the degree of doctor of medicine from the university of Leyden; on which occasion he published his inaugural dissertation "De Epilepsia," which did him much credit. Soon after this, he returned home, when he received from the university of St Andrews, a second diploma as doctor of medicine, bearing date the 23d of January, 1727. On the 7th November of the same year, he was admitted a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh.

Dr Cunningham, for he still bore the name of his father, soon after these distinctions had been conferred on him by his countrymen, undertook a tour through Europe. Enabled by his extensive knowledge of classical learning, and by his accomplished taste, to appreciate and profit by a residence in Italy, he made a lengthened sojourn in that beautiful country. But, having at last returned to Great Britain, he was induced, by the persuasion of Mr Hooke, an intimate friend, and a man of great fortune in Pembrokeshire, to settle in that county, where for many years his reputation as a physician stood very high.

His immediately elder brother, Sir William Dick, having died without issue, Dr Cunningham succeeded in terms of the entail, to the estate and name of his mother, and the baronetcy of his brother, Sir William; whereupon he left Pembrokeshire and took up his residence at Prestonfield. Although he had now determined to discontinue the practice of his profession, still he took an active interest in promoting the study and knowledge of medicine in Scotland. In the year 1756, he was unanimously chosen president of the college of physicians of Edinburgh; and so fully convinced were his fellow-members of his zeal for the advancement of the profession, and of his great abilities, that he was seven times successively elected to preside over them: and it was only at his earnest request that they were induced to desist from again choosing him to fill that honourable office; for he deemed it unfair thus to deprive other members of a dignity to which their abilities well entitled them. He did not, however, discontinue his endeavours to promote the welfare of the college, but strenuously exerted himself in forwarding every undertaking which had for its object the honour or interest of the body, more especially, by contributing with liberality to the expense of erecting the present physicians' hall. As a testimony of the high sense which his professional brethren entertained of his services, a portrait of him was, by a unanimous vote, hung up in their hall. The Royal Society was likewise deeply indebted to Sir Alexander Dick for his exertions in procuring their royal charter, and his name is enrolled as one of the first of the members. For many years he discharged with zeal the duties of a manager of the royal infirmary of Edinburgh, and it was his constant endeavour, to render that valuable institution equally subservient to the purposes of benevolence, and to the promotion of the study of medicine and surgery.

When the seed of the true rhubarb plant was first introduced into Great Britain by Dr Mounsey of Petersburg, Sir Alexander Dick bestowed great attention on its culture, and on the drying and preparing it for the market. The success which attended his exertions on this occasion, called forth the approbation of the London society for the encouragement of arts and commerce; and in the year 1774 they presented him with a gold prize medal for the best specimen of rhubarb.

Sir Alexander Dick did not confine his patriotic exertions to the advancement of his own profession, but took an active share in every undertaking which he conceived likely to prove beneficial to the city of Edinburgh or its neighbourhood. In particular, the citizens were much indebted to him for the improvements which he effected in the highways around the metropolis.

Sir Alexander was twice married—In April, 1736, to his cousin Janet,

daughter of Alexander Dick, merchant in Edinburgh, by whom he had five children, but two daughters only survived him; and in March, 1762, he married Mary, daughter of David Butler of Pembrokeshire, by whom he had seven children. Three sons and three daughters of the latter marriage survived him. Having attained the 83d year of his age, with faculties unimpaired, he died on the 10th of November, 1785; and his death, notwithstanding the very advanced age he had reached, was generally lamented as a loss to society. He was of a kind and amiable character, and remarkable for the mildness and sweetness of his disposition, and for the unwearied zeal and activity with which he promoted the advancement of medical knowledge in Scotland, as well as the improvement and welfare of his native city.

DICKSON, David, one of the most eminent presbyterian divines of the seventeenth century,—of whom, Wodrow remarks, that, "if ever a Scots Biography and the lives of our eminent ministers and christians be published, he will shine there as a star of the first magnitude,—was a native of Glasgow." We may be permitted to devote a few pages to the history of a man, recommended by so high an authority, but still more by his talents and virtues.

John Dick, or Dickson, was a merchant in Glasgow,—possessed of considerable wealth, and the proprietor of the lands of the kirk of the muir, in the parish of St Ninians, and barony of Fintry. He and his wife, both persons of eminent piety, had been several years married without children, when they entered into a solemn vow, that, if the Lord would give them a son, they would devote him to the service of his church. A day was appointed, and their christian townsmen were requested to join with them in fasting and prayer. Without further detail of this story, we shall merely say, that Mr David Dickson, their son, was born in the Tron street (or Trongate) of Glasgow, in 1583; but the vow was so far forgot, that he was educated for mercantile pursuits, in which he was eminently unsuccessful, and the cause of much pecuniary loss to his parents. This circumstance, added to a severe illness of their son, led his parents to remember their vow; Mr Dickson was then "put to his studyes, and what eminent service he did in his generation is knowen."[1]

Soon after taking the degree of master of arts, Mr Dickson was appointed one of the regents or professors of philosophy in the university of Glasgow; a situation held at that period in all the Scottish colleges by young men, who had just finished their academical career, and were destined for the church. "The course of study which it was their duty to conduct, was calculated to form habits of severe application in early life, and to give them great facility both in writing and in speaking. The universities had the advantage of their services during the vigour of life; when they were unencumbered by domestic cares, and when they felt how much their reputation and interest depended on the exertions which they made. After serving a few years, (seldom more than eight, or less than four,) they generally obtained appointments in the church, and thus transferred to another field the intellectual industry and aptitude for communicating knowledge by which they had distinguished themselves in the university. It may well be conceived, that by stimulating and exemplifying diligence, their influence on their brethren in the ministry was not less considerable than on the parishioners, who more directly enjoyed the benefit of attainments and experience, more mature than can be expected from such as have never had access to similar means of improvement."[2] But we must return

[1] Wodrow's Analecta, MS. Advocates' Library, I. 128. Wodrow's Life of Dickson, prefixed to Truth's victory over Error, p. x.

[2] Report of the royal commission for visiting the Scottish universities, 1831, p. 221. Another practice at this period was, that the regents, when they took the oath of office,

from a digression, which seemed necessary in order to explain a system which is no longer pursued.

Mr Dickson remained several years at Glasgow, and was eminently useful in teaching the different branches of literature and science, and in directing the minds of his students to the end to which all such attainments should lead them —the cultivation of true piety. But in accordance with the custom already noticed, he was now removed to a more honourable, though certainly more hazardous calling. In the year 1618, he was ordained minister of Irvine. At this period, it would appear he had paid but little attention to the subject of church government; a circumstance, the more remarkable, when we consider the keen discussions between the presbyterians and episcopalians on such questions. But the year in which he had entered on his ministry, was too eventful to be overlooked. The general assembly had agreed to the five ceremonies now known as the Perth articles, and a close examination convinced Mr Dickson that they were unscriptural. Soon afterwards, when a severe illness brought him near death, he openly declared against them; and, no sooner had Law, the archbishop of Glasgow, heard of it, than he was summoned before the court of high commission. He accordingly appeared, but declined the jurisdiction of the court, on account of which, sentence of deprivation and confinement to Turriff was passed upon him. His friends prevailed upon the archbishop to restore him, on condition that he would withdraw his declinature; a condition with which he would not comply. Soon after, Law yielded so far as to allow him to return to his parish, if he would come to his castle, and withdraw the paper from the hall-table without seeing him; terms which Mr Dickson spurned, as being "but juggling in such a weighty matter." At length, he was permitted in July, 1623, to return unconditionally.[3]

After noticing the deep impression Mr Dickson made upon the minds of his hearers, Mr Wodrow gives us the following account of his ministerial labours at Irvine:—"Mr Dickson had his week-day sermon upon the Mondays, the market days then at Irvine. Upon the Sabbath evenings, many persons under soul distress, used to resort to his house after sermon, when usually he spent an hour or two in answering their cases, and directing and comforting those who were cast down; in all which he had an extraordinary talent, indeed, he had the tongue of the learned, and knew how to speak a word in season to the weary soul. In a large hall he had in his house at Irvine, there would have been, as I am informed by old christians, several scores of serious christians waiting for him when he came from the church. Those, with the people round the town, who came in to the market at Irvine, made the church as throng, if not thronger, on the Mondays, as on the Lord's day, by these week-day sermons. The famous Stewarton Sickness was begun about the year 1630; and spread from house to house for many miles in the strath where Stewarton water runs on both sides of it. Satan endeavoured to bring a reproach upon the serious persons who were at this time under the convincing work of the Spirit, by running some, seemingly under serious concern, to excesses, both in time of sermon, and in families. But the Lord enabled Mr Dickson, and other ministers who dealt with them, to act so prudent a part, as Satan's design was much disappointed, and solid, serious, practical religion flourished mightily in the west of Scotland about this time, even under the hardships of prelacy."

About the year 1630, some of the Scottish clergymen settled among their

should engage to vacate their charge in the event of marrying. Mr James Dalrymple (afterwards the viscount of Stair) having married while a regent at Glasgow in 1643, demitted, but was reappointed—*Ibid.*

[3] Wodrow's memoir of Dickson, p. 12, 13. Livingston's Characteristics, edit. 1773, p. 81.

countrymen, who had emigrated to the north of Ireland. While they were permitted to preach, they had been highly useful; but the Irish prelates did not long allow them to remain unmolested: they felt the progress of their opinions, and with a zeal, which, in attempting to promote, often defeats its own cause, determined to silence, or oblige the presbyterians to conform. In 1637, Robert Blair and John Livingston, against whom warrants had been issued, after secreting themselves near the coast, came over to Scotland. They were received by Mr Dickson at Irvine, and were employed occasionally in preaching for him. He had been warned that this would be seized upon by the bishops as a pretext for deposing him, but he would not deviate from what he considered his duty. He was, therefore, again called before the high commission court; but we are only told, that "he soon got rid of this trouble, the bishops' power being now on the decline."

In the summer of the same year, several ministers were charged to buy and receive the Service Book; a measure which produced the most important consequences. Mr John Livingston, in his autobiography, has truly said that the subsequent changes in the church took their rise from two petitions presented upon this occasion. Many others followed, and their prayer being refused, increased the number and demands of the petitioners; they required the abolition of the high commission, and exemption from the Perth articles. These were still refused, and their number was now so great as to form a large majority of the ministers and people. The presbytery of Irvine joined in the petition, at the instigation of Mr Dickson, and throughout the whole of the proceedings which followed upon it, we shall find him taking an active, but moderate part.

When the general assembly of 1638 was indicted, David Dickson, Robert Baillie, and William Russell, minister at Kilbirnie, were appointed to represent the presbytery at Irvine, and "to propone, reason, vote, and conclude according to the word of God, and confession approven by sundry general assemblies." Mr Dickson and a few others were objected to by the king's party, as being under the censure of the high commission, but they proved the injustice of the proceedings against them, and were therefore admitted members. He seems to have borne a zealous and useful part in this great ecclesiastical council: his speech, when the commissioner threatened to leave them, is mentioned by Wodrow with much approbation; but the historian has not inserted it in his memoir, as it was too long, and yet too important and nervous to be abridged. A discourse upon Arminianism, delivered at their eleventh session, is also noticed, of which, principal Baillie says, that he "refuted all those errors in a new way of his own, as some years ago he had conceived it in a number of Sermons on the new Covenant. Mr David's discourse was much as all his things, extempore; so he could give no double of it, and his labour went away with his speech."[4] An effort was made at this period by John Bell, one of the ministers of Glasgow, to obtain Mr Dickson for an assistant, but the opposition of lord Eglinton and that of Mr Baillie in behalf of the presbytery of Irvine, were sufficient to delay, though not to prevent, the appointment.

In the short campaign of 1639, a regiment of 1200 men, of which the earl of Loudon was appointed coroner (or colonel), and Mr Dickson, chaplain, was raised in Ayrshire. The unsatisfactory pacification at Berwick, however, required that the Scots should disband their army, and leave the adjustment of civil and ecclesiastical differences to a parliament and assembly. Of the latter court, Mr Dickson was, by a large majority, chosen moderator; a situation which he filled with great judgment and moderation. In the tenth session, a call was presented to him from the town of Glasgow, but the vigorous inter-

[4] Baillie's printed Letters and Journals, i. 125.

ference of lord Eglinton, and of his own parishioners, contributed still to delay his removal. His speech at the conclusion of the assembly, as given by Stevenson, displays much mildness, and forms a striking contrast to the deep laid plans formed by the king's party, to deceive and ensnare the Scottish clergy.

Soon afterwards (1640), Mr Dickson received an appointment of a much more public and important nature than any he had yet held. A commission for visiting the university of Glasgow had been appointed by the assembly of 1638, to the members of which, the principal had made himself obnoxious, by a strong leaning towards episcopacy. It was renewed in subsequent years, and introduced several important changes. Among these was the institution of a separate professorship of divinity, to which, a competent lodging and a salary of £800 Scots was attached. This situation had been long destined for Mr Dickson, and when he entered upon the duties of it, he did not disappoint the expectations of the nation. Not only did he interpret the scriptures, teach casuistical divinity, and hear the discourses of his students, but Wodrow informs us, that he preached every Sunday forenoon in the high church.

We find Mr Dickson taking an active part in the assembly of 1643. Some complaints had been made of the continuance of episcopal ceremonies, such as, repeating the doxology, and kneeling, and Alexander Henderson the moderator, David Calderwood, and Mr Dickson, were appointed to prepare the draught of a directory for public worship. It had, we are informed, the effect of quieting the spirits of the discontented. This is the only public transaction in which we find him employed while he remained at Glasgow.

The remaining events in Mr Dickson's life may be soon enumerated. In 1650, he was appointed professor of divinity in the university of Edinburgh, where he dictated in Latin to his students, what has since been published in English, under the title of "Truth's victory over Error." Mr Wodrow mentions, that the greater part of the ministers in the west, south, and east of Scotland, had been educated under him, either at Glasgow or Edinburgh. There Mr Dickson continued till the Restoration, when he was ejected for refusing to take the oath of supremacy. The great change which took place so rapidly in the ecclesiastical establishment of the country, preyed upon him, and undermined his constitution.

His last illness is thus noticed by Wodrow. "In December, 1662, he felt extremely weak. Mr John Livingston, now suffering for the same cause with him, and under a sentence of banishment for refusing the foresaid oath, came to visit Mr Dickson on his death-bed. They had been intimate friends near fifty years, and now rejoiced together, as fellow confessors. When Mr Livingston asked the professor how he found himself, his answer was, 'I have taken all my good deeds and all my bad deeds, and cast them through each other in a heap before the Lord, and fled from both, and betaken myself to the Lord Jesus Christ, and in him I have sweet peace.' Mr Dickson's youngest son gave my informer, a worthy minister yet alive, this account of his father's death. Having been very weak and low for some days, he called all his family together, and spoke in particular to each of them, and when he had gone through them all, he pronounced the words of apostolical blessing, 2 Cor. xiii. 14, with much gravity and solemnity, and then put up his hand, and closed his own eyes, and without any struggle or apparent pain immediately expired in the arms of his son, my brother's informer,[6] in the year 1663." This period has been noticed by some of our historians as particularly calamitous. In the course of a few years, when the church most required their support, the deaths of Dickson, Durham, Baillie, Ramsay, Rutherford, and many others are recorded.[7]

[6] Wodrow's Memoir of Dickson, p. xiii.
[7] Law's Memorialls, p. 13.

Of Mr Dickson's works the indefatigable Wodrow has given a minute account. By these he is best known, and it is perhaps the best eulogium that could be pronounced upon them, that they have stood the test of nearly two hundred years, and are still highly valued.

His Commentaries on the Psalms, on the Gospel of St Matthew, on the Epistles, and on that to the Hebrews, which was printed separately, were the results of a plan formed among some of the most eminent ministers of the Scottish church for publishing "short, plain, and practical expositions of the whole Bible." To the same source we are indebted for some of the works of Durham, Ferguson, Hutchison, &c., but the plan was never fully carried into effect, and several of the expositions in Wodrow's time still remained in manuscript. Mr Dickson's Treatise on the Promises, published at Dublin in 1630, 12mo, is the only other work printed during his life, with the exception of some ephemeral productions, arising out of the controversy with the doctors of Aberdeen, and the disputes between the resolutioners and protesters. A few poems on religious subjects are mentioned by Wodrow, but they are long since quite forgotten.

Mr Dickson's "Therapeutica Sacra, or cases of conscience resolved," has been printed both in Latin and English. On the 25th of July, 1661, he applied to the privy council for liberty to publish the English version, and Fairfoul, afterwards archbishop of Glasgow, was appointed to examine and report upon it. "Now, indeed," says Wodrow, sarcastically, "the world was changed in Scotland, when Mr Fairfoul is pitched upon to revise Mr David Dickson, professor of divinity, his books." What was the result of this application is not known; it is only certain that no farther progress was made in the attainment of this object till 1663, after the author's death. On the 23d of March that year, his son, Mr Alexander Dickson, professor of Hebrew in the university of Edinburgh, again applied to the lords of the council, who in October granted license to print it without restriction.[8] It was accordingly published in 1664.

The last work which we have to notice is "Truth's victory over Error," which was translated by the eccentric George Sinclair, and published as his own in 1684. What his object in doing so was, Wodrow does not determine, but only remarks that *if* (and we think there is no doubt in the matter) it was "with the poor view of a little glory to himself, it happened to him as it generally does to self-seeking and private spirited persons even in this present state." In accordance with the prevailing custom of the times, many of Mr Dickson's students had copied his Dictates, and Sinclair's trick was soon and easily detected. One of them inserted in the running title the lines,

> "No errors in this book I see,
> But G.S. where D.D. should be."

The first edition, with the author's name, was printed at Glasgow, in 1725, and has prefixed to it a memoir of the author, by Wodrow, to which we have already alluded, and to which we are indebted for many of the facts mentioned in this article.[9]

DOIG, Dr David, the son of a small farmer in the county of Angus, was born in the year 1719. His father dying while he was still an infant, he was in-

[8] History of the suff. of the church of Scotland, *ed.* 1828.

[9] Wodrow, in his Analecta, MS. Advocates' Library, sets down the following characteristic anecdote of Mr Dickson: "I heard that when Mr David Dickson came in to see the lady Eglintoune, who at the time had with her the lady Wigton, Culross, &c., and they all caressed him very much, he said, 'Ladies, if all this kindness be to me as Mr David Dickson, I cun [render] you noe thanks, but if it be to me as a servant of my master, and for his sake, I take it all weel.'"

debted for subsistence to a stepfather, who, although in very moderate circumstances, and burdened with a young family, discharged to him the duty of an affectionate parent. From a constitutional defect of eyesight, he was twelve years of age before he had learned to read; he was enabled, however, by the quickness of his intellect, and the constancy of his application, amply to redeem his lost time: his progress was so rapid, that after three years' attendance at the parochial school, he was the successful candidate for a bursary in the university of St Andrews. Having finished the usual elementary course of classical and philosophical education, he took the degree of bachelor of arts, and commenced the study of divinity, but was prevented from completing his studies by some conscientious scruples regarding certain of the articles in the presbyterian confession of faith. Thus diverted from his original intention of entering the church, he taught for several years, the parochial schools of Monifeith in Angus, and Kennoway and Falkland in Fifeshire. His great reputation as a teacher then obtained for him, from the magistrates of Stirling, the appointment of rector of the grammar school of that town; which situation he continued to fill with the greatest ability for upwards of forty years. It is a curious coincidence, that on one and the same day, he received from the university of St Andrews a diploma as master of arts, and from the university of Glasgow, the honorary degree of doctor of laws.—Dr Doig died March 16th, 1800, at the age of eighty-one.

In addition to a profound knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, both of which he wrote with classical purity, Dr Doig had made himself master of the Hebrew, Arabic, and other oriental languages, and was deeply versed in the history and literature of the East. Of his proficiency in the more abstruse learning, he has afforded abundant proof in his dissertations on *Mythology*, *Mysteries*, and *Philology*, which were written at the request of his intimate friend, and the companion of his social hours, the Rev. Dr George Gleig, and published in the Encyclopædia Britannica; of which work, that able and ingenious clergyman edited the last volumes, and was himself the author of many of the most valuable articles which the book contains. That part of the Encyclopædia containing the article *Philology*, written by Dr Doig, having been published in the same week with a *Dissertation on the Greek verb*, by Dr Vincent, afterwards Dean of Westminster, that author was so much struck with the coincidence, in many points, with his own opinions, that he commenced an epistolary correspondence with Dr Doig: and these two eminent philologists, by frequent communication, assisted and encouraged each other in their researches on these subjects. The same liberal interchange of sentiment characterized Dr Doig's correspondence with Mr Bryant, in their mutual inquiries on the subject of ancient mythology. Amongst other proofs which Dr Doig gave of his profound learning, was a *Dissertation on the Ancient Hellenes*, published in the Transactions of the royal society of Edinburgh.

The most remarkable event of Dr Doig's literary life, however, was his controversy with lord Kames. That eminent philosopher, in his Essay on Man, had maintained, as the foundation of his system, that man was originally in an entirely savage state, and that by gradual improvement, he rose to his present condition of diversified civilization. These opinions were combated by Dr Doig, who endeavoured to prove, that they were neither supported by sound reason, nor by historical fact; while they were at the same time irreconcileable with the Mosaic account of the creation. In the bible, the historical details of the earliest period present man in a comparatively advanced state of civilization; and if we resort to profane history, we find that the earliest historical records are confirmatory of the sacred books, and represent civilization as flow-

ing from those portions of the globe—from the banks of the Euphrates and the Nile—which the biblical history describes as the seat of the earliest civilization. Modern history is equally favourable to Dr Doig's system. In Eastern Asia, we find nations remaining for thousands of years in identically the same state of improvement, or if they have moved at all, it has been a retrograde movement. In Africa also, we perceive man in precisely the same condition in which the Greek and Roman writers represent him to have been two thousand years ago. Europe alone affords an example of progress in civilization, and that progress may be easily traced to intercourse with the eastern nations. Man seems to possess no power to advance unassisted, beyond the first stage of barbarism. According to Dr Robertson, "in every stage of society, the faculties, the sentiments, and the desires of men, are so accommodated to their own state, that they become standards of excellence to themselves; they affix the idea of perfection and happiness to those attainments which resemble their own, and wherever the objects of enjoyment to which they have been accustomed are wanting, confidently pronounce a people to be barbarous and miserable." The impediments which prejudice and national vanity thus oppose to improvement were mainly broken down in Europe by the crusades and their consequences, whereby the civilization of the East was diffused through the several nations in Europe. America presents the only instance of a people having advanced considerably in civilization unassisted, apparently, by external intercourse. The Mexicans and Peruvians, when first discovered, were greatly more civilized than the surrounding tribes: but although this be admitted, yet, as it still remains a debateable question whence the people of America derived their origin, and as the most plausible theory represents them as having migrated from the nations of eastern Asia, it may, after all, be contended, that the Mexicans and Peruvians had rather retrograded than advanced, and that, in truth, they only retained a portion of the civilization which they originally derived from the same common source.

Dr Doig's controversy with lord Kames was maintained in two letters addressed to his lordship, but which were not published until 1793, several years after the death of lord Kames; they led, however, to an immediate intimacy between the controvertists, of the commencement of which we have an interesting anecdote.—The first of these letters "dated from Stirling, but without the subscription of the writer, was transmitted to lord Kames, who was then passing the christmas vacation at Blair-Drummond; his curiosity was roused to discover the author of a composition which bore evidence of a most uncommon degree of learning and ingenuity. In conversing on the subject with an intimate friend, Dr Graham Moir of Leckie, a gentleman of taste and erudition, and of great scientific knowledge, who frequently visited him in the country, his lordship producing the letter of his anonymous correspondent, 'In the name of wonder,' said he, 'Doctor, what prodigy of learning have you got in the town of Stirling, who is capable of writing this letter, which I received a few days ago?' The doctor, after glancing over a few pages, answered, 'I think I know him,—there is but one man who is able to write this letter, and a most extraordinary man he is;—David Doig, the master of our grammar school'—'What!' said lord Kames, 'a genius of this kind, within a few miles of my house, and I never to have heard of him! And a fine fellow, too: he tells his mind roundly and plainly; I love him for that:—he does not spare me: I respect him the more:—you must make us acquainted, my good doctor: I will write him a card; and to morrow, if you please, you shall bring him to dine with me.' The interview took place accordingly; and to the mutual satisfaction of the parties. The subject of their controversy was freely and amply discussed; and

though neither of them could boast of making a convert of his antagonist, a cordial friendship took place from that day, and a literary correspondence began, which suffered no interruption during their joint lives."

We have various testimonies of the high respect in which Dr Doig was held by all who were acquainted with him, and the sincere regard felt for him by his friends. Mr Tytler, in his life of lord Kames, embraces the opportunity while treating of the controversy between him and lord Kames, to give a short outline of his life, as a small tribute of respect to the memory of a man whom he esteemed and honoured; and whose correspondence for several years, in the latter part of his life, was a source to him of the most rational pleasure and instruction. John Ramsay of Ochtertyre raised a mural tablet to his memory, on which he placed the following inscription:

DAVID DOIG!
Dium tempus erit, vale!
Quo desiderio nunc recordor
Colloquia, cœnas, itinera,
Quæ tecum olim habui,
Prope Taichii marginem,
Ubi læti sæpe una erravimus!
Sit mihi pro solatio merita tua contemplare.
Tibi puero orbo,
Ingenui igniculos dedit Pater cœlestis.
Tibi etiam grandævo,
Labor ipse erat in deliciis.
Te vix alius doctrinæ ditior,
Nemo edoctus modestior.
Tuo in sermone miti lucebant
Candor, charitas, jucunda virtus,
Ingenii lumine sane gratiora.
Defunctum te dolebant octogenarium
Cives, discipuli, sodales.
Venerande Senex! non omnis extinctus es!
Anima tua, sperare lubet, paradisum incolit.
Ibi angelorum ore locutura,
Ibi per sempiternas sæculorum ætates,
Scientiæ sitim in terris insatiabilem
Ad libitum expletura.
J. R.

DAVID DOIG!
Farewell through time!
With what regret do I now remember,
The conversation, the meals, the journeys,[1]
Which I have had with thee,
On the banks of the Teith,
Where, well pleased we often strayed together.
Be it my consolation
To muse upon thy good qualities.
On thee, an orphan, thy heavenly Father
Bestowed the seeds of Genius:
To thee, even when well stricken in years,
Labour itself was delight.
Than thee, few more rich in literature,
None of the learned more unassuming.
In thy converse mildly shone
Candour, kindness, amiable virtue,
More engaging than the glare of genius.
When thou died'st, aged fourscore,
Townsmen, scholars, and companions,
Dropt a tender tear.
Venerable old man,
Thou hast not utterly perished!
Thy soul, we trust, now dwells in heaven:
There to speak the language of angels;
There, throughout the endless ages of eternity,
To gratify to its wish that thirst for knowledge
Which could not be satiated on earth.

A favourite amusement of Dr Doig was the composition of small poetical pieces, both in Latin and English, of which those of an epigrammatic turn were peculiarly excellent. From among those fugitive pieces, the magistrates of Stirling selected the following elegiac stanzas, which he had composed on the subject of his own life and studies, and engraved them upon a marble monument, erected to his memory, at the expense of the community of Stirling.

Edidici quædam, perlegi plura, notavi
Paucula, cum domino mox peritura suo,
Lubrica Pieriæ tentarem præmia palmæ,
Credulus, ingenio heu nimis alta meo.
Extincto famam ruituro crescere saxo
Posse putem, vivo quæ mihi nulla fuit!

[1] Dr Doig, in company with Mr Ramsay, visited Oxford and Cambridge, in 1791, and some years after, they spent a few weeks together at Peterhead.

DONALDSON, John, an eminent painter, was born at Edinburgh, in the year 1737. His father was a poor but worthy glover in that city, remarkable for the peculiar cast of his mind, which led him to discuss metaphysics as he cut out gloves on his board. The son inherited the same peculiarity, but to an excess which proved greatly more injurious to him. His father did not allow his metaphysics to interfere with his trade; but young Donaldson, disregarding all the ordinary means of forwarding his own particular interests, devoted himself with disinterested philanthropy to the promotion of various fanciful projects for ameliorating the condition of his fellow creatures. The result was precisely what might have been anticipated; for although Donaldson had endowments sufficient to raise him to distinction and opulence, his talents were in effect thrown away, and he died in indigence. While yet a child, he was constantly occupied in drawing with chalk, on his father's cutting-board, those objects around him which attracted his attention. This natural propensity was encouraged by his father, and such was his success, that the boy had hardly completed his twelfth year, when he was enabled to contribute to his own support by drawing miniatures in India-ink. At that time, too, his imitations with the pen, of the works by Albert Durer, Aldegrave, and other ancient engravers, were so exquisite as to excite the astonishment and admiration of men of the most accomplished taste, and to deceive the eye of the most experienced connoisseurs. After prosecuting his profession for several years in Edinburgh, he removed to London, and for some time painted likenesses in miniature, with great success. But at length, the mistaken notions of philanthropy just alluded to, gained such an ascendancy over his mind, as entirely to ruin his prospects. He conceived, that in morals, religion, policy, and taste, mankind were radically wrong; and, neglecting his profession, he employed himself in devising schemes for remedying this universal error. These schemes were the constant subject of his conversation; and, latterly, this infirmity gained so much upon him, that he reckoned the time bestowed on his professional avocations as lost to the world. He now held his former pursuits in utter contempt; and maintained that Sir Joshua Reynolds must be a very dull fellow, to devote his life to the study of lines and tints. He completely neglected his business, and has been known to deny himself to lord North, because he was not in the humour to paint. There was another unhappy peculiarity in his character, which contributed in no inconsiderable degree to mar his success. He was remarkable (until overwhelmed by adversity) for a sarcastic and epigrammatic turn; the indiscreet indulgence in which, lost him many friends. Even while persons of consideration were sitting to him, he would get up and leave them, that he might finish an epigram, or jot down a happy thought. It may well be supposed that, with every allowance for the whims and eccentricities of men of genius, absurdities such as these were not to be tolerated. Nor is it at all wonderful, that as an artist, he retrograded; and ultimately, from want of practice, lost much of that facility of execution, which had gained him celebrity in his early years. To such a man the experience of the world teaches no lesson. He saw with chagrin, the rise of greatly inferior artists; but failed to make that reformation in himself, which would have enabled him to surpass most of his contemporaries. At the same time, he was far from being idle, as the mass of manuscript scraps which he left behind him, abundantly testify. These manuscripts, however, were found in a state too unfinished and confused, to admit of their coming before the public. His only acknowledged publications were "*An Essay on the Elements of Beauty*," and a volume of poems; and Mr Edwards, in his supplement to Walpole's anecdotes of painters, attributes to Donaldson, a pamphlet published anonymously, entitled "*Critical Observations and Re-*

marks upon the Public Buildings of London." Before he became disgusted with his profession, he had painted his well known historical picture of *The Tent of Darius;* which gained him the prize from the society of arts, and was justly admired for its great beauty. About the same time he executed two paintings in enamel, "*The Death of Dido,*" and "*The Story of Hero and Leander,*" both of which obtained prizes from the same society. These two paintings were so much admired, that he was urged by his friends to do others in the same style; but no persuasion could induce him to make the attempt. At that time many persons of rank and title honoured him with their patronage. The earl of Buchan, in particular, was very much his friend, and purchased the Tent of Darius, and several other of his paintings, together with one or both of the enamels. Donaldson's likenesses, both in black-lead and in colours, were striking; of which the head of Hume the historian, prefixed to Strachan and Cadell's edition of the History of England, was accounted a very favourable specimen.

Among the various pursuits of this eccentric individual, chemistry was one; in the prosecution of which, he discovered a method of preserving meat and vegetables uncorrupted, during the longest voyages. For this discovery he obtained a patent; but his poverty and indolence, and his ignorance of the world, prevented his turning it to any account. The last twenty years of his life were spent in great misery. His eye-sight had failed; but even before that misfortune, his business had left him; and he was frequently destitute of the ordinary necessaries of life. His last illness was occasioned by his having slept in a newly painted room, which brought on a total debility. His friends then removed him to lodgings near Islington, where he received every attention which his case required, until his death, which took place on the 11th of October, 1801. He was buried in Islington church-yard. Donaldson was a man of very rare endowments, and of great talents; addicted to no vice; and remarkable for the most abstemious moderation. The great and single error of his life, was his total neglect of his profession, at a time when his talents and opportunities held out the certainty of his attaining the very highest rank as an artist.

DONALDSON, Walter, was born in Aberdeen, and attained to some consideration among the learned men of the seventeenth century. He was in the retinue of bishop Cunningham of Aberdeen, and Peter Junius, grand-almoner of Scotland, when they were sent on an embassy from king James VI. to the court of Denmark and to the princes of Germany. After his return from this expedition he again went abroad, and delivered a course of lectures on moral philosophy at Heidelberg. One of his pupils having taken notes of these lectures, published them; an encroachment on his rights with which Donaldson seems not to have been much displeased, for he informs us, with apparent complacency, that several editions of the work were published both in Germany and in Great Britain, under the title of *Synopsis moralis Philosophiæ.* He was afterwards appointed professor of the Greek language and principal of the university of Sedan, which situation he retained for sixteen years; he was then invited to open a college at Charenton, but the proposed establishment was objected to as illegal, and appears to have gone no farther. While this matter was pending in the courts of law, Donaldson employed himself in preparing his *Synopsis Œconomica,* which he published in Paris in 8vo, in 1620, and dedicated to the prince of Wales. This work was republished at Rostock in 1624, in 8vo.

DOUGALL, John, was born in Kirkaldy in Fifeshire, where his father was the master of the grammar school. After receiving the primary branches of education at home, he proceeded to the university of Edinburgh, where he

studied for some time, with the intention of entering the church of Scotland; but afterwards changing his design, he devoted himself principally to classical learning, for which his mind was unusually gifted. He also directed his attention to the study of mathematics, of ancient and modern geography, and of the modern languages, including most of those of northern Europe. He made the tour of the continent several times in the capacity of tutor and travelling companion. Afterwards he was private secretary to the learned general Melville; and ultimately he established himself in London, where he dedicated his life to literary pursuits. He was the author of *Military Adventures*, 8vo, *The Modern Preceptor*, 2 vols. 8vo, *The Cabinet of Arts, including Arithmetic, Geometry, and Chemistry*, 2 vols. 8vo.; and contributed besides to many scientific and literary works; particularly to the periodical publications of the day. He also engaged in the translation of works from the French and Italian languages. For many years he employed himself, under the patronage of the late duke of York, in preparing a new translation of Cæsar's Commentaries, with copious notes and illustrations. This work, however, he did not live to complete, which is much to be regretted, as from his classical knowledge he must have rendered it highly valuable. He had likewise intended to prepare an English translation of Strabo, as well as to clear up many doubtful passages in Polybius, for which he was eminently qualified; but the want of encouragement and the narrowness of his circumstances frustrated his wishes. Reduced, in the evening of his life, to all the miseries of indigence and neglect, he sunk, after a long and severe illness, into the grave, in the year 1822, leaving his aged widow utterly destitute and unprovided for; and affording in himself an instructive but painful example of the hardships to which, unless under very favourable circumstances, men even of extraordinary attainments, are apt to be reduced, when, forsaking the ordinary paths of professional industry, they yield to the captivations of literature.

DOUGLAS, (Sir) Charles, a distinguished naval officer, was a native of Scotland; but we have not learned where he was born, nor to what family he belonged. His education must have been very good, as he could speak no fewer than six different European languages with perfect correctness. He was originally in the Dutch service, and it is said that he did not obtain rank in the British navy without great difficulty. In the Seven years' war, which commenced in 1756, he was promoted through the various ranks of the service till he became post-captain. At the conclusion of the war in 1763, he went to St Petersburg, his majesty having previously conferred upon him the rank of baronet. On the war breaking out with America in 1775, Sir Charles had a broad pendant given him, and commanded the squadron employed in the Gulf of St Lawrence. His services on this station were, after his return to England, rewarded with very flattering honours, and he soon after obtained command of the Duke, 98 guns. Sir Charles was remarkable not only as a linguist, but also for his genius in mechanics. He suggested the substitution of locks for matches in naval gunnery; an improvement immediately adopted, and which proved of vast service to the British navy. On the 24th of November, 1781, he was appointed first captain to Sir George Rodney, then about to sail on his second expedition to the West Indies. Sir George, having hoisted his flag in the Formidable, Douglas assumed the command of that vessel, and they sailed on the 15th of January, 1782, from Torbay. On the 12th of April, took place the celebrated engagement with the French fleet, in which the British gained a most splendid victory, chiefly, it is supposed, in consequence of the Formidable having been directed across the enemy's line. In our memoir of Mr Clerk of Eldin, we have recorded part of the controversy which has been

carried on respecting the originator of this idea. It was there shown, that Sir Charles Douglas utterly denied the claims of Mr Clerk: we must now show what claims have been put forward for himself. Douglas, it must be remarked, was an officer of too high principle to make any claims himself. He thought it a kind of insubordination for any one to claim more honour than what was allowed to him by his superiors in the despatches or in the gazette. Hence, whenever any one hinted at the concern which he was generally supposed to have had in suggesting the measure, he always turned the conversation, remarking in general terms, "We had a great deal to do, Sir, and I believe you will allow we did a great deal." The claim has been put forward by his son, major-general Sir Howard Douglas, who, at the same time, speaks in the following terms of his father's delicacy upon the subject: "He never, I repeat, asserted, or would accept, when complimented upon it, greater share in the honour of the day, than what had been publicly and officially given him, and I am sure his spirit would not approve of my reclaiming any laurels of that achievement from the tomb of his chief." The principal proof brought forward by Sir Howard consists of the following extract from a letter by Sir Charles Dashwood, a surviving actor in the engagement of the 12th of April, though then only thirteen years of age. "Being one of the aides-de-camp to the commander-in-chief on that memorable day, it was my duty to attend both on him and the captain of the fleet, as occasion might require. It so happened, that some time after the battle had commenced, and whilst we were severely engaged, I was standing near Sir Charles Douglas, who was leaning on the hammocks (which in those days were stowed across the fore part of the quarter-deck), his head leaning on his one hand, and his eye occasionally glancing on the enemy's line, and apparently in deep meditation, as if some great event were crossing his mind: suddenly raising his head, and turning quickly round, he said, 'Dash, where's Sir George?' 'In the after-cabin, Sir,' I replied. He immediately went aft: I followed; and on meeting Sir George coming from the cabin, close to the wheel, he took off his cocked hat with his right hand, holding his long spy-glass in his left, and, making a low and profound bow, said, 'Sir George, I give you joy of the victory!'—'Poh!' said the chief, as if half angry, 'the day is not half won yet.'—'Break the line, Sir George!' said Douglas, 'the day is your own, and I will ensure you the victory.'—'No,' said the admiral, 'I will not break my line.' After another request and another refusal, Sir Charles desired the helm to be put a-port; Sir George ordered it to starboard. On Sir Charles again ordering it to port, the admiral sternly said, 'Remember, Sir Charles, that I am commander-in-chief,—starboard, Sir,' addressing the master, who during this controversy had placed the helm amidships. The admiral and captain then separated; the former going aft, and the latter going forward. In the course of a couple of minutes or so, each turned and again met nearly on the same spot, when Sir Charles quietly and coolly again addressed the chief—'Only break the line, Sir George, and the day is your own.' The admiral then said in a quick and hurried way, 'Well, well, do as you like,' and immediately turned round, and walked into the after-cabin. The words 'Port the helm,' were scarcely uttered, when Sir Charles ordered me down with directions to commence firing on the starboard side. On my return to the quarter-deck, I found the Formidable passing between two French ships, each nearly touching us. We were followed by the Namur, and the rest of the ships astern, and from that moment the victory was decided in our favour."

Referring the reader for a further discussion of this controversy to the 83d number of the Quarterly Review, we may mention that lord Rodney never failed to confess that the advantages of the day were greatly improved by Sir

Charles Douglas. After the conclusion of the war, the gallant officer was intrusted with the command of the Nova Scotia station, which, however, he resigned in consequence of some proceedings of the Navy Board with which he was displeased. During the preparations for war in 1787, he was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral, and next year he was re-appointed to the Nova Scotia station. He expired, however, January 1789, in the act of entering a public meeting at Edinburgh, a stroke of apoplexy having cut him off in a single moment. Over and above all his claims to the honours of the 12th of April, he left the character of a brave and honest officer. His mechanical inventions have been followed up by his son, Sir Howard, whose work on naval gunnery is a book of standard excellence.

DOUGLAS, Gavin, one of the most eminent of our early poets, was the third and youngest son of Archibald, fifth earl of Angus, by Elizabeth Boyd, only daughter of Robert, lord Boyd, high chamberlain of Scotland. The earls of Angus were a younger branch of the family of Douglas, and helped, in the reign of James II., to depress the enormous power of the main stock; whence it was said, with a reference to the complexions of the two different races, that the *red Douglas had put down the black.* Archibald, the fifth earl, father to the poet, is noted in our history for his bold conduct respecting the favourites of James III., at Lauder, which gained him the nickname of *Bell-the-cat.* His general force of character amidst the mighty transactions in which he was engaged, caused him to be likewise designated "the great earl." According to the family historian, he was every way accomplished, both in body and mind; of stature tall, and strong made; his countenance full of majesty, and such as bred reverence in the beholders; wise, and eloquent of speech; upright and regular in his actions; sober, and moderate in his desires; valiant and courageous; a man of action and undertaking; liberal also; loving and kind to his friends; which made him to be beloved, reverenced, and respected by all men.

Gavin Douglas, the son of such a father, was born about the year 1474, and was brought up for the church. Where his education was commenced, is unknown; but, according to Mr Warton, there is certain evidence that it was finished in the university of Paris. He is supposed, in youth, to have travelled for some time over the continent, in order to make himself acquainted with the manners of other countries. In 1496, when only twenty-two years of age, he was appointed rector of Hawick, a benefice probably in the gift of his family, which has long held large property and high influence in that part of the country. We are informed by the family historian, that in youth he felt the pangs of love, but was soon freed from the tyranny of that unreasonable passion. Probably his better principles proved sufficient to keep in check what his natural feelings, aided by the poetical temperament, would have dictated. However, he appears to have signalized his triumph, by writing a translation of Ovid's "Remedy of Love." He alludes in a strange manner to this work, in his translation of Virgil; giving the following free reading of the well known passage in the Æneid, where his author speaks of the Bucolics and Georgics, as having been his former compositions:

> So thus followand the floure of poetry,
> The battellis and the man translate have I,
> Quhilk yore ago in myne undauntit youth
> Unfructuous idelnes fleand, as I couth,
> Of Ovideis Lufe the Remede did translate,
> And syne of hie Honour the Palice wrate.

In those days, it does not seem to have been considered the duty of a translator to put himself exactly into the place of the author; he was permitted to substitute

modern allusions for the original, and, as this specimen testifies, to alter any personality respecting the author, so as to apply to himself. The translation of the "Remedy of Love," which must have been written before the year 1501, has not been preserved. In the year just mentioned, he wrote his "Palace of Honour," an apologue for the conduct of a king, and which he therefore addressed, very appropriately, to his young sovereign, king James IV. The poet, in a vision, finds himself in a wilderness, where he sees troops of persons travelling towards the palace of honour. He joins himself to the train of the muses, and in their company proceeds to the happy place. At this point of the allegory, his description of one of their resting places is exceedingly beautiful:

Our horses pasturit on ane pleasand plane,
Law at the foot of ane fair grene montane,
Amid ane meid, shaddowit with cedar trees,
Safe fra all heit, thair might we weil remain.
All kind of herbis, flouris, fruit, and grain,
With every growand tree thair men might cheis,
The beryal streams rinnand ower stanerie greis,
Made sober noise; the shair dinnit again,
For birdis sang, and sounding of the beis.

In his last adventure, he seems to allude to the law of celibacy, under which, as a priest, he necessarily lay. The habitation of the honourable ladies (which he describes in gorgeous terms) is surrounded by a deep ditch, over which is a narrow bridge, formed of a single tree; and this is supposed to represent the ceremony of marriage. Upon his attempting to pass over the bridge, he falls into the water, and awakes from his dream. Of this poem, the earliest known edition is one printed at London, in 1553, in quarto. Another appeared at Edinburgh, in 1579, being printed "by Johne Roos, for Henry Charteris:" both are very rare. In the preface, however, to the Edinburgh edition, the printer mentions, that "besides the coppie printed at London, there were copyis of this wark set furth of auld amang ourselfis." These are totally lost to bibliographical research. There is some probability, however, that some of them appeared before 1543, as a work by Florence Wilson, entitled "De Tranquillitate Animi," and printed in that year, is said to be an imitation of the Palace of Honour. Sage, in his life of Douglas, prefixed to the edition of the Æneid, thus speaks of the poem under our notice: "The author's excellent design is, under the similitude of a vision, to represent the vanity and inconstancy of all worldly pomp and glory; and to show, that a constant and inflexible course of virtue and goodness, is the only way to true honour and felicity, which he allegorically describes, as a magnificent palace, situated on the top of a very high mountain, of a most difficult access. He illustrates the whole with a variety of examples, not only of those noble and heroic souls, whose eminent virtues procured them admission into that blessed place, but also of those wretched creatures, whose vicious lives have fatally excluded them from it for ever, notwithstanding of all their worldly state and grandeur." This critic is of opinion that the poet took his plan from the palace of happiness described in the "Tablet" of Cebes. There is, however, a probability of a still more interesting nature, with which we are impressed. This is, that Bunyan must have adopted his idea of the Pilgrim's Progress from the "Palace of Honour." In the whole structure of these two works, there is a marked resemblance. Both are dreams, representing a journey towards a place superior to the nature of this world. In the one, the pilgrim of honour, in the other, the pilgrim of christianity, are the heroes; and both are conducted by supernatural beings, on a march represented as somewhat trying to human strength. It is curious, also,

that while the journey ends, in both cases, at a place full of celestial glories, there is, in both cases, a limbo, or hell, by the way side, a little before the ultimate object is reached.

In all probability, these poems were written at his residence in the town of Hawick, where he was surrounded with scenery in the highest degree calculated to nurse a poetical fancy. In 1509, he was nominated to be provost of the collegiate church of St Giles, at Edinburgh, and it is likely that he then changed his residence to the capital. Some years before, he had contemplated a translation of the Æneid into Scottish verse, as appears from his Palace of Honour, where Venus presents him with a copy of that poem, in the original, and, in virtue of her relation to the hero, requests the poet to give a version of it in his vernacular tongue. In his preface to the work, he thus explains the real earthly reason of his engaging in such a labour:

> And that ye knaw at quhais instance I tuke
> For to translate this maist excellent buke,
> I mene Virgillis volum, maist excellent,
> Set this my werk full febill be of rent,
> At the request of ane lorde of renowne,
> Of ancestry maist nobill, and illustir baroun,
> Fadir of bukis, protector to science and lair,
> My special gude lord Henry lord Sinclare.
> Quhilk with great instance, diverse tymes, sere
> Prayit me translate Virgil or Homere,
> Quhais plesure soithlie, as I undirstude,
> As near conjonit to his lordship in blude;[1]
> So that methocht his request ane command,
> Half desparit this werk I tuke on hand,
> Not fully grantand, nor anys sayand ye,
> Bot only to assay how it micht be.
> Quhay micht gainsay a lorde sa gentil and kind,
> That ever had ony courtesy in thair mynd?
> Quhilk beside his innative policy,
> Humanite, courage, freedom, and chevelry,
> Bukis to recollect, to reid, and see,
> Hes great delyte as ever had Ptolomé.

At the urgent request of this literary nobleman, which seems to have been necessary to get over the diffidence of the poet himself, Douglas commenced his labours in January, 1511-12, and although he prefaced each book with an original poem, and included the poem written by Mapheus Vigius[2] as a thirteenth book, the whole was completed in eighteen months, two of which, he tells us, were spent exclusively in other business. The work was completed on the 22nd of July, 1513. The "Æneid" of Gavin Douglas is a work creditable in the highest degree to Scottish literature, not only from the specific merit of the translation, but because it was the first translation of a Roman classic executed in the English language.[3] To adopt the criticism of Dr Irving—"Without pronouncing it the best version of this poem that ever was, or ever will be executed, we may at least venture to affirm, that it is the production of a bold and energetic writer, whose knowledge of the language of his original,

[1] Henry, first lord Sinclair, was grandson to lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of Archibald, fourth earl of Douglas. He fell at Flodden.

[2] A learned Italian of the fifteenth century.

[3] The near affinity of the languages of England and Scotland at this time, renders any circumlocutory mode of expressing this idea unnecessary.

and prompt command of a copious and variegated phraseology, qualified him for the performance of so arduous a task. And whether we consider the state of British literature at that era, or the rapidity with which he completed the work, he will be found entitled to a high degree of admiration. In either of the sister languages, few translations of classical authors had hitherto been attempted; and the rules of the art were consequently little understood. It has been remarked, that even in English, no metrical version of a classic had yet appeared; except of Boethius, who scarcely merits that appellation. On the destruction of Troy, Caxton had published a kind of prose romance, which he professes to have translated from the French: and the English reader was taught to consider this motley composition as a version of the Æneid. Douglas bestows severe castigation on Caxton, for his presumptuous deviation from the classical story, and affirms that his work no more resembles Virgil, than the devil is like St Austin. He has, however, fallen into one error, which he exposes in his predecessor; proper names are often so transfigured in his translation, that they are not, without much difficulty, recognised. In many instances, he has been guilty of modernizing the notions of his original. The sybil, for example, is converted into a nun, and admonishes Æneas, the Trojan baron, to persist in counting his beads. This plan of reducing every ancient notion to a classical standard, has been adopted by much later writers: many preposterous instances occur in the learned Dr Blackwell's memoirs of the court of Augustus.

"Of the general principles of translation, however, Douglas appears to have formed no inaccurate notion. For the most part, his version is neither rashly licentious, nor tamely literal. * * * Though the merit of such a performance cannot be ascertained by the inspection of a few detached passages, it may be proper to exhibit a brief specimen:

Facilis descensus Averni,
Noctes atque dies patet atri janua Ditis;
Sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad auras,
Hoc opus, hic labor est; pauci quos æquus amavit
Jupiter, aut ardens evexit ad æthera virtus,
Dis geniti, potuere. Tenent media omnia silvæ,
Cocytusque sinu labens circumfluit atro.

VIRGIL.

It is richt facill and eith gate, I the tell,
For to descend and pass on doun to hell:
The black yettis of Pluto and that dirk way
Standis evir open and patent nycht and day:
Bot therefra to return agane on hicht,
And here aboue recouir this airis licht,
That is difficill werk, there laboure lyis.
Full few there bene quhom heich aboue the skyis
Thare ardent vertew has rasit and upheit,
Or yet quhame equale Jupiter deifyit,
Thay quhilkis bene gendrit of goddis, may thidder attane.
All the midway is wildernes vnplane,
Or wilsum forrest; and the laithly flude
Cocytus with his dresy bosum vnrude
Flowis enuiron round about that place.

DOUGLAS."

Mr Warton pronounces for judgment upon Douglas' Æneid, that it "is executed with equal spirit and fidelity, and is a proof that the Lowland Scotch and

English languages were then nearly the same. I mean the style of composition; more especially, in the glaring affectation of Anglicising Latin words."[1]

It is not, however, in the translation that the chief merit lies. The poet has gained much greater praise for the original poetry scattered through the book. To an ordinary reader, the plan of the work may be best described by a reference to the structure of "Marmion," which is decidedly an imitation of it. To every book is prefixed what Douglas calls a prologue, containing some descriptions or observations of his own, and some of which afford delightful glimpses of his personal character and habits. Those most admired are the prologue to the seventh book, containing a description of winter, that to the twelfth book, containing a description of a summer morning, and that to the thirteenth (supplementary) book, which describes an evening in June. It would appear that the author, in these and other cases, sought to relax himself from the progressive labour of mere translation, by employing his own poetical powers, on what he saw at the time around him. Mr Warton speaks of Milton's L'Allegro and Il Penseroso as among the earliest descriptive poems produced in England. Whether he be correct or not, we may at least affirm, that Douglas, in his prologues to the books of Virgil, has given Scotland the credit of producing poems of that kind, more than a century earlier.

These compositions being of such importance in Scottish literature, it seems proper in this place to present a specimen sufficient to enable the reader to judge of their value. It is difficult, however, to pitch upon a passage where the merit of the poetry may be obvious enough to induce the reader to take a little trouble in comprehending the language.[2] We have with some hesitation pitched upon the following passage from the prologue to the seventh book, which, as descriptive of nature in a certain aspect, in this country, is certainly very faithful and even picturesque:

* * * * *

The firmament owrecast with cludis black:
The ground fadit, and faugh[3] wox all the fieldis
Mountane toppis slekit with snaw owre heildis:
On raggit rockis of hard harsh quhyn stane,
With frostyn frontis cald clynty clewis schane:
Bewty was lost, and barrand shew the landis
With frostis hore, owerfret the fieldis standis.
Thick drumly skuggis[4] dirklnit so the hevin,
Dim skyis oft furth warpit fearful levin,[5]
Flaggis[6] of fyre, and mony felloun flaw,
Sharp soppis of sleit and of the swyppand snaw:
The dolly dichis war al douk and wate,
The low vales flodderit all with spate,
The plane stretis and every hie way
Full of fluschis, dubbis, myre, and clay.

* * * * *

Owr craggis and the frontis of rockys sere,
Hang gret yse schokkilis, lang as ony spere:
The grund stude barrane, widderit, dosk, and gray,
Herbis, flowris, and gersis wallowit away:

[1] History of English Poetry, ii. 281, 2.

[2] Well do I recollect, in early days, borrowing old Gavin's translation from a circulating library, in order to steal a sly march upon my class-fellows in version-making. What was my disappointment on finding that the copy was a great deal more unintelligible than the original, and that, in reality, he of St Giles stood more in need of a translator than he of Mantua!

[3] Fallow. [4] Shadows. [5] Lightning. [6] Flakes.

Woddis, forrestis, with naket bewis blout,
Stude stripit of their wede in every bout:
So bustouslie Boreas his bugill blew,
The dere full dorne full in the dailis drew:
* * * * *
The watter lynnys routes, and every lynd
Quhistlit and brayit of the southend wynd:
Pure lauboraris and byssy husbandmen,
Went weet and wery draiglit in the fen;
The silly sheep and thare little hird-gromes
Lurkis under lye of bankis, woddis, and bromes;
And utheris dautit greter bestial
Within thare stabill sesit in thare stall.
* * * * *
The caller air, penetrative and pure,
Dasing the blude in every creature,
Made seik warm stovis and bene fyris hote,
In doubill garment clad, and welecote,
With mychty drink, and metis comfortive,
Aganis the stern winter for to strive.
Repattirit[7] wele, and by the chymnay bekit,
At evin betym doun in the bed they strekit,
Warpit my hede, kest on claithis thrynefald,
For to expell the perillous persand cald:
I crossit me, syne bownit for to sleep:
* * * * *
Approaching near the breking of the day,
Within my bed I walkynint quhare I lay,
So fast declynes Cynthia the mone,
And kayis keklys on the rufe abone,
* * * * *
Fast by my chalmer, on hie wisnet treis,
The sary gled quhissilis with mony ane pew,
Quharby the day was dawing wiel I knew;
Bade bete the fyre and the candill alicht,
Syne blessit me, and in my wedis dycht;
Ane schot-windo[8] unschet, ane litel on char,
Persavyt the morning blae, wan, and har,
Wyth cloudy gum and rak owirquhelmyt the air;
* * * * *
——Blaiknyt schew the brayis,
With hirstis harsk of waggand wyndil strayis,
The dew-droppis congelit on stibbil and vynd,
And sharp hailstanys mortfundyit of kynd,
Stoppand on the thack, and on the causay by:
The schote I closit, and drew inward in hy;
Cheverand of cald, the sessoun was sa snell,
Schafe with hait flambis to steme the freezing fell.
And as I bounit me to the fire me by,
Baith up and downe the house I did espy;
And seeand Virgil on ane letteron[9] stand,
To wryte anone I eynt my pen in hand,

[7] Well solaced with victuals. [8] A kind of sliding panel in the fronts of old wooden houses.
[9] Desk.

And as I culd, with ane fald diligence
This nint buke followand of profound science,
Thus has begun in the chill wynter cald,
Quhen frostis dois owir flete baith firth and fald.

Lest the reader should find that he loses the force of this description through the obscurity of the language, it appears proper that he should have another specimen in a different form. We shall therefore lay before him part of a prose paraphrase executed by Mr Warton, which conveys the same ideas as the original, though in a less pleasing form. The experiment of this version, according to Mr Warton, must serve to show the native excellence of these compositions. Divested of poetic numbers and expression, they still retain their poetry, appearing like Ulysses, still a king and a conqueror, although disguised like a peasant, and lodged in the cottage of the herdsman Eumæus.—We quote from the description of May, in the twelfth prologue:

"——— The crystal gates of heaven were thrown open to illuminate the world. The glittering streamers of the orient diffused purple streaks, mingled with gold and azure. The steeds of the sun, in red harness of rubies, of colour brown as a berry, lifted their heads above the sea, to glad our hemisphere: the flames burst from their nostrils: while shortly, apparelled in his luminous array, Phœbus, bearing the blazing torch of day, issued from his royal palace, with a golden crown, glorious visage, curled locks bright as the chrysolite or topaz, and with a radiance intolerable. The fiery sparks, bursting from his eyes, purged the air, and gilded the new verdure. The golden vanes of his throne covered the ocean with a glittering glance, and the broad waters were all in a blaze at the first glimpse of his appearance. It was glorious to see the winds appeased, the sea becalmed, the soft season, the serene firmament, the still air, and the beauty of the watery scene.[10] The silver-scaled fishes, on the gravel, gliding hastily, as it were from the heat or sun, through clear streams, with fins shining brown as cinnabar, and chisel tails, darted here and there. The new lustre, enlightening all the land, beamed on the small pebbles on the sides of the rivers, and on the strands, which looked like beryl: while the reflection of the rays played on the banks in variegated gleams; and Flora threw forth her blooms under the feet of the sun's brilliant horses, the bladed soil was embroidered with various hues. Both wood and forest were darkened with boughs; which, reflected from the ground, gave a shadowy lustre to the red rocks. Towers, turrets, battlements, and high pinnacles of churches, castles, and every fair city, seemed to be painted; and, together with every bastion and story, expressed their own shape on the plains. The glebe, fearless of the northern blasts, spread her broad bosom. The corn crops, and the new-sprung barley, reclothed the earth with a gladsome garment. The variegated vesture of the valley covered the cloven furrow, and the barley lands were diversified with flowery weeds. The meadow was besprinkled with rivulets; and the fresh moisture of the dewy night restored the herbage which the cattle had cropped in the day. The blossoms in the blowing garden trusted their heads to the protection of the young sun. Rank ivy leaves overspread the wall of the rampart. The blooming hawthorn clothed all his thorns in flowers. The budding clusters of the tender vines hung end-long, by their tendrils, from the trellises. The gems of the trees unlocking, expanded themselves into the foliage of nature's tapestry. There was a soft verdure after balmy showers. The flowers smiled in various

[10] The original is here so much more beautiful, that we must be pardoned an extract:

The auriate phanis of his trone soverane,
With glittering glance owirspred the octiane
The large fludis lemand all of licht
But with ane blink of his supernale sicht;
For to behald it was ane glore to se
The stabillyt wyndys, and the calmyt se,
The soft sessoun, the firmament serene,
The loune illuminate air, and firth amene, &c.

colours on the bending stalks.[11] Some red, &c. Others watchet like the blue and wavy sea; speckled with red and white; or bright as gold, the daisy unbraided her little coronet, the grapes stood embattled with banewort. The seeded down flew from the dandelion. Young weeds appeared among the leaves of the strawberries. Gay gilliflowers, &c. The rose buds putting forth, offered their red vernal lips to be kissed; and diffused fragrance from the crisp scarlet that surrounded their golden seeds. Lillies with white curling tops, showed their crests open. The odorous vapour moistened the silver webs that hung from the leaves. The plain was powdered with round dewy pearls. From every bud, scion, herb, and flower, bathed in liquid fragrance, the bee sucked sweet honey. The swans clamoured amidst the rustling weeds, and searched all the lakes and grey rivers where to build their nests. Among the boughs of the twisted olive, the small birds framed their artful nests, or along the thick hedges, or rejoiced with their merry mates on the tall oaks. In the secret nooks, or in the clear windows of glass, the spider full busily wove her sly net, to ensnare the little gnat or fly. Under the boughs that screen the valley, or within the pale-enclosed park, the nimble deer trooped in ranks, the harts wandered through the thick woody shaws, and the young fawns followed the dappled does. Kids skipped through the briars after the roes, and in the pastures and leas, the lambs, full tight and trig, went bleating to their dams. Meantime dame nature's minstrels raise their amorous notes, the ring-dove coos and pitches on the tall copse, the starling whistles her varied descant, the sparrow chirps in the clefted wall, the goldfinch and linnet filled the skies, the cuckoo cried, the quail twittered; while rivers, shaws, and every dale resounded; and the tender branches trembled on the trees, at the song of the birds, and the buzzing of the bees." &c.

The original poet concludes with the following fine apostrophe:

Welcum the lord of licht, and lampe of day,
Welcum fosterare of tender herbis grene,
Welcum quickener of flurest flouris schene,
Welcum support of every rute and vane,
Welcum comfort of all kind frute and grane,
Welcum the birdis beild upon the brier,
Welcum maister and ruler of the year,
Welcum weilfare of husbands at the plewis,
Welcum repairer of woddis, treis, and bewis,
Welcum depainter of the blomyt medis,
Welcum the lyf of every thing that spedis,
Welcum storare of all kind bestial,
Welcum be thy bricht beams gladand all!

As a still further expedient for making modern readers acquainted with the beauties of this ancient poet and honour of our country, we have ventured upon the somewhat hazardous experiment of a versified translation; taking for this purpose the description of a June evening, from the prologue to the thirteenth book, and entering before hand the following protest, furnished to our hands by the poet himself:

———" I set my besy pane,
As that I couth, to mak it brade and plane,
Kepand no Sudroun, bot our awin language,
And speke as I lerned quhen I wes ane page:[12]
Na yit so clene all Sudroun I refuse,
Bot some worde I pronunce as nychboure dois;

[11] The loukit buttouns on the *gemyt treis*
Owerspredand levis of naturis tapestryis,
Soft gresy verdure eftir balmy schouris,
On curland stalks *smiland to thair flouris*.

[12] Boy.

Like as in Latine bene Grewe termes sum,[13]
So me behuffit quhilom or be dum.
From bastard Latine, French, or Inglis ois,
Quhare scant wes Scottis, I had nane uther chois;
Not that our tongue is in the selvin scant,
Bot that I the fouth of language want."

This being prefaced, here follows the modern Anglo-Scottish version:

During the jolly joyous month of June,
When gane was near the day, and supper dune,
I walkit furth to taste the evening air,
Among the fields that were replenish'd fair,
With herbage, corn, and cattle, and fruit trees,
Plenty of store; while birds and busy bees,
O'er emerald meadows flew baith east and west,
Their labour done, to take their evening rest.
As up and down I cast my wandering eye,
All burning red straight grew the western sky
The sun descending on the waters grey,
Deep under earth withdrew his beams away.
The evening star, with lustre near as bright,
Springs up, the gay fore-rider of the night.
Amid the haughs and every pleasant vale,
The recent dew begins on herbs to skail,
To quench the burning where the sun had shone,
Which to the world beneath had lately gone.
On every pile and pickle of the crops,
This moisture hang, like burning beryl drops,
And on the halesome herbs, and eke the weeds
Like chrystal gems, or little silver beads.
The light began to fail, the mists to rise,
And here and there grim shades o'erspread the skies;
The bald and leathern bat commenced her flight,
The lark descended from her airy height,
Singing her plaintive song, after her wyse,
To take her rest, at matin hour to rise.
Mists sweep the hill before the lazy wind,
And night unfolds her cloak with sable lined,
Swaddling the beauty of the fruitful ground,
With cloth of shade, obscurity profound;
All creatures, wheresoe'er they liked the best,
Then went to take their pleasant nightly rest.
The fowls that lately flew throughout the air,
The drowsy cattle in their sheltered lair,
After the heat and labour of the day,
Unstirring and unstirred in slumber lay.
Each thing that roves the meadow or the wood,
Each thing that flies through air, or dives in flood,
Each thing that nestles in the bosky bank,
Or loves to rustle through the marshes dank,
The little midges,[14] and the happy flees,[15]
Laborious emmets, and the busy bees,
All beasts, or wild or tame, or great or small,
God's peace and blessing rests serene o'er all.

[13] As in Latin there are some Greek terms. [14] Gnats—evening *ephemera*. [15] Flies.

It remains to be mentioned that the translation of Virgil, being written at a time when printing hardly existed in Scotland, remained in manuscript till long after the death of bishop Douglas, and was first published at London in 1553, at the same time with the 'Palice of Honour.' The work bore the following title: "The xiii. bukes of Eneados of the famose poet Virgill. Translatet out of Latyne verses into Scottish meter, by the reverend father in God, Mayster Gawin Douglas, bishop of Dunkel, and unkil to the erle of Angus. Euery buke hauing hys particular prologue." A second edition was printed at Edinburgh in 1710, by the celebrated Thomas Ruddiman, with a life by bishop Sage. Even this later impression is now rarely met with.

The earl of Angus was at this time possessed of great influence at court, in virtue of which he filled the office of chief magistrate of the city. Less than two months after Gavin Douglas had finished his translation, the noble provost and all his retainers, accompanied king James on the fatal expedition which terminated in the battle of Flodden. Here the poet's two elder brothers, the Master of Angus and Sir William Douglas of Glenbervie, fell, with two hundred gentlemen of their name. The earl himself had previously withdrawn from the expedition, on account of an unkind expression used by his imprudent sovereign. He died, however, within a twelvemonth thereafter, of grief, leaving his titles and immense territorial influence to the heir of his eldest deceased son, and who was consequently nephew to the Provost of St Giles. It is curious to find that, on the 30th of September, only three weeks after his country had experienced one of the greatest disasters recorded in her history, and by which himself had lost two brothers and many other friends, the poet was admitted a burgess of Edinburgh. This fact was discovered by Sibbald in the council register, with the phrase added, "*pro commune bono villæ, gratis.*" But perhaps there is some mistake as to the date, the register of that period not being original, but apparently a somewhat confused transcript.

The consequences of this fatal battle seemed at first to open up a path of high political influence to Gavin Douglas. His nephew, being as yet very young, fell in some measure under his tutelage, as the nearest surviving relation. The queen, who had been appointed regent for her infant son James V., in less than a year from her husband's death, was pleased to marry the young earl of Angus, who accordingly seemed likely to become the actual governor of the kingdom. The step, however, was unpopular, and at a convention of the nobles it was resolved, rather than obey so young a member of their own body, to call in the duke of Albany, cousin to the late king. This personage did not realize the expectations which had been formed respecting him; and thus it happened, that for some years the chief power alternated between him and Angus. Sometimes the latter individual enjoyed an influence deputed to him in the queen's name by the duke, who occasionally found it necessary to retire to France. At other times, both the queen and her husband were obliged to take refuge in England, where, on one of these occasions, was born their only child, Margaret Douglas, destined in future years to be the mother of lord Darnley, the husband of queen Mary.

The fortunes and domestic happiness of our poet appear to have been deeply affected by those of his nephew. Soon after the battle of Flodden, the queen conferred upon him the abbacy of Aberbrothock, vacant by the death of Alexander Stewart, the late king's natural son. In a letter addressed by her grace to Pope Leo the tenth, she extols Douglas as second to none in learning and virtue, and earnestly requests that he may be confirmed in the possession of this abbacy, till his singular merits should be rewarded with some more ample endowment. Soon after she conferred on him the archbishopric of St Andrews,

which, if confirmed, would have placed him at the head of the Scottish church. But the queen and her husband were not powerful or popular enough, to secure him in this splendid situation. He was first intruded on by one John Hepburn, who had been appointed by the chapter, and then both he and Hepburn were displaced by the pope, in favour of Forman, the bishop of Moray, a busy and ambitious churchman, who had been legate *à latere* to pope Julius II. Douglas was at the same time deprived of the abbacy of Aberbrothock. It appears that, although these disputes were carried on by strength of arms on all sides, the poet himself was always averse from hostile measures, and would rather have abandoned his own interest than bring reproach upon his profession. The queen, having hitherto failed to be of any service to him, nominated him, in 1515, to be bishop of Dunkeld, and on this occasion, to make quite sure, confirmation of the gift was, by the influence of her brother Henry the eighth, procured from the pope. In those days, however, a right which would suffice one day might not answer the next; and so it proved with Gavin Douglas. The duke of Albany, who arrived in May, 1515, though he had protected the right of archbishop Forman on the strength of a papal bull, not only found it convenient to dispute that title in the case of Douglas, but actually imprisoned the poet for a year, as a punishment for having committed an act so detrimental to the honour of the Scottish church. In the meantime, one Andrew Stewart, brother to the earl of Athole, and a partizan of Albany, got himself chosen bishop by the chapter, and was determined to hold out the cathedral against all whatsoever. Gavin Douglas, when released, was actually obliged to lay a formal siege to his bishopric before he could obtain possession. Having gone to Dunkeld, and published his bull in the usual form at the altar, he found it necessary to hold the ensuing entertainment in the dean's house, on account of his palace being garrisoned by the servants of Andrew Stewart. The steeple of the cathedral was also occupied as a fortress by these men, who pretended to be in arms in the name of the governor. Next day, in attempting to go to church, he was hindered by the steeple garrison, who fired briskly at his party: he had therefore to perform service in the dean's house. To increase his difficulties, Stewart had arrived in person, and put himself at the head of the garrison. His friends, however, soon collected a force in the neighbouring country, with which they forced Stewart to submit. The governor was afterwards prevailed upon to sanction the right of Gavin Douglas, who gratified Stewart by two of the best benefices in the diocese.

In 1517, when Albany went to France in order to renew the ancient league between Scotland and that country, he took Douglas and Panter as his secretaries, his object being in the former case to have a hostage for the good behaviour of the earl of Angus during his absence.[16] However, when the negotiation was finished, the bishop of Dunkeld is said to have been sent to Scotland with the news. He certainly returned long before the governor himself. After a short stay at Edinburgh, he repaired to his diocese, where he employed himself for some time in the diligent discharge of his duties. He was a warm promoter of public undertakings, and, in particular, finished a stone bridge over the Tay, (opposite to his own palace,) which had been begun by his predecessor. He spent so much money in this manner, and in charity, that he became somewhat embarrassed with debt. During the absence of the duke of Albany, his nephew Angus maintained a constant struggle with the rival family of Hamilton, then bearing the title of earl of Arran, which formed a great part of the governor's strength in Scotland. In April, 1520, both parties met in Edinburgh,

16 This is alleged by Dr Henry.—*History of Great Britain.*

determined to try which was most powerful. The bishop of Dunkeld, seeing that bloodshed was threatened, used his influence with archbishop Beaton of Glasgow, who was a partisan of Arran; when that prelate, striking his hand on his breast, asseverated, on his conscience, that he knew nothing of the hostile intentions of his friends. He had in reality assumed armour under his gown, in order to take a personal concern in the fray, and his hand caused the breastplate to make a rattling noise. "Methinks," said Douglas, with admirable sarcasm, "your conscience clatters;" a phrase that might be interpreted either into an allusion to the noise itself, or to what it betrayed of the archbishop's intentions. Douglas retired to his own chamber to pray, and in the meantime his nephew met and overthrew the forces of the earl of Arran. The bishop afterwards saved Beaton from being slain by the victors, who seized him at the altar of the Blackfriars' church. Gavin Douglas probably entertained a feeling of gratitude to this dignitary, notwithstanding all his duplicity; for Beaton had ordained him at Glasgow, and borne all the expenses of the ceremony out of his own revenues.

The earl of Angus was now re-established in power, but it was only for a short time. Albany returned next year, and called him and all his retainers to an account for their management of affairs. The earl, with his nephew and others, was obliged to retire to England. The bishop of Dunkeld experienced the most courteous attention at the court of Henry VIII., who, with all his faults, was certainly a patron of literature. We are informed by Holingshed that Douglas received a pension from the English monarch. In London, he contracted a friendship with Polydore Virgil, a learned Italian, who was then engaged in composing a history of England. It is supposed that the bishop assisted him with a little memoir on the origin of the Scottish nation. Here, however, our poet was suddenly cut off by the plague, in 1521, or 1522, and was buried in the Savoy church, where he had an epitaph, inscribed on the adjacent tomb of bishop Halsay. It is painful to think, that in consequence of the intestine divisions of his country, this illustrious and most virtuous person died a denounced traitor in a foreign land.

The only other poem of any extent by Gavin Douglas, is one entitled "King Hart," which was probably written in the latter part of his life, and contains, what Dr Irving styles, "a most ingenious adumbration of the progress of human life." It was first printed in Pinkerton's collection of "Ancient Scottish Poems," 1786.

DOUGLAS, Sir James, one of the most remarkable men of the heroic age to which he belonged, and the founder of the great fame and grandeur of one of the most illustrious houses in Scotland, was the eldest son of William Douglas, a baron, or magnate of Scotland, who died in England about the year 1302.

The ancestry of this family have been but imperfectly and obscurely traced by most genealogists; but it now seems to be established beyond doubt, that the original founder came into this country from Flanders, about the year 1147; and, in reward of certain services, not explained, which he performed to the abbot of Kelso, received from that prelate a grant of lands on the water of Douglas, in Lanarkshire. In this assignation, a record of which is yet extant, he is styled Theobaldus Flammaticus, or Theobald the Fleming. William, the son and heir of Theobald, assumed the surname of Douglas, from his estate. Archibald de Douglas, his eldest son, succeeded in the family estate on Douglas water. Bricius, a younger son of William, became bishop of Moray, in 1203; and his four brothers, Alexander, Henry, Hugh, and Freskin, settled in Moray under his patronage, and from these, the Douglases in Moray claim their descent. Archibald died between the years 1238 and 1240, leaving behind him

two sons. William, the elder, inherited the estate of his father; Andrew, the younger, became the ancestor of the Douglases of Dalkeith, afterwards created earls of Morton. William acquired additional lands to the family inheritance; and, by this means, becoming a tenant in chief of the crown, was considered as ranking among the barons, or, as they were then called, magnates of Scotland. He died about the year 1276, leaving two sons, Hugh and William. Hugh fought at the battle of the Largs, in 1263, and died about 1288, without issue. William, his only brother, and father to Sir James, the subject of the present article, succeeded to the family honours, which he did not long enjoy; for, having espoused the popular side in the factions which soon after divided the kingdom, he was, upon the successful usurpation of Edward I., deprived of his estates, and died a prisoner in England, about the year 1302. Of this ancestor, the first whose history can be of any interest to the general reader, we have made mention in the life of Wallace, and, therefore, have no occasion to recur to him in this place.

The young Douglas had not attained to manhood, when the captivity of his father left him unprotected and destitute; and in this condition, either prompted by his own inclination, or influenced by the suggestions of friends anxious for his safety, he retired into France, and lived in Paris for three years. In this capital, remarkable, even in that age, for the gayety and show of its inhabitants, the young Scotsman for a time forgot his misfortunes, and gave way with youthful ardour to the current follies by which he was surrounded. The intelligence of his father's death, however, was sufficient to break him off entirely from the loose courses upon which he was entering, and incite him to a mode of life more honourable, and more befitting the noble feelings by which, throughout life, he was so strongly actuated. Having returned without delay into Scotland, he seems first to have presented himself to Lamberton, bishop of St Andrews, and was fortunate enough to be received with great kindness by that good prelate, who promoted him to the honourable post of page in his household. Barbour, the poet, dwells fondly upon this period in the life of Douglas, whom he describes as cheerful, courteous, dutiful, and of a generous disposition, insomuch, that he was esteemed and beloved by all; yet was he not so fair, adds the same discreet writer, that we should much admire his beauty. He was of a somewhat grey or swarthy complexion, and had black hair, circumstances from which, especially among the English, he came to be known by the name of the Black Douglas. His bones were large, but well set; his shoulders broad, and his whole person to be remarked as rather spare or lean, though muscular. He was mild and pleasant in company, or among his friends, and lisped somewhat in his speech, a circumstance which is said not at all to have misbecome him, besides that it brought him nearer to the beau ideal of Hector, as Barbour fails not to remark, in a not inappropriate comparison which he attempts making of the two characters.

Douglas was living in this manner, when Edward, having for the last time, overrun Scotland, called together an assembly of the barons at Stirling. The bishop of St Andrews attended the summons of the English king on this occasion; and taking along with him the young squire whom he had so generously protected, resolved, if possible, to interest the monarch in his fortunes. Taking hold of a suitable opportunity, the prelate presented Douglas to the king, as a youth who claimed to be admitted to his service, and at the same time, made earnest entreaty that his majesty would look favourably upon him, and restore him to the inheritance, which, from no fault of his, he had lost. "What lands does he claim?" inquired Edward. The good bishop had purposely kept the answer to this question to the end, well knowing the hasty and

vindictive temper of the English king, and the particular dislike which he bore to the memory of the former Douglas; but he soon saw that the haughty conqueror was neither to be prepossessed nor conciliated. Edward no sooner understood the birth of the suitor, than, turning angrily to the bishop, he reproached him, in harsh terms, for his presumption. "The father," said he, "was always my enemy; and I have already bestowed his lands upon more loyal followers than his sons can ever prove." The unfavourable issue of this suit must have left a deep and resentful impression on the mind of the young Douglas; and it was not long before an occasion offered whereby he might fully discover the incurable inveteracy of his hostility to the English king.

While he yet resided at the bishop's palace, intelligence of the murder of Comyn, and the revolt of Bruce, spread over the kingdom. Lamberton, who, it is well known, secretly favoured the insurrection, not only made no difficulty of allowing the young Douglas to join the party, but even assisted him with money to facilitate his purpose. The bishop, it is also said, directed him to seize upon his own horse for his use, as if by violence, from the groom; and, accordingly, that servant in an unwitting attention to his duty, having been knocked down, Douglas, unattended, rode off to join the standard of his future king and master. He fell in with the party of Bruce at a place called Errickstane, on their progress from Lochmaben towards Glasgow; where, making himself known to Robert, he made offer to him of his services; hoping that under the auspices of his rightful sovereign, he might recover possession of his own inheritance. Bruce, well pleased with the spirit and bearing of his new adherent, and, besides, interested in his welfare, as the son of the gallant Sir William Douglas, received him with much favour, giving him, at the same time, a command in his small army. This was the commencement of the friendship between Bruce and Douglas, than which, none more sincere and perfect ever existed between sovereign and subject.

It would, of course, be here unnecessary to follow Sir James Douglas, as we shall afterwards name him, through the same tract described in the life of his heroic master; as in that, all which it imports the reader to know has been already detailed with sufficient minuteness. Of the battle of Methven, therefore, in which the young knight first signalized his valour; that of Dalry, in which Robert was defeated by the lord of Lorn, and Sir James wounded; the retreat into Rachrin; the descent upon Arran, and afterwards on the coast of Carrick; in all of which enterprises, the zeal, courage, and usefulness of Douglas were manifested, we shall in this place take no other notice, than by referring to the life which we have mentioned. Leaving these more general and important movements, we shall follow the course of our narrative in others more exclusively referable to the life and fortunes of Douglas.

While Robert the Bruce was engaged in rousing the men of Carrick to take up arms in his cause, Douglas was permitted to repair to his patrimonial domains in Douglasdale, for the purpose of drawing over the ancient and attached vassals of his family to the same interest, and, in the first place, of avenging, should an occasion offer, some of the particular wrongs himself and family had sustained from the English. Disguised, therefore, and accompanied by only two yeomen, Sir James, towards the close of an evening in the month of March, 1307, reached the alienated inheritance of his house, then owned by the lord Clifford, who had posted within the castle of Douglas a strong garrison of English soldiers. Having revealed himself to one Thomas Dickson, formerly his father's vassal, and a person possessed of some wealth, and considerable influence among the tenantry, Sir James, and his two followers were joyfully welcomed, and carefully concealed within his house. By the diligence and sagacity

of this faithful dependent, Douglas was soon made acquainted with the numbers of those, in the neighbourhood, who would be willing to join him in his enterprise, and the more important of these being brought secretly, and by one or two at a time, before him, he received their pledges of fidelity and solemn engagements to assist him to the utmost of their power towards the recovery of his inheritance. Having, in this manner, secured the assistance of a small, but resolute band, Sir James determined to put in execution a project which he had planned for the surprisal of the castle. The garrison, entirely ignorant and unsuspicious of the machinations of their enemies, and otherwise far from vigilant, offered many opportunities which might be taken advantage of to their destruction. The day of Palm Sunday, however, was fixed upon by Douglas, as being then near at hand, and as furnishing, besides, a plausible pretext for the gathering together of his adherents. The garrison, it was expected, would on that festival, attend divine service in the neighbouring church of St Bride. The followers of Douglas having arms concealed upon their persons, were, some of them, to enter the building along with the soldiers, while the others remained without to prevent their escape. Douglas, himself, disguised in an old tattered mantle, having a flail in his hand, was to give the signal of onset, by shouting the war cry of his family. When the concerted day arrived, the whole garrison, consisting of thirty men, went in solemn procession to attend the service of the church, leaving only the porter and the cook within the castle. The eager followers of the knight did not wait for the signal of attack; for, no sooner had the unfortunate Englishmen entered the chapel, than, one or two raising the cry of "*a Douglas, a Douglas*," which was instantly echoed and returned from all quarters, they fell with the utmost fury upon the entrapped garrison. These defended themselves bravely, till two thirds of their number lay either dead or mortally wounded. Being refused quarter, those who yet continued to fight were speedily overpowered and made prisoners, so that none escaped. Meanwhile, five or six men were detached to secure possession of the castle gate, which they easily effected: and being soon after followed by Douglas and his partisans, the victors had now only to deliberate as to the use to which their conquest should be applied. Considering the great power and numbers of the English in that district, and the impossibility of retaining the castle should it be besieged; besides, that the acquisition could then prove of no service to the general cause, it was determined, that that which could be of little or no service to themselves, should be rendered equally useless and unprofitable to the enemy. This measure, so defensible in itself, and politic, was stained by an act of singular and atrocious barbarity; which, however consistent with the rude and revengeful spirit of the age in which it was enacted, remains the sole stigma which even his worst enemies could ever affix to the memory of Sir James Douglas. Having plundered and stripped the castle of every article of value which could be conveniently carried off and secured; the great mass of the provisions, with which it then happened to be amply provided, were heaped together within an apartment of the building. Over this pile were stored the puncheons of wine, ale, and other liquors which the cellar afforded; and lastly the prisoners who had been taken in the church, having been despatched, their dead bodies were thrown over all; thus, in a spirit of savage jocularity, converting the whole into a loathsome mass of provision, then, and long after, popularly described by the name of the *Douglas' Larder*. These savage preparations gone through, the castle was set on fire, and burned to the ground.

No sooner was Clifford advertised of the miserable fate which had befallen his garrison, than, collecting a sufficient force, he repaired to Douglas in per-

son; and having caused the castle to be re-edified more strongly than it had been formerly, he left a new garrison in it under the command of one Thirlwall, and returned himself into England. Douglas, while these operations proceeded, having dispersed his followers, bestowing in secure places, where they might be properly attended to, such among them as had been wounded, himself lurked in the neighbourhood, intending, on the first safe opportunity, to rejoin the king's standard, in company with his trusty adherents. Other considerations, however, seem to have arisen, and to have had their share in influencing his conduct in this particular; for the lord Clifford had no sooner departed, than he resolved, a second time, to attempt the surprisal of his castle, under its new governor. The garrison, having a fresh remembrance of the fatal disaster which had befallen their predecessors, were not to be taken at the same advantage; and some expedient had therefore to be adopted which might abate the extreme caution and vigilance, which they observed, and on which their safety depended. This Douglas effected, by directing some of his men, at different times, to drive off portions of the cattle belonging to the castle, but who, as soon as the garrison issued out to the rescue, were instructed to leave their booty and betake themselves to flight. The governor and his men having been sufficiently irritated by the attempts of these pretended plunderers, who thus kept them continually and vexatiously on the alert, Sir James, aware of their disposition, resolved, without further delay, upon the execution of his project. Having formed an ambush of his followers at a place called Sandilands, at no great distance from the castle, he, at an early hour in the morning, detached a few of his men, who very daringly drove off some cattle from the immediate vicinity of the walls, towards the place where the ambuscaders lay concealed. Thirlwall was no sooner apprized of the fact, than, indignant at the boldness of the affront put upon him, which yet he considered to be of the same character with those formerly practised, hastily ordered a large portion of the garrison to arm themselves and follow after the spoilers, himself accompanying them with so great precipitation, that he did not take time even to put on his helmet. The pursuers, no ways suspecting the snare laid for them, followed, in great haste and disorder, after the supposed robbers, but had scarcely passed the place of the ambush, than Douglas and his followers starting suddenly from their covert, the party at once found themselves circumvented and their retreat cut off. In their confusion and surprise, they were but ill prepared for the fierce assault which was instantly made upon them. The greater part fled precipitantly, and a few succeeded in regaining their strong-hold; but Thirlwall and many of his bravest soldiers were slain. The fugitives were pursued with great slaughter to the very gates of the castle; but, though few in numbers, having secured the entrance, and manned the walls, Sir James found it would be impossible to gain possession of the place at this time. Collecting together, therefore, all those willing to join the royal cause, he forthwith repaired to the army of Bruce, then encamped at Cumnock, in Ayrshire. The skill and boldness which Douglas displayed in these two exploits, and the success which attended them, added to the reputation for military enterprise and bravery, which he had previously acquired, seem to have infected the English with an almost superstitious dread of his power and resources; so that, if we may believe the writers of that age, few could be found adventurous enough to undertake the keeping of "the perilous castle of Douglas," for by that name it now came to be popularly distinguished.

When king Robert, shortly after his victory over the English at Loudonhill, marched his forces into the north of Scotland, Sir James Douglas remained behind, for the purpose of reducing the forests of Selkirk and Jedburgh to obe-

dience. His first adventure, however, was the taking, a second time, his own castle of Douglas, then commanded by Sir John de Wilton, an English knight, who held this charge, as his two predecessors had done, under the lord Clifford. Sir James, taking along with him a body of armed men, gained the neighbourhood undiscovered, where himself and the greater number immediately planted themselves in ambuscade, as near as possible to the gate of the castle. Fourteen of his best men he directed to disguise themselves as peasants wearing smock-frocks, under which their arms might be conveniently concealed, and having sacks filled with grass laid across their horses, who, in this guise, were to pass within view of the castle, as if they had been countrymen carrying corn for sale to Lanark fair. The stratagem had the desired effect; for the garrison being then scarce of provisions, had no mind to let pass so favourable an opportunity, as it appeared to them, of supplying themselves; wherefore, the greater part, with the governor, who was a man of a bold and reckless disposition, at their head, issued out in great haste to overtake and plunder the supposed peasants. These, finding themselves pursued, hurried onward with what speed they could muster, till, ascertaining that the unwary Englishmen had passed the ambush, they suddenly threw down their sacks, stripped off the frocks which concealed their armour, mounted their horses, and raising a loud shout, seemed determined in turn to become the assailants. Douglas and his concealed followers, no sooner heard the shout of their companions, which was the concerted signal of onset, than, starting into view in the rear of the English party, these found themselves at once, unexpectedly and furiously attacked from two opposite quarters. In this desperate encounter, their retreat to the castle being effectually cut off, Wilton and his whole party are reported to have been slain. When this successful exploit was ended, Sir James found means to gain possession of the castle, probably by the promise of a safe conduct to those by whom it was still maintained; as he allowed the constable and remaining garrison to depart unmolested into England, furnishing them, at the same time, with money to defray the charges of their journey. Barbour relates, that upon the person of the slain knight there was found a letter from his mistress, informing him, that he might well consider himself worthy of her love, should he bravely defend for a year the adventurous castle of Douglas. Sir James razed the fortress of his ancestors to the ground, that it might, on no future occasion, afford protection to the enemies of his country, and the usurpers of his own patrimony.

Leaving the scene where he had thus, for the third time, in so remarkable a manner triumphed over his adversaries, Douglas proceeded to the forests of Selkirk and Jedburgh, both of which he in a short time reduced to the king's authority. While employed upon this service, he chanced one day, towards night-fall, to come in sight of a solitary house on the water of Line, which he had no sooner perceived, than he directed his course towards it, with the intention of there resting himself and his followers till morning. Approaching the place with some caution, Douglas could distinguish from the voices which he heard within, that it was pre-occupied; and from the oaths which mingled in the conversation, he had no doubt as to the character of the guests which it contained, military men being then, almost exclusively, addicted to the use of such terms in their speech.[1] Having beset the house with his followers, and forced

[1] We have the authority of Barbour for the above curious fact. His words are these:

"And as he come with his mengye [forces]
Ner hand the houss, sa lysnyt he,
And hard ane say tharin, '*the dewill!*'
And be that he persawit [perceived] weill
That thai war strang men, that thar,
That nycht tharin herberyit war."

Barbour's Eruce, b. ix. l. 684.

an entrance, the conjecture of the knight proved well founded; for, after a brief but sharp contest with the inmates, he was fortunate enough to secure the persons of Alexander Stuart, Lord Bonkle, and Thomas Randolph, the king's nephew; who were, at that time, not only attached to the English interest, but engaged in raising forces to check the progress of Douglas in the south of Scotland. The important consequences of this action, by which Robert gained as wise and faithful a counsellor as he ever possessed, and Douglas a rival, though a generous one even in his own field of glory, deserves that it should be particularly noticed in this place. Immediately upon this adventure, Douglas, carrying along with him his two prisoners, rejoined the king's forces in the north; where, under his gallant sovereign, he assisted in the victory gained over the lord of Lorn, by which the Highlands were at length constrained to a submission to the royal authority.

Without following the current of those events, in which Douglas either participated, or bore a principal part, but which have more properly fallen to be described in another place, we come to the relation of one more exclusively belonging to the narration of this life. The castle of Roxburgh, a fortress of great importance on the borders of Scotland, had long been in the hands of the English king, by whom it was strongly garrisoned, and committed to the charge of Gillemin de Fiennes, a knight of Burgundy. Douglas, and his followers, to the number of about sixty men, then lurked in the adjoining forest of Jedburgh, where they did not remain long inactive, before the enterprising genius of their leader had suggested a plan for the surprisal of the fortress. A person of the name of Simon of Leadhouse was employed to construct rope-ladders for scaling the walls, and the night of Shrove-Tuesday, then near at hand, was fixed upon as the most proper for putting the project in execution; "for then," says Fordun, "all the men, from dread of the Lent season, which was to begin next day, indulged in wine and licentiousness." When the appointed night arrived, Douglas and his brave followers approached the castle, wearing black frocks or shirts, over their armour, that, in the darkness, they might be the more effectually concealed from the observation of the sentinels. On getting near to the castle walls, they crept softly onwards on their hands and knees; and, indeed, soon became aware of the necessity they were under of observing every precaution; for a sentinel on the walls having observed, notwithstanding the darkness, their indistinct crawling forms, which he took to be those of cattle, remarked to his companion, that farmer such a one (naming a husbandman who lived in the neighbourhood) surely made good cheer that night, seeing that he took so little care of his cattle. "He may make merry to-night, comrade," the other replied, "but, if the Black Douglas come at them, he will fare the worse another time;" and, so conversing, these two passed to another part of the wall. Sir James and his men had approached so close to the castle, as distinctly to overhear this discourse, and also to mark with certainty the departure of the men who uttered it. The wall was no sooner free of their presence, than Simon of the Leadhouse, fixing one of the ladders to its summit, was the first to mount. This bold adventure was perceived by one of the garrison so soon as he reached the top of the wall; but, giving the startled soldier no time to raise an alarm, Simon sprang suddenly upon him, and despatched him with his dagger. Before the others could come to his support, Simon had to sustain the attack of another antagonist, whom, also, he laid dead at his feet; and Sir James and his men, in a very brief space, having surmounted the wall, the loud shout of "*a Douglas! a Douglas!*" and the rush of the enemy into the hall, where the garrison yet maintained the revels of the evening, gave the first intimation to governor and men that the fortress had been assaulted and taken.

Unarmed, bewildered, and most of them intoxicated, the soldiery were unable to make any effectual resistance; and in this defenceless and hopeless state, many of them in the fury of the onset were slaughtered. The governor and a few others escaped into the keep or great tower, which they defended till the following day; but having sustained a severe arrow wound in the face, Gillemin de Fiennes thought proper to surrender, on condition that he and his remaining followers should be allowed safely to depart into England. These terms having been accorded, and faithfully fulfilled, Fiennes died shortly afterwards of the wound which he had received. This event, which fell out in the month of March, 1313, added not a little to the terror with which the Douglas name was regarded in the north of England; while in an equal degree, it infused spirit and confidence into the hearts of their enemies. Barbour attributes the successful capture of Edinburgh castle by Randolph, an exploit of greater peril, and on that account only, of superior gallantry to the preceding, to the noble emulation with which the one general regarded the deeds of the other.

The next occasion, wherein Douglas signalized himself by his conduct and bravery, was on the field of Bannockburn; in which memorable battle, he had the signal honour of commanding the centre division of the Scottish van. When the fortune of that great day was decided, by the disastrous and complete overthrow of the English army, Sir James, at the head of sixty horsemen, pursued closely on the track of the flying monarch, for upwards of forty miles from the field, and only desisted from the chase from the inability of his horses to proceed further. In the same year, king Robert, desirous of taking advantage of the wide spread dismay into which the English nation had been thrown, despatched his brother Edward and Sir James Douglas, by the eastern marches, into England, where they ravaged and assessed at will the whole northern counties of that kingdom.

When Bruce passed over with an army into Ireland, in the month of May, 1316, in order to the reinforcement of his brother Edward's arms in that country, he committed to Sir James Douglas, the charge of the middle borders, during his absence. The earl of Arundel appears, at the same time, to have commanded on the eastern and middle marches of England, lying opposite to the district under the charge of Douglas. The earl, encouraged by the absence of the Scots king, and still more, by information which led him to believe that Sir James Douglas was then unprepared and off his guard, resolved, by an unexpected and vigorous attack, to take this wily and desperate enemy at an advantage. For this purpose, he collected together, with secrecy and despatch, an army of no less than ten thousand men. Douglas, who had just then seen completed the erection of his castle or manor house of Lintalee, near Jedburgh, in which he proposed giving a great feast to his military followers and vassals, was not, indeed, prepared to encounter a force of this magnitude; but, from the intelligence of spies whom he maintained in the enemy's camp, he was not altogether to be taken by surprise. Aware of the route by which the English army would advance, he collected, in all haste, a considerable body of archers, and about fifty men at arms, and with these took post in an extensive thicket of Jedburgh forest. The passage or opening through the wood at this place—wide and convenient at the southern extremity, by which the English were to enter, narrowed as it approached the ambush, till in breadth it did not exceed a quoit's pitch, or about twenty yards. Placing the archers in a hollow piece of ground, on one side of the pass, Douglas effectually secured them from the attack of the enemies' cavalry, by an entrenchment of felled trees, and by knitting together the branches of the young birch trees with which the thicket abounded. He himself took post with his small body of men-at-arms, on the

other side of the pass, and there patiently awaited the approach of the English. These preparations for their reception having been made with great secrecy and order, the army of Arundel had no suspicion of the snare laid for them; and, having entered the narrow part of the defile, seem even to have neglected the ordinary rules for preserving the proper array of their ranks, these becoming gradually compressed and confused as the body advanced. In this manner, unable to form, and, from the pressure in their rear, equally incapacitated to retreat, the van of the army offered an unresisting and fatal mark to the concealed archers; who, opening upon them with a volley of arrows, in front and flank, first made them aware of the danger of their position, and rendered irremediable the confusion already observable in their ranks. Douglas, at the same moment, bursting from his ambush, and raising the terrible war cry of his name, furiously assailed the surprised and disordered English, a great many of whom, from the impracticability of their situation, and the impossibility of escape, were slain. Sir James himself encountered, in this warm onset, a brave foreign knight, named Thomas de Richemont, whom he slew by a thrust with his dagger; taking from him, by way of trophy, a furred cap which it was his custom to wear over his helmet. The English having at length made good their retreat into the open country, encamped in safety for the night; Douglas, well knowing the danger he would incur, in following up, with so small a number of men, the advantage which art and stratagem had so decidedly gained for him.

Had this been otherwise, he had service of a still more immediate nature yet to perform. Having intelligence that a body of about three hundred men, under the command of a person named Ellies, had, by a different route, penetrated to Lintalee, Sir James hastened thither with all possible expedition. This party, finding the house deserted and unguarded, had taken possession of it, as also of the provisions and liquors with which it had been amply provided; nothing doubting of the complete victory which Arundel would achieve over Sir James Douglas and his few followers. In this state of security, having neglected to set watches to apprize them of dangers, they were unexpectedly assailed by their dreaded and now fully excited enemy, and mercilessly put to the sword, with the exception of a very few who escaped. The fugitives having gained the camp of Arundel, that commander was no less surprised and daunted by this new disaster, than he had been by that which shortly before befell his own men; so that, finding himself unequal to the task of dealing with a foe so active and vigilant, he prudently retreated back into his own country, and disbanded his forces.

Among the other encounters recorded as having taken place on the borders at this time, we must not omit one, in which the characteristic and unaided valour of the good Sir James unquestionably gained for him the victory. Sir Edmund de Cailand, a knight of Gascony, whom king Edward had appointed governor of Berwick, desirous of signalizing himself in the service of that monarch, had collected a considerable force with which he ravaged and plundered nearly the whole district of Teviot. As he was returning to Berwick, loaded with spoil, the Douglas, who had intimation of his movements, determined to intercept his march, and, if possible, recover the booty. For this purpose, he hastily collected together a small body of troops; but, on approaching the party of Cailand, he found them so much superior to his own, in every respect, that he hesitated whether or not he should prosecute the enterprise. The Gascon knight, confident in his own superiority, instantly prepared for battle; and a severe conflict ensued, in which it seemed very doubtful whether the Scots should be able to withstand the numbers and bravery of their assailants. Douglas, fearful of the issue of the contest, pressed forward with incredible energy,

and, encountering Sir Edmund de Cailand, slew him with his own hand. The English party, discouraged by the loss of their leader, and no longer able to withstand the increased impetuosity with which this gallant deed of Sir James had inspired his men, soon fell into confusion, and were put to flight with considerable slaughter, The booty, which, previously to the engagement, had been sent on towards Berwick, was wholly recovered by the Scots.

Following upon this success, and, in some measure connected with it, an event occurred, singularly illustrative of the chivalric spirit of that age. Sir Ralph Neville, an English knight who then resided at Berwick, feeling, it may be supposed, his nation dishonoured, by the praises which the fugitives in the late defeat bestowed upon the great prowess of Douglas, boastingly declared, that he would himself encounter that Scottish knight, whenever his banner should be displayed in the neighbourhood of Berwick. When this challenge reached the ears of Douglas, he determined that the self-constituted rival who uttered it, should not want for the opportunity which he courted. Advancing into the plain around Berwick, Sir James there displayed his banner, as a counter challenge to the knight, calling upon him, at the same time, by herald, to make good his bravado. The farther to incite and irritate the English, he detached a party of his men, who set fire to some villages within sight of the garrison. Neville, at the head of a much more numerous force than that of the Scots, at length issued forth to attack his enemy. The combat was well contested on both sides, till Douglas, encountering Neville hand to hand, soon proved to that brave but over-hardy knight, that he had provoked his fate, for he soon fell under the experienced and strong arm of his antagonist. This event decided the fortune of the field. The English were completely routed, and several persons of distinction made prisoners in the pursuit. Taking advantage of the consternation caused by this victory, Sir James plundered and desolated with fire all the country on the north side of the river Tweed, which still adhered to the English interest; and returning in triumph to the forest of Jedburgh, divided among his followers the rich booty which he had acquired, reserving no part of it, as was his generous custom, to his own use.

In the year 1322, the Scots, commanded by Douglas, invaded the counties of Northumberland and Durham; but no record now remains of the circumstances attending this invasion. In the same year, as much by the terror of his name, as by any stratagem, he saved the abbey of Melrose from the threatened attack of a greatly superior force of the English, who had advanced against it for the purposes of plunder. But the service by which, in that last and most disastrous campaign of Edward II. against the Scots, Sir James most distinguished himself, was, in the attempt which he made, assisted by Randolph, to force a passage to the English camp, at Biland, in Yorkshire. In this desperate enterprise, the military genius of Bruce came opportunely to his aid, and he proved successful. Douglas, by this action, may be said to have given a final blow to the nearly exhausted energies of the weak and misguided government of Edward; and to have thus assisted in rendering his deposition, which soon after followed, a matter of indifference, if not of satisfaction to his subjects.

The same active hostility which had on so many occasions, during the life of our great warrior, proved detrimental or ruinous to the two first Edwards, was yet to be exercised with undiminished efficacy upon the third monarch of that name, the next of the race of English usurpers over Scotland. The treaty of truce which the disquiets and necessities of his own kingdom had extorted from Edward II. after his defeat at Biland, having been broken through, as it would seem, not without the secret connivance or approbation of the Scottish king; Edward III., afterwards so famous in English history, but then a minor, collected

together an immense force, intending not only to revenge the infraction, but, by some decisive blow, recover the honour which his father's arms had lost in the revolted kindom. The inexperience of the young monarch, however, ill seconded as that was by the councils of the faction which then governed England, could prove no match, when opposed to the designs of a king so politic as Robert, and the enterprise and consummate talent of such generals as Randolph and Douglas.

The preparations of England, though conducted on a great and even extravagant scale of expense, failed in the despatch essentially necessary on the present occasion; allowing the Scottish army, which consisted of twenty thousand light-armed cavalry, nearly a whole month, to plunder and devastate at will, the northern districts of the kingdom, before any adequate force could be brought upon the field to oppose their progress. Robert, during his long wars with England, had admirably improved upon the severe experience which his first unfortunate campaigns had taught him; and, so well had the system which he adopted, been inured into the very natures of his captains and soldiers, by long habit and continued success, that he could not be more ready to plan and dictate schemes of defence or aggression, than his subjects were alert and zealous to put them in execution. He was, besides, fortunate above measure, in the choice of his generals; and particularly of those two, Randolph, earl of Moray, and Sir James Douglas, to whose joint command, the army on the present occasion was committed. Moray, though equally brave and courageous with his compeer, was naturally guided and restrained by wise and prudential suggestions; while Douglas, almost entirely under the sway of a sanguine and chivalrous spirit, often, by his very daring and temerity, proved successful, where the other must inevitably have failed. One circumstance, deserving of particular commendation, must not be omitted, that while in rank and reputation, and in the present instance, command, these two great men stood, in regard to each other, in a position singularly open to sentiments of envious rivalry, the whole course of their lives and actions give ample ground for believing that feelings of such a nature were utterly alien to the characters of both.

Of the ravages which the Scottish army committed in the north of England, during the space above mentioned, we have no particulars recorded, but that they plundered all the villages and open towns in their route seems certain; prudently avoiding to dissipate their time and strength by assailing more difficult places. To atone somewhat for this deficiency in his narrative, Froissart, who on this period of Scottish history was unquestionably directed by authentic information, has left a curious sketch of the constitution and economy of the Scottish army of that day. "The people of that nation," says this author, "are brave and hardy, insomuch, that when they invade England, they will often march their troops a distance of thirty-six miles in a day and night. All are on horseback, except only the rabble of followers, who are a-foot. The knights and squires are well mounted on large coursers, or war horses; but the commons and country people have only small hackneys or ponies. They use no carriages to attend their army; and such is their abstinence and sobriety in war, that they content themselves for a long time with half cooked flesh without bread, and with water unmixed with wine. When they have slain and skinned the cattle, which they always find in plenty, they make a kind of kettles of the raw hides with the hair on, which they suspend on four stakes over fires, with the hair side outmost, and in these they boil part of the flesh in water; roasting the remainder by means of wooden spits disposed around the same fires. Besides, they make for themselves a species of shoes or brogues of the same raw hides with the hair still on them. Each person carries attached to his saddle, a

large flat plate of iron, and has a bag of meal fixed on horseback, behind him. When, by eating flesh cooked as before described, and without salt, they find their stomachs weakened and uneasy, they mix up some of the meal with water into a paste; and having heated the flat iron plate on the fire, they knead out the paste into thin cakes, which they bake or fire on these heated plates. These cakes they eat to strengthen their stomachs." Such an army would undoubtedly possess all the requisites adapted for desultory and predatory warfare; while, like the modern guerillas, the secrecy and celerity of their movements would enable them with ease and certainty to elude any formidable encounters to which they might be exposed from troops otherwise constituted than themselves.

The English army, upon which so much preparation had been expended, was at length, accompanied by the king in person, enabled to take the field. It consisted, according to Froissart, of eight thousand knights and squires, armed in steel, and excellently mounted; fifteen thousand men at arms, also mounted, but upon horses of an inferior description; the same number of infantry, or, as that author has termed them, serjeants on foot; and a body of archers twenty-four thousand strong. This great force on its progress northward, soon became aware of the vicinity of their destructive enemy by the sight of the smoking villages and towns which marked their course in every direction; but having for several days vainly attempted, by following these indications, to come up with the Scots, or even to gain correct intelligence regarding their movements, they resolved, by taking post on the banks of the river Tine, to intercept them on their return into Scotland. In this, the English army were not more fortunate; and having, from the difficulty of their route, been constrained to leave their camp baggage behind them, they suffered the utmost hardships from the want of provisions, and the inclemency of the weather. When several days had been passed in this fruitless and harassing duty, the troops nearly destitute of the necessaries of life, and exposed, without shelter, to an almost incessant rain, the king was induced to proclaim a high reward to whosoever should first give intelligence of where the Scottish army were to be found. Thomas Rokesby, an esquire, having among others set out upon this service, was the first to bring back certain accounts that the Scots lay encamped upon the side of a hill, at about five miles distance from the English camp. This person had approached so near to the enemies' position as to be taken prisoner by the outposts; but he had no sooner recounted his business to Randolph and Douglas, than he was honourably dismissed, with orders to inform the English king, that they were ready and desirous to engage him in battle, whensoever he thought proper.

On the following day, the English, marching in order of battle, came in sight of the Scottish army, whom they found drawn up on foot, in three divisions, on the slope of a hill; having the river Wear, a rapid and nearly impassable stream, in front, and their flanks protected by rocks and precipices, presenting insurmountable difficulties to the approach of an enemy. Edward attempted to draw them from their fastness, by challenging the Scottish leaders to an honourable engagement on the plain, a practice not unusual in that age; but he soon found, that the experienced generals with whom he had to deal were not to be seduced by any artifice or bravado. "On our road hither," said they, "we have burnt and spoiled the country; and *here* we shall abide while to us it seems good. If the king of England is offended, let him come over and chastise us." The two armies remained in this manner, fronting each other, for three days; the army of Edward much incommoded by the nature of their situation, and the continual alarms of their hostile neighbours, who, throughout the night, says Froissart, kept sounding their horns, "as if all the great devils in hell had been there." Unable to force the Scots to a battle, the English com-

manders had no alternative left them, than, by blockading their present situation, to compel the enemy, by famine, to quit their impregnable position, and fight at a disadvantage. The fourth morning, however, proved the futility of such a scheme: for the Scots having discovered a place of still greater strength at about two miles distance, had secretly decamped thither in the night. They were soon followed by the English, who took post on an opposite hill, the river Wear still interposing itself between the two armies.

The army of Edward, baffled and disheartened as they had been by the wariness and dexterity of their enemy, would seem, in their new position, to have relaxed somewhat in their accustomed vigilance; a circumstance which did not escape the experienced eye of Sir James Douglas; and which immediately suggested to the enterprising spirit of that commander, the possibility of executing a scheme, which, to any other mind, must have appeared wild and chimerical, as it was hazardous. Taking with him a body of two hundred chosen horsemen, he, at midnight, forded the river at a considerable distance from both armies; and by an unfrequented path, of which he had received accurate information, gained the rear of the English camp undiscovered. On approaching the outposts, Douglas artfully assumed the manner of an English officer going his rounds, calling out, as he advanced, "Ha! St George. you keep no ward here;" and, by this stratagem, penetrated, without suspicion, to the very centre of the encampment, where the king lay. When they had got thus far, the party, no longer concealing who they were, shouted aloud, "A Douglas! a Douglas! English thieves, you shall all die!" and furiously attacking the unarmed and panic-struck host, overthrew all who came in their way. Douglas, forcing an entrance to the royal pavilion, would have carried off the young king, but for the brave and devoted stand made by his domestics, by which he was enabled with difficulty, to escape. Many of the household, and, among others, the king's own chaplain, zealously sacrificed their lives to their loyalty on this occasion. Disappointed of his prize, Sir James now sounded a retreat, and charging with his men directly through the camp of the English, safely regained his own; having sustained the loss of only a very few of his followers, while that of the enemy is said to have exceeded three hundred men.

On the day following this night attack, a prisoner having been brought into the English camp, and strictly interrogated, acknowledged, that general orders had been issued to the Scots to hold themselves in readiness to march that evening, under the banner of Douglas. Interpreting this information by the fears which their recent surprisal had inspired, the English concluded that the enemy had formed the plan of a second attack; and in this persuasion, drew up their whole army in order of battle, and so continued all night resting upon their arms. Early in the morning, two Scottish trumpeters having been seized by the patroles, reported that the Scottish army had decamped before midnight, and were already advanced many miles on their march homeward. The English could not, for some time, give credit to this strange and unwelcome intelligence; but, suspecting some stratagem, continued in order of battle, till, by their scouts, they were fully certified of its truth. The Scottish leaders, finding that their provisions were nearly exhausted, had prudently resolved upon a retreat; and, in the evening, having lighted numerous fires, as was usual, drew off from their encampment shortly after nightfall. To effect their purpose, the army had to pass over a morass, which lay in their rear, of nearly two miles in extent, till then supposed impracticable by cavalry. This passage the Scots accomplished by means of a number of hurdles, made of wands or boughs of trees wattled together, employing these as bridges over the water runs and softer places of the bog; and so deliberately had their measures been adopted and exe-

cuted, that when the whole body had passed, these were carefully removed, that they might afford no assistance to the enemy, should they pursue them by the same track. Edward is said to have wept bitterly when informed of the escape of the Scottish army; and his generals, well aware how unavailing any pursuit after them must prove, next day broke up the encampment, and retired towards Durham.

This was the last signal service which Douglas rendered to his country; and an honourable peace having been soon afterwards concluded between the two kingdoms, seemed at last to promise a quiet and pacific termination to a life which had hitherto known no art but that of war, and no enjoyment but that of victory. However, a different, and to him, possibly, a more enviable fate, awaited the heroic Douglas. Bruce dying, not long after he had witnessed the freedom of his country established, made it his last request, that Sir James, as his oldest and most esteemed companion in arms, should carry his heart to the holy land, and deposit it in the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, to the end his soul might be unburdened of the weight of a vow which he felt himself unable to fulfil.

Douglas, attended by a numerous and splendid retinue of knights and esquires, set sail from Scotland, in execution of this last charge committed to his care by his deceased master. He first touched in his voyage at Sluys in Flanders, where, having learned that Alphonso, king of Castile and Leon, was then at waged war with Osmyn, the Moorish king of Granada, he seems to have been tempted, by the desire of fighting against the infidels, to direct his course into Spain, with intention, from thence, to combat the Saracens in his progress to Jerusalem. Having landed in king Alphonso's country, that sovereign received Douglas with great distinction; and not the less so, that he expected shortly to engage in battle with his Moorish enemies. Barbour relates, that while at this court, a knight of great renown, whose face was all over disfigured by the scars of wounds which he had received in battle, expressed his surprise that a knight of so great fame as Douglas should have received no similar marks in his many combats. "I thank heaven," answered Sir James, mildly, "that I had always hands to protect my face." And those who were by, adds the author, praised the answer much, for there was much understanding in it.

Douglas, and the brave company by whom he was attended, having joined themselves to Alphonso's army, came in view of the Saracens near to Tebas, a castle on the frontiers of Andalusia, towards the kingdom of Grenada. Osmyn, the Moorish king, had ordered a body of three thousand cavalry to make a feigned attack on the Spaniards, while, with the great body of his army, he designed, by a circuitous route, unexpectedly, to fall upon the rear of king Alphonso's camp. That king, however, having received intelligence of the stratagem, prepared for him, kept the main force of his army in the rear, while he opposed a sufficient body of troops, to resist the attack which should be made on the front division of his army. From this fortunate disposition of his forces, the christian king gained the day over his infidel adversaries. Osmyn was discomfited with much slaughter, and Alphonso, improving his advantage, gained full possession of the enemy's camp.

While the battle was thus brought to a successful issue in one quarter of the field, Douglas, and his brave companions, who fought in the van, proved themselves no less fortunate. The Moors, not long able to withstand the furious encounter of their assailants, betook themselves to flight. Douglas, unacquainted with the mode of warfare pursued among that people, followed hard after the fugitives, until, finding himself almost deserted by his followers, he turned his horse, with the intention of rejoining the main body. Just then,

however, observing a knight of his own company to be surrounded by a body of Moors, who had suddenly rallied, "Alas!" said he, "yonder worthy knight shall perish, but for present help;" and with the few who now attended him, amounting to no more than ten men, he turned hastily, to attempt his rescue. He soon found himself hard pressed by the numbers who thronged upon him. Taking from his neck the silver casquet which contained the heart of Bruce, he threw it before him among the thickest of the enemy, saying, "Now pass thou onward before us, as thou wert wont, and I will follow thee or die." Douglas, and almost the whole of the brave men who fought by his side, were here slain. His body and the casquet containing the embalmed heart of Bruce were found together upon the field; and were, by his surviving companions. conveyed with great care and reverence into Scotland. The remains of Douglas were deposited in the family vault at St Bride's chapel, and the heart of Bruce solemnly interred by Moray, the regent, under the high altar in Melrose Abbey.

So perished, almost in the prime of his life, the gallant, and, as his grateful countrymen long affectionately termed him, "the good Sir James Douglas," having survived little more than one year, the demise of his royal master. His death was soon after followed by that of Randolph; with whom might be said to close the race of illustrious men who had rendered the epoch of Scotland's renovation and independence so remarkable.

DOUGLAS, James, fourth earl of Morton, and regent of Scotland, was the second son of Sir George Douglas of Pittendreich, (younger brother of Archibald, sixth earl of Angus, and a grandson of the fifth, or great earl, styled *Bell-the-cat.*) The matrimonial connexion of the sixth earl of Angus with Margaret of England, the widow of James IV., brought the whole of this great family into an intimate alliance with Henry VIII., that princess' brother.

During the reign of James V. as an adult sovereign, most of them lived in banishment in England; and it was only after his death in 1542, that they reappeared in the country. Whether the earl of Morton spent his early years at the English court is not known; but it is related by at least one historical writer, that he travelled during his youth in Italy. Immediately after the return of the family from banishment, he is found mingling deeply in those intrigues which Angus and others carried on, for the purpose of promoting the progress of the reformed religion, along with the match between Henry's son and the infant queen Mary. He seems to have followed in the wake of his father Sir George, who was a prime agent of king Henry; and who, in April, 1543, engaged, with others, to deliver up the lowland part of Scotland to the English monarch. Previous to this period, the future regent had been married to Elizabeth Douglas, third daughter of James, third earl of Morton, who was induced to bequeath his title and all his estates to this fortunate son-in-law, conjointly with his wife.[1] In virtue of this grant, the subject of our memoir was invested with the title of Master of Morton. It is somewhat remarkable, that on the very day when the English ambassador informed his prince of the traitorous engagement of Sir George Douglas of Pittendreich, his son, the Master of Morton, had a royal charter confirming the above splendid grant. This must have been obtained from the fears of the governor, Arran, against whom all the Douglases were working. In November following, the Master is found holding out the donjon or principal tower of his father-in-law's castle of Dalkeith, against Arran; but, being destitute of victuals and artillery, he was obliged to give it up, on the condition of retiring with all his effects untouched. Nothing more is learned of this remarkable personage till 1553, when he succeeded his

[1] The mother of the regent's wife, was Katherine Stewart, a natural daughter of king James IV.

father-in-law, as earl of Morton. Although one of the original lords of the congregation in 1557, he did not for some time take an active or decided part against the queen regent. He had received large favours from this lady, and, possessing all that gratitude which consists in a lively anticipation of favours to come, he feared, by casting off her cause, which he supposed would be the triumphant one, to compromise his prospect of those future advantages. This caused Sir Ralph Sadler, the English envoy, to describe him as "a simple and fearful man;" words which are certainly, in their modern sense at least, inapplicable to him. Morton was, however, a commissioner for the settlement of affairs at Upsettlington, May 31st, 1559. After the return of queen Mary, in 1561, he was sworn a privy councillor, and on the 7th of January, 1563, was appointed lord high chancellor of Scotland. By the advice of his father the earl of Lennox, Darnley consulted Morton and the earl of Crawford in preference to any other of the nobility, respecting the taking away the life of Rizzio, when his jealousy had been inflamed by the presumption of that unfortunate adventurer; and Morton became a principal actor in the tragical catastrophe that ensued. It was the opinion of these noblemen that Rizzio should be impeached before the parliament, and brought publicly to justice as an incendiary who had sown distrust and jealousy among the nobility, and had also endeavoured to subvert the ancient laws and constitution of the kingdom. This there certainly would have been little difficulty in accomplishing, but it did not suit the impatient temper of Darnley, whose revenge could not be satiated without in some degree implicating the queen; and he had determined that her favourite should suffer in her almost immediate presence. He accordingly carried a number of the conspirators from his own chamber, which was below the queen's, by a narrow staircase, of which he alone had the privilege, into hers, when she had just sat down to supper, in company with the countess of Argyle and her unfortunate secretary, the object of their hatred, whom they instantly dragged from his seat, and, ere they were well out of the queen's presence, whose table they had overturned, and whose clothes the unhappy man had almost torn while he clung to her and implored her protection, despatched him with innumerable wounds. In the meantime, Morton, chancellor of the kingdom, and the protector of its laws, kept watch in the outer gallery, and his vassals paraded in the open court, preventing all egress from or ingress to the palace. The effect of this barbarous murder was an entire change of policy on the part of the court. The protestant lords, the principal of whom had been in exile, returned to Edinburgh that same night, and all papists were, by a proclamation issued by the king, commanded to leave the city next day. The queen, though she was enraged in the highest degree, concealed her feelings till she had completely overcome the foolish Darnley, whom she persuaded in the course of a few days to fly with her to Dunbar, to abandon the noblemen to whom he had bound himself by the most solemn written obligations, and to issue a proclamation denying all participation in the murder of Rizzio, and requiring the lieges to assemble instantly, for the protection of the queen and the prosecution of the murderers. In consequence of this, the queen, with her now doubly degraded husband, returned in a few days to the capital, at the head of a formidable army; and though the exiled noblemen who had newly returned, maintained their ground, Morton and his associates were under the necessity of making their escape out of the kingdom. Through the interest of the earl of Bothwell, he was pardoned shortly after; and it was attempted, at the same time, to engage him in the plot that was already formed for murdering Darnley. In this, however, he positively refused to concur; but, practically acquainted with the childish weakness of that unfortunate young man, he dared not to inform him of the design, nor did he take any

measures to prevent its being executed, which occasioned him eventually the loss of his own life. After the death of the king, and Mary's subsequent marriage to Bothwell, Morton was one of the most efficient leaders in the confederacy that was formed for her degradation, and for erecting a protestant regency under her infant son. He was the same year restored to the office of high chancellor for life. He was also constituted high admiral for Scotland, and sheriff of the county of Edinburgh, which had become vacant by the forfeiture of Bothwell. He, along with the earl of Home, took the oaths for king James VI. at his coronation on August 29th, 1567, to the effect that he would observe the laws, and maintain the religion then publicly taught, so far as it was in his power. The Scottish treasury was at this time so low, that when it was determined to fit out a small fleet to apprehend and bring to justice the notorious Bothwell, who to all his other enormities had now added that of being a pirate, in which capacity he was infesting the northern islands, it was found to be impracticable, till Morton generously came forward and supplied the necessary sum from his private purse.

During the regency of the earl of Moray, Morton was an active and able assistant to him on all occasions. He was one of the principal commanders at the battle of Langside, and to his courage and good conduct it was in no small degree owing, that the results of that memorable day were of such a favourable complexion. He was also one of the commissioners in the famous conferences at York. On the murder of the regent in the year 1570, Morton became the head of the protestant or king's party, though Matthew, earl of Lennox, was created regent, chiefly through his interest and that of queen Elizabeth. Never was any country, that had made the smallest progress in civilization, in a more deplorable condition than Scotland at this time. At the time of the regent's murder, the whole, or nearly the whole faction of the Hamiltons were collected at Edinburgh, evidently that they might be able to improve that event for advancing their views, and, the very night after the murder, Ker of Fernihurst, accompanied by some of the Scotts, entered England, which they wasted with fire and sword, in a manner more barbarous than even any of their own most barbarous precedents. The reason of this was, that they did not in this instance so much desire plunder, the usual incentive to these savage inroads, as to provoke the English government to declare war, which they vainly supposed would advance the interests of their faction. Elizabeth, however, was well acquainted with the state of Scotland, and, aware that strong external pressure might unite the discordant parties, and make them for a time lose sight of those individual objects which every paltry chieftain was so eagerly pursuing, sent her ambassador Randolph to assure the Scottish council that her affection towards Scotland was not at all abated, and, as in former times of great confusion she had not been backward to assist them, she would not be so now. As for the robberies and the murders that had so lately been committed upon her people, being aware that they were authorised by no public authority, she would never think of punishing the many for the errors of the few. These marauders, however, she insisted should be restrained; and, if they felt themselves incompetent, by reason of their public commotions, to do this, she offered to join her forces to theirs for that purpose. He also added, in name of his sovereign, many advices which were regarded by the council as wholesome, equitable, and pious, but, as they had as yet elected no chief magistrate, he was requested to wait for an answer till the beginning of May, on the first day of which the parliament was summoned to meet. The interim was busily, as might easily have been foreseen, employed, by the faction of the queen, in preparing, either to prevent the parliament from being assembled, or to embroil its proceedings, if it did. Glas-

gow, therefore, being convenient for the Hamiltons, was first fixed on as the general rendezvous of the party, whence they wrote to Morton, and the party of the king, to meet them either at Falkirk or Linlithgow. This not being agreed to, the queen's faction removed themselves to Linlithgow, and afterwards, thinking to persuade the citizens to join them, into Edinburgh. Foiled in this, though Kirkaldy, the governor of the castle, had declared for them, as also in their aim to assemble the parliament before the appointed time, they, before that time approached, withdrew to Linlithgow, whence they issued an edict, commanding all the lieges to obey only the commissioners of the queen, and summoning a parliament to meet in that place on the 3d of August. Previously to their leaving Edinburgh, the faction despatched two special messengers into England, one to meet with the earl of Sussex, who was on his march with an army to punish the Scotts and the Kers, with their adherents, who had so barbarously, a few months before, carried fire and sword into England,—praying for a truce, till they should be able to inform the queen, Elizabeth, by letter, of the state of their affairs. The other carried the said letter, which contained the most exaggerated statements of their own strength, and not obscurely threatened war against the English nation. It also contained a request that Elizabeth, as arbitress of the affairs of Scotland, should annul the decrees of the two former years, that the whole business should be gone over anew, and settled by the common consent of all. Trusting to the ignorance of the English, they ventured to append to this document, not only all the names of the party, but many of those of the other, and the whole of those that stood neuter. Sussex, having full authority, opened both these despatches, and perfectly aware of the fraud, sent back the messengers with contempt. He also transmitted copies of the letters to the adherents of the king, that they might know what was going on among their enemies; in consequence of which they sent an embassy to Elizabeth, to treat about repressing the common enemy, and to show their respect for her, proposing, in the choice of a regent, to be guided by her wishes.

Sussex, in the meantime, entered Teviotdale, and laid waste without mercy the whole possessions belonging to the Scotts and the Kers, and generally all those belonging to the partisans of Mary. Under pretence of being revenged on the Johnstons, lord Scrope entered Annandale in the same manner, and committed similar depredations. They even carried their ravages into Clydesdale, where they burnt and destroyed the town and castle of Hamilton, and carried off a large booty from the different estates in that quarter belonging to the Hamiltons; after which they returned to Berwick. The messenger, who had been by the protestant lords sent to Elizabeth, in the meantime returned with an answer that contained the strongest expressions of astonishment at the length of time that had elapsed from the death of the regent, before they had thought it meet to make her acquainted with the state of their affairs, and in consequence of the delay, she declared, that she could scarcely determine in what manner she should conduct herself with regard to them. The truth was that she had been again truckling with Mary, who had promised to cause her party in Scotland deliver up the earl of Westmoreland and some other fugitives, subjects of Elizabeth, who had taken refuge among them; in consequence of which, Sussex had been recalled, and to save appearances with both, she was now necessitated to propose another conference, with a view to the clearing of Mary's character and restoring her to the exercise of sovereign authority. Both parties were in the meantime to abstain from hostilities of every kind, and whatever innovations they had attempted by their public proclamations, they were to annul by the same means.

Nothing could have been contrived more discouraging to the king's friends

or more detrimental to the interests of Scotland, than such a determination as this; but they had no choice left. They behoved either to be assisted by the queen of England, or run the hazard of a dangerous civil war with their own party, considerably diminished by the dilatory manner in which they had already acted, and the chance of the opposite party being assisted by a strong auxiliary force from France, which had been often promised, and as often boasted of, generally among the more uninformed classes, who had little knowledge of the internal strength of France, or of the political balance that might externally sway her councils, and prevent her government from acting according to either their promises or their wishes. But they were not altogether blind to the difficulties in which, by the subtilty of her policy, Elizabeth was involved; and they chose a middle course, trusting to the chapter of accidents for an issue more successful than they could fully or clearly foresee. Sensible how much they had lost by the delay in appointing some person to the regency, they proceeded to create Matthew, earl of Lennox regent till the middle of July, by which time they calculated upon ascertaining the pleasure of Elizabeth, of whose friendship they did not yet by any means despair.

The earl of Lennox was not by any means a man of commanding talent, but he was a man of kindly affections, and a lover of his country; and with the assistance of his council, set himself in good earnest to correct the disorders into which it had fallen, when about the beginning of July, letters arrived from Elizabeth, filled with expressions of high regard both for the king and kingdom of Scotland, and promising them both her best assistance; and though she wished them to avoid the nomination of a regent, as in itself invidious, yet if her opinion were asked, she knew no person who ought to be preferred to the king's grandfather to that office, because none could be thought upon who would be more faithful to his pupil while a minor, nor had any one a preferable right. On the reception of this grateful communication, Lennox was immediately declared regent, and having taken the usual oath for preserving the religion, the laws, and liberties of his country, he issued a proclamation, commanding all who were capable of bearing arms to appear at Linlithgow on the 2d of August. His purpose by this was to prevent the assembling of the party meeting, which, under the name of a parliament, was called in name of the queen, for the 2nd day of September, he himself having summoned in name of the king a parliament to meet on the 10th of October. He was accordingly attended on the day appointed by five thousand at Linlithgow, where the party of the queen did not think it advisable to appear. Hearing, however, that Huntly had issued orders for a large army to be assembled at Brechin, the garrison of which had begun to infest the highways, and to rob all travellers, he sent against that place the lords Lindsay and Ruthven, with what forces they could collect at Perth and Dundee. The subject of this memoir followed them with eight hundred horse, and was at Brechin only a day behind them. The regent himself having despatched the men of Lennox and Renfrew to protect their own country, in case Argyle should attack them, followed in three days, and was waited upon by the nobility and gentry, with their followers, to the number of seven thousand men. Huntly had now fled to the north. The garrison of Brechin made a show of defending themselves, but were soon brought to submit at discretion. Thirty of them, who had been old offenders, were hanged on the spot, and the remainder dismissed.

The regent returned to Edinburgh in time to attend the meeting of parliament, which harmoniously confirmed his authority, which the queen's party observing, had again recourse to the French and the Spaniards, with more earnestness than ever, intreating them to send the promised assistance for the

restoring of the queen and the ancient religion, the latter depending they said upon the former. Another parliament being appointed for the 25th of January, 1510, the queen's party, through the queen of England, procured a renewal of the truce till the matters in dispute should be debated before her. The parliament on this account was prorogued from the 25th of January till the beginning of May; and on the 5th of February, the earl of Morton, Robert Pitcairn, abbot of Dunfermline, and James Macgill, were despatched to London to hold the conference. For this second conference before the agents of Elizabeth we must refer our readers to the life of Mary queen of Scots. We cannot for a moment suppose that Elizabeth had any serious intentions, at any period of her captivity, to restore queen Mary, and they were probably less so now than ever. The proposals she made at this time, indeed, were so degrading to both parties as to be rejected by both with equal cordiality. There had been in this whole business a great deal of shuffling. Mary had undertaken for her partisans that they would deliver up to Elizabeth the fugitives that had made their escape from justice, or in other words, from the punishment which they had made themselves liable to on her account; but instead of being delivered up to Elizabeth they were safely conveyed into Flanders. Mary had also engaged that her partisans should abstain from courting any foreign aid; but an agent from the pope, who had vainly attempted to conciliate Elizabeth, issued a bull of excommunication against her, declared her an usurper as well as a heretic, and absolved her subjects from their oaths of allegiance to her; yet with inexplicable pertinacity, Elizabeth seemed to divide her regards between the parties, by which means she kept alive and increased their mutual hatred, and was a principal instrument of rendering the whole country a scene of devastation and misery.

While this fruitless negotiation was going on, the truce was but indifferently observed by either party. Kirkaldy and Maitland having possession of the castle of Edinburgh, and being free from the fear of any immediate danger, were constantly employed in training soldiers, taking military possession of the most advantageous posts in the city, seizing the provisions brought into Leith, and by every means making preparations for standing a siege till the promised and ardently expected assistance should arrive from abroad. The Hamiltons oftener than once attempted the life of the regent, and they also seized upon the town of Paisley, but Lennox, marching in person against them, speedily recovered it. He also marched to Ayr against the earl of Cassillis, who gave his brother to the regent as a hostage, and appointed a day when he would come to Stirling and ratify his agreement. The earl of Eglinton and lord Boyd at the same time made their submission to the regent and were taken into favour. The castle of Dumbarton too, which had all along been held for the queen, fell at this time, by a piece of singular good fortune, into the hands of the regent. In the castle were taken prisoners Monsieur Verac, ambassador from the king of France, John Hamilton, archbishop of St Andrews, and John Fleming of Boghall. The archbishop was shortly after hanged at Stirling, as being concerned in the plots for murdering Darnley and the regent Moray. In the meantime, Morton, and the other commissioners that had accompanied him, returned from London, having come to no particular conclusion. Morton gave a particular account, of all that had passed between the commissioners, to the nobles assembled at Stirling, who entirely approved of the conduct of the commissioners; but the further consideration of the embassy was postponed to the first of May, when the parliament was summoned to assemble. Both parties were now fully on the alert; the one to hold, and the other prevent, the meeting on the day appointed. Morton, after the nobles had approved of his conduct,

returned to his house at Dalkeith, attended by a hundred foot soldiers and a few horse, as a guard, in case he should be attacked by the townsmen, or to repress their incursions till a sufficient force could be collected. Morton, as desired by the regent, having sent a detachment of a few horsemen and about seventy foot to Leith, to publish a proclamation, forbidding any person to supply the faction of the queen with provisions, arms, or warlike stores, under pain of being treated as rebels, they were attacked in their way back to Dalkeith, and a smart skirmish ensued, in which the townsmen were driven back into the city, though with no great loss on either side. This was the beginning of a civil war that raged with unusual bitterness till it was terminated by the intervention of Elizabeth. The regent not being prepared to besiege the town, wished to abstain from violence; but determined to hold the approaching parliament in the Canongate, within the liberties of the city, at a place called St John's cross, he erected two fortifications, one in Leith Wynd, and the other at the Dove Craig, whence his soldiers fired into the town during the whole time of the sitting of the parliament, slaying great numbers of the soldiers and citizens. This parliament forfeited Maitland the secretary, and two of his brothers, with several others of the party, and was held amid an almost constant discharge of cannon from the castle; yet no one was hurt. On its rising, the regent and Morton retired to Leith, when the party of the queen burnt down the houses without the walls that had been occupied by them; and as they withdrew towards Stirling, they sent out their horsemen after them to Corstorphine. Before they reached that place, however, the regent was gone; but they attacked the earl of Morton, who slowly withdrew towards Dalkeith. As Morton afterwards waylayed all that carried provisions into the town, a party was sent out, supposed to be sufficiently strong to burn Dalkeith. The earl, however, gave them battle, and repulsed them to the marches of the Borough Muir. The garrison seeing from the castle the discomfiture of their friends, sent out a reinforcement, which turned the tide of victory; and but for the carelessness of one of the party, who dropped his match into a barrel of powder, the whole of Morton's party might have fallen victims to their temerity in pursuing the enemy so far. This accident, whereby the horse that carried the powder and many of the soldiers were severely scorched, put an end to the affray. Elizabeth all this while had professed a kind of neutrality between the parties. Now, however, she sent Sir William Drury to Kirkaldy, the captain of the castle, to know of him whether he held the castle in the queen's name or in the name of the king and regent; assuring him that if he held it in the name of the queen, Elizabeth would be his extreme enemy, but if otherwise that she would be his friend. The captain declared that he owned no authority in Scotland but that of queen Mary. The regent, when Drury told him this, sent him back to demand the house to be rendered to him, in the king's name; on which, he and all that were along with him should be pardoned all by-past offences, restored to their rents and possessions, and should have liberty to depart with all their effects. This offer, the captain, trusting the "carnal wit and policy of Lethington," was so wicked and so foolish as to refuse, and the war was continued with singular barbarity. The small party in the castle, in order to give the colour of law to their procedure, added the absurdity of holding a parliament, in which they read a letter from the king's mother, declaring her resignation null, and requesting that she might be restored, which was at once complied with; only they wanted the power to take her out of the hands of Elizabeth. In order to conciliate the multitude, they declared that no alteration should be made in the presbyterian religion, only those preachers who should refuse to pray for the queen were forbidden to exercise their functions.

These mock forms, from which no doubt a man of so much cunning as Lethington expected happy results, tended only to render the party ridiculous, without producing them a single partisan. The regent, all whose motions were directed by Morton, was indefatigable, and by an order of the estates, the country was to send him a certain number of men, who were to serve for three months, one part of the country relieving the other by turns. To narrate the various skirmishes of the contending parties, as they tended so little to any decisive result, though the subject of this memoir had a principal hand in them all, would be an unprofitable as well as an unpleasant task. We shall therefore pass over the greater part of them; but the following we cannot omit.

Morton, being weary and worn out with constant watching, and besides afflicted with sickness, retired with the regent to Stirling, where the whole party, along with the English ambassador, thought themselves in perfect security. The men of the castle, in order to make a flourish before Sir William Drury, came forth with their whole forces, as if to give their opponents an open challenge, to face them if they dared to be so bold. Morton, who was certainly a brave man, being told of this circumstance, rose from his bed, put on his armour, and led forth his men as far as Restalrig, where he put them in battle array, facing the queen's adherents, who had drawn up at the Quarrel Holes, having along with them two field-pieces. Drury rode between the armies and entreated them to return home, and not spoil all hopes of accommodation by fresh bloodshed. To this he at length brought them to agree, only they wanted to know who should leave the ground first. Drury endeavoured to satisfy both by standing between the armies, and giving a signal which both should obey at the same time. Morton was willing to obey the signal; but his enemies threatened that if he did not retire of his own accord they would drive him from the field with disgrace. This was enough for a man of his proud spirit. He was loath to offend the English; but he conceived that he had abundantly testified his moderation, and he therefore rushed like a whirlwind upon his foes, who, panic-struck, fled in a moment towards the nearest gate, which not being wide enough to receive at once the flying cloud, many were trodden down and taken prisoners; only one small party who rallied in an adjoining church-yard, but who again fled at the first charge, made any resistance. So complete was the panic and so disorderly the flight, that, leaving the gates unguarded, every man fled full speed towards the castle; and had not the regent's soldiers, too intent upon plunder, neglected the opportunity, the city might have been taken. Gavin Hamilton, abbot of Kilwinning, was slain, with upwards of fifty soldiers, and there were taken prisoners the lord Home, captain Cullen, a relation of Huntly's, and upwards of seventy soldiers, with some horsemen, and the two field-pieces. On the side of the regent there were slain captain Wymis and one single soldier. This adventure befel on Saturday the 26th of June, and, for its fatal issue, was long called by the people of Edinburgh, the Black Saturday. The faction of the queen held another parliament in the month of August, still more ridiculous than the preceding; but in the month of September, Kirkaldy, the governor of the castle, projected an expedition of the most decisive character, and which, had it succeeded, must have put an end to the war. This was no less than an attempt to surprise Stirling, where the regent and all the nobles in amity with him, were assembled to hold a parliament, and it was hoped they should all be either killed or taken prisoners at the same moment. The leaders who were chosen to execute the project, were the earl of Huntly, lord Claud Hamilton, the laird of Buccleuch, and the laird of Wormeston, and they were allowed three hundred foot and two hundred horsemen; and that the foot might reach their destination unfatigued, they pressed the day before every

horse that came into the market, upon which, and behind the horsemen, they were all mounted. In this manner they left Edinburgh on the evening of the 3d of September, 1571. Taking an opposite direction till they were fairly quit of the town, they marched straight for Stirling, where they arrived at three o'clock in the morning, and reached the market place without so much as a dog lifting its voice against them. They had for their guide George Bell, a native of Stirling, who knew every individual lodging and stable within it, and his first care was to point them all out, that men might be stationed at them, to force up doors and bring forth the prisoners out of the lodgings, and horses from the stables. The footmen were placed in the streets by bands, with orders to shoot every person belonging to the town, without distinction, who might come in their way. The stables were instantly cleared, (for the greater part of the invaders belonged to the borders, and were excellently well acquainted with carrying off prizes in the dark,) and the finest horses of the nobility were collected at the east port. The prisoners too had been mostly seized, and were already in the streets, ready to be led away, for they were not to be put to death till they were all assembled outside the town wall. Morton, however, happened to be in a strong house, and with his servants made such a desperate resistance that the enemy could only obtain entrance by setting it on fire. After a number of his servants had been killed, he made his escape through the flames and surrendered himself prisoner to his relation the laird of Buccleuch. The regent too was secured and the retreat sounded, but the merchants' shops had attracted the borderers, and they could not on the instant be recalled from their ordinary vocation, till Erskine of Marr, who commanded the castle, issued out with a body of musqueteers, which he placed in an unfinished house that commanded the market place, and which, from its being empty, the mauraders had neglected to occupy. From this commanding station he annoyed them so grieviously that they fled in confusion, and in the narrow lane leading to the gate trode down one another, so that had there been any tolerable number to join in the pursuit, not one of them could have escaped. The inhabitants of the town, however, were fast assembling, and the invaders were under the necessity of quiting their prisoners or of being instantly cut to pieces. Those who had taken Alexander earl of Glencairn and James earl of Morton, were fain, for the saving of their lives, to deliver themselves up to their prisoners; and captain Calder, seeing the day lost, shot the regent, who was in the hands of Spence of Wormeston. Wormeston had already received two wounds in defending his prisoner and now he was slain outright. Two of these who had struck at the regent and wounded him after being taken, not being able to escape to their friends, were seized and hanged. The pursuit was however prevented, by the thieves of Teviotdale having in the beginning of the affair carried off all the horses, so that those who once got clear of the gate had no difficulty in escaping. There were in Stirling at this time with the regent, Morton, Argyle, Cassillis, Glencairn, Eglinton, Montrose, Buchan, Ruthven, Glamis, Sempill, Ochiltree, Cathcart, and Methven, all of whom, had the plot succeeded, would have been either killed or made prisoners. The regent died the same night, and Marr succeeded him in his office, though it was supposed that Morton was the choice of the queen of England. The parliament was continued by the new regent, and a great number of the queen's faction were forefaulted. The parliament was no sooner concluded than the regent hastened to besiege Edinburgh, for which great preparations had been made by the regent Lennox, lately deceased. Scotsmen in those days had but little skill in attacking fortified places, and though the regent erected batteries in different situations, their efforts were inconsiderable. The siege of

course was abandoned, and the former kind of ceaseless hostility renewed. Maitland and Kirkaldy, in company, now had recourse to Elizabeth to settle their disputes; but they expected their property and their offices restored, and for security, that Kirkaldy should retain the command of the castle. Elizabeth offered to protect them and to treat with the regent on their behalf; but, laying aside disguise, she informed them that Mary had been so ill advised, and adopted measures so dangerous to her, that while she lived she should neither have liberty nor rule.

It was about this time that John, lord Maxwell, was married to a sister of Archibald, earl of Angus. Morton, for the entertainment of a number of gentlemen and ladies on the occasion, had store of wines, venison, &c. provided, which being brought from Perth on the way towards Dalkeith, was taken by a party of horsemen from the castle; which so enraged Morton, that he sent a number of armed men into Fife, who destroyed all the corn on the lands of the governor of the castle, and burnt his house; and the governor the same night succeeded in burning the whole town of Dalkeith. The same detestable wickedness was, by both parties, committed in various other places shortly after. In the month of March, 1572, all the mills in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh were broken down, that the inhabitants, cut off from their supply of meal, and by placing soldiers in Corstorphine, Redhall, Merchiston, Craigmillar, and other defensible places in the neighbourhood of the town, it came to be closely blockaded. Whoever was found carrying any necessary to the town, was brought down to Leith, where he was either hanged or drowned, or at the very least burnt in the cheek. So inveterate, indeed, had the parties now become, that prisoners taken in the field of open war, were instantly hanged on both sides. This blind brutality was carried on without intermission for nearly two months. The town of Edinburgh was now reduced to the greatest straits, and nothing but the deepest infatuation could have prevented the governor of the castle from surrendering, especially as Elizabeth, by her ambassador, was willing to treat with the regent on his behalf. A truce was, however, effected by the mediation of the French and English ambassadors, the town was made patent to the governor, and the banished clergy were all allowed to return, but still no terms of mutual agreement could be devised, and the regent Marr, broken in spirit for the wickedness and folly of his countrymen, died, as has been generally supposed, of a broken heart, on the 24th of October, 1572. Morton had now a fair field for his ambition, and on the 24th of November, he was elected regent, in the room of the earl of Marr.

During the reign of the three former regents, Morton had been a principal actor in all matters of importance, and there did not appear to be any positive change in his principles and views, now that he was at liberty to act for himself. He still proffered peace upon the conditions that had been held out by his predecessor, but Grange, who commanded the castle, having risen in his demands, and Maitland being a man of whom he was jealous, he fell upon the plan of treating with the party separately, and by this means ruining, or at least, disabling the whole. In this he was assisted, perhaps unwittingly, by the English ambassador Killigrew, who, now that a partisan of England was at the head of the government, laboured to bring about a reconciliation between all parties. Under his auspices a correspondence was accordingly entered into with the two most powerful leaders of the party, Chatelherault and Huntly, by whom a renewal of the truce was gladly accepted. Kirkaldy, who refused to be included in the prolongation of the truce, fired some cannon at six o'clock in the morning after it had expired, against a place which had been turned into a fish market, whereby one man was slain and several wounded. The ambassa-

dor seeing this, immediately moved home, and Sir James Balfour, who had been all the time of the dispute an inmate of the castle, hastened to make his submission to the regent, and demand a pardon, which was cheerfully granted, with restoration at once to all his possessions. Perhaps rather offended than mollified by this kindness on the part of the regent towards his friend, the governor proclaimed from the walls of the castle his intention to destroy the town, commanding at the same time, all the queen's true subjects to leave the place, that they might not be involved in that ruin that was intended only for her enemies. Within two days after, a strong wind blowing from the west, he sallied out in the evening, and set fire to the houses at the foot of the rock, which burned eastward as far as the Magdalen chapel. At the same time he sent his cannon-shot along the path taken by the conflagration, so that no one dared to approach to put it out. This useless cruelty made him alike odious to his friends and his enemies, and they "sa cryit out with maledictions that he was saif frae na mannis cursing." The estates, notwithstanding all this, met in the end of January, when they passed several acts against papists and despisers of the king's authority. This meeting of the estates had no sooner broken up, than a meeting was held at Perth with the leading noblemen, who had first been of the queen's faction, when a treaty was entered into, by which a general amnesty was granted to all who should profess and support the protestant religion, and submit themselves to the authority of the regent. The only persons excepted from this amnesty, were the murderers of the king, and the regents Moray and Lennox, the archbishop of Glasgow, Mary's ambassador in France, and the bishop of Ross, her ambassador in England, both of whom were under a sentence of outlawry. Liberty was also reserved for Kirkaldy and his associates to take the benefit of this amnesty if they did it within a given time. The English ambassador, anxious for the fate of a brave man, waited in the castle to show the governor the treaty, and to advise his acceding to it, but Maitland had so possessed him with the idea of assistance from abroad, that he was deaf to all advice. Morton, indeed, had not the means of reducing the castle himself; but he made immediate application to Elizabeth for a supply of cannon and of soldiers who could work them, which application she received most graciously, and Sir William Drury with a body of troops and a train of artillery left Berwick upon that service in the month of April, 1573. Before the march of the troops, however, a special treaty was concluded, whereby the terms upon which the aid was granted were particularly specified, and hostages were granted for the fulfilment of these terms. No time was lost in commencing the siege, and notwithstanding the skill and the bravery of the governor, the place was speedily reduced. The fall of part of the chief tower choked up the well which afforded them at best but a scanty supply, and the spur, though a place of great strength, was stormed with the loss of only eight men killed, and twenty-three wounded. The garrison on this beat a parley, and sent for one of the English captains, to whom they expressed their desire of conversing with the general and the ambassador. The regent giving his consent, Kirkaldy, according to the prediction of John Knox, along with Sir Robert Melville, was let down over the wall, the gate being choked up with rubbish. Requiring conditions which could not be granted, Kirkaldy was returned to the castle, but he found it impossible to stand another assault. They had no water but what they caught as it fell from heaven, and the garrison was discontented. Thinking on the terms that had been offered, and so often and foolishly rejected, and ascribing the obstinacy of the resistance to Maitland, the men threatened that if further attempts to preserve the place were made, they would hang him over the wall. Nothing of course was left but to capitulate at discretion: only they did so with the Eng-

lish general, in preference to the regent. The garrison had to be brought from the castle under an escort, so odious was it to the people; and Kirkaldy and Maitland, for the same reason, had to be lodged with the English general. Maitland took himself off by poison; and Kirkaldy and his brother James, along with two other persons, were hanged at the cross of Edinburgh upon the 3d day of August, 1573. Kirkaldy had been an early friend and an intrepid defender of the reformation; but his old age, in consequence perhaps of the companionships he had formed, was unworthy of his youth, and his end was most miserable. This was the last stroke to the interests of Mary in Scotland.

The regent's first care was to repair the castle, the keeping of which he committed to his brother, George Douglas of Parkhead, he himself going in person to repress the disorders that had so long prevailed among the borderers, and had been so often complained of by the English government. Along with Sir John Forrester, the English warden for the middle march, he adjusted the existing differences, and concerted measures to prevent their recurrence. From the chiefs of the different districts he exacted hostages for their good behaviour; and he appointed Sir James Home of Cowdenknows, Sir John Carmichael, one of his principal ministers, and lord Maxwell, as wardens for the eastern, the middle, and the western marches. Having settled the borders, Morton next applied himself to correct the disorders in the country in general, and to the regular distribution of justice; and in this, says the author of the history of James the sixth, "he wished to punish the transgressor rather be his gudes than be death." "He had also anither purpose," says the same author, "to heap up a great treasure whatsoever way it might be obtained. For the first he prospered in effect very weil; and as to the uther, he had greater luck than any three kings had before him in sa short a space. For not only he collectit all the king's rents to his awin proffit, but also controllit the yung king's family in sik sort, as they war content of sik a small pension as he pleased to appoint. Secondly, when any benefices of the kirk vaikit, he keeped the proffit of their rents sa lang in his awin hand, till he was urgit be the kirk to mak donation tharof, and that was not given but proffit for all that. And becaus the wairds and marriages war also incidental matters of the crown, and fell frequently in thais dayis, as commonly they do, he obtainit als great proffit of ilk ane of them as they war of avail, and as to the gudes of those wha war ony way disobedient to the lawis, and that the same fell in the king's hand, the parties offenders escapit not but payment in the highest degree. And to this effect he had certain interpreters and componitors wha componit with all parties, according to his ain direction; and he sa appointed with them for the payment, that it sould either be made in fyne gold or fyne silver." The above, we doubt not, is a pretty fair general statement of Morton's ordinary modes of procedure. He also sentenced to whipping and imprisonment, those who dared to eat flesh in lent, but the sentences were uniformly remitted upon paying fines. His exactions upon the church perhaps were not the most aggravated of his doings, but they certainly brought him a larger share of odium than any other. The thirds of benefices had been appropriated for the maintenance of the protestant clergy; but from the avarice of the nobility, who had seized upon the revenues of the church, even these thirds could not be collected with either certainty or regularity. During the late troubles, they had in many places been entirely lost sight of; to remedy this defect, Morton proposed to vest them in the crown, under promise to make the stipend of every minister local, and payable in the parish where he served. If upon trial this arrangement should be found ineligible, he engaged to replace them in their former situation. No sooner, however, did he obtain possession of the thirds, than he appointed one man to serve

perhaps four churches, in which he was to preach alternately, with the stipend of one parish only; by which means he pocketed two-thirds, with the exception of the trifle given to three illiterate persons who read prayers in the absence of the minister. The allowance to superintendents was stopped at the same time; and when application was made at court, they were told the office was no longer necessary, bishops being placed in the diocese, to whom of right the ecclesiastical jurisdiction belonged. The ministers complained, and desired to be put on their former footing, but they were told that the thirds belonged to the king, and the management of them behoved of course to belong to the regent and council, and not to the church. The assembly of 1574, in order to counteract the effects of their own simplicity, decreed that though a minister should be appointed to more churches than one, he should take the charge of that alone where he resided, and bestow upon the others only what he could spare without interfering with the duty he owed to his particular charge.

In the summer of 1575, an affray on the borders had well nigh involved Morton in a contest with Elizabeth. Sir John Carmichael, one of the Scottish wardens, had delivered up some outlaws to Sir John Forrester the English warden, and now made application to that officer to have a notorious thief delivered up to him; Forrester showed a disposition to evade the demand, and some of the Scottish attendants uttered their dislike in terms ruder than suited the polite ears of Englishmen. Sir John Forrester then said, that Sir John Carmichael was not an equal to him; and his followers, without ceremony, let fly a shower of arrows, that killed one Scotsman dead, and wounded many others. Inferior in numbers, the Scots were fain to flee for their lives, but meeting some of their countrymen from Jedburgh, they turned back, and dispersing the Englishmen, chased them within their own borders, and slew by the way George Heron, keeper of Tinedale and Reddisdale, with twenty-four common men. Forrester himself they took prisoner, along with Francis Russell, son to the earl of Bedford, Cudbert Collingwood, and several others, whom they sent to the regent at Dalkeith; who, heartily sorry for the affray, received them with kindness, entertained them hospitably for a few days, and dismissed them courteously. Elizabeth, informed of the circumstance, demanded by her ambassador, Killigrew, immediate satisfaction. Morton had no alternative but to repair to the border, near Berwick, where he was met by the earl of Huntington, and after a conference of some days, it was agreed that Sir John Carmichael should be sent prisoner into England. Elizabeth finding on inquiry that her own warden had been the offender, and pleased with the submissive conduct of Morton, ordered Carmichael in a few weeks to be honourably dismissed, and gratified him with a handsome present.

Morton, having a greedy eye to the temporalities of the church, had from the beginning been unfriendly to her liberties, and by his encroachments had awakened a spirit of opposition that gathered strength every year till the whole fabric of episcopacy was overturned. This embroiled him with the general assembly every year, and had no small effect in hastening his downfall; but in the bounds we have prescribed to our narrative, we cannot introduce the subject in such a way as to be intelligible, and must therefore pass it over.

In the end of 1575, the regent coined a new piece of gold of the weight of one ounce, and ordained it to pass current for twenty pounds. In the following year, a feud fell out betwixt Athole and Argyle, which the regent hoped to have turned to his own account by imposing a fine upon each of them; but they being aware of his plan, composed their own differences, and kept out of his clutches. An attempt which Morton had before this made upon Semple of Beltrees and Adam Whitford of Milntown, had given all men an evil opinion of

his disposition, and made them wish for the subversion of his power. Semple had married Mary Livingston, one of queen Mary's maids of honour, and had received along with her, in a present from his royal mistress, the lands of Beltrees, which Morton now proposed to reassume as crown lands, which, it was alleged, were unalienable. Semple, on hearing of this design, was reported to have exclaimed, that if he lost his lands he should lose his head also; on which Morton had him apprehended and put to the torture, under which, as most men will do, he confessed whatever they thought fit to charge him with, and was condemned to be executed, but was pardoned upon the scaffold. His uncle Adam Whitford was also tortured respecting the same plot; but though they mangled his body most cruelly, he utterly denied that he knew of any such thing. The firm denial of the uncle gained of course entire credit, while the confession of the nephew was ridiculed as the effect of weakness and fear. Irritated with the reproaches which were now pretty liberally heaped upon him, Morton conceived the idea of heightening his reputation by demitting, or offering to demit his office into the hands of the king, who was now in his twelfth year. He accordingly, on the 12th day of September, 1577, proposed his resignation to his majesty, who, by the advice of Athole and Argyle, accepted it: and it was shortly after declared to the people of Edinburgh by the Lyon King at Arms, assisted by twelve heralds, and accompanied by a round from the castle guns. Morton, taken at his word, seems to have retired to Lochleven in a kind of pet, but speedily contrived to regain that power by force which he had apparently laid down of his free will. Having possessed himself of the castle and garrison of Stirling, he dexterously contrived to engross the same or at least equal power to what he possessed as regent; nor had he learned to temper it with any more of moderation. He brought the parliament that had been summoned to meet at Edinburgh, to Stirling; and he carried every thing in it his own way. He also narrowly escaped kindling another civil war; yet he still meditated the ruin of the Hamiltons, and the enriching of himself and his faction by their estates. The earl of Arran had been for a number of years insane, and confined in the castle of Draffan. But his brother, lord John Hamilton, acted as the administrator of his estates, and Claud was commendator of Paisley; both the brothers had been excepted from the amnesty granted at Perth, as being concerned in the murder of the king and the regent Murray, and Morton had now formed a scheme to involve them in a criminal sentence on that account, and to seize upon their estates. Informed of the plot, the brothers got happily out of the way, but their castles were seized; and because that of Hamilton had not been given up at the first summons, the garrison were marched to Stirling as felons, and the commander hanged for his fidelity. Still, however, Arran, being insane, was guiltless, but he was made answerable for his servants, and because they had not yielded to the summons of the king, he was convicted of treason and his estates forfeited. In the same spirit of justice and humanity, Morton apprehended a schoolmaster of the name of Turnbull, and a notary of the name of Scott, who had written, in conjunction, a satire upon some parts of his character and conduct, brought them to Stirling, where they were convicted of slandering "ane of the king's councillors, and hanged for their pains." The violent dealing of the wicked almost invariably returns upon their own heads, and so in a short time did that of Morton; for while he was still meditating mischief, he was most unexpectedly accused by the king's new favourite, captain Stewart, of being an accomplice in the murder of the king's father. He was instantly committed to the castle of Edinburgh, thence carried to Dumbarton, and thence back to Edinburgh, where he was brought to trial on the 1st of June, 1581. Previously to his removal from

Dumbarton, the estate and title of the Earl of Arran, which he had so iniquitously caused to be forfeited, were bestowed upon captain Stewart, his accuser; who, at the same time that he was invested with the estate and title, received a commission to bring up the ex-regent from Dumbarton to Edinburgh, which he did at the head of one thousand men. When the commission was shown to Morton, struck with the title, he inquired who he was, not having heard of his exaltation. Being told, he exclaimed, "then I know what I have to expect." The jury that sat upon his trial was composed of his avowed enemies, and though he challenged the earl of Argyle and lord Seton as prejudiced against him, they were allowed to sit on his assize. Of the nature of the proof adduced against him we know nothing, as our historians have not mentioned it, and the records of the court respecting it have either been destroyed or lost. He was, however, pronounced guilty of concealing, and guilty art and part in the king's murder. "Art and part," he exclaimed twice, with considerable agitation, and striking the ground violently with a small walking-stick, "God knows it is not so." He heard, however, the sentence with perfect composure. In the interval between his trial and execution, he felt, he said, a serenity of mind to which he had long been a stranger. Resigning himself to his fate, he supped cheerfully and slept calmly for a considerable part of the night. He was next morning visited by several of the ministers, and an interesting account of the conference which John Dury and Walter Balcanquhal had with him, has been preserved. Respecting the crime for which he was condemned, he confessed, that after his return from England, whither he had fled for the slaughter of Rizzio, he met Bothwell at Whittingham, who informed him of the conspiracy against the king, and solicited him to become an accomplice, as the queen anxiously wished his death. He at first refused to have any thing to do with it, but after repeated conferences, in which he was always urged with the queen's pleasure, he required a warrant under her hand, authorizing the deed, which never having received, he never consented to have any hand in the transaction. On being reminded that his own confessions justified his sentence; he answered, that according to the strict letter of the law, he was liable to punishment, but it was impossible for him to have revealed the plot, for to whom could he have done so? "To the queen? she was the author of it. To the king's father? he was sic a bairn that there was nothing told him but he would tell to her again; and the two most powerful noblemen in the kingdom, Bothwell and Huntly, were the perpetrators. I foreknew, indeed, and concealed it," added he, "but it was because I durst not reveal it to any creature for my life. But as to being art and part in the commission of the crime, I call God to witness that I am entirely innocent." He was executed by an instrument called the maiden, which he himself had introduced into Scotland, on the 3d of June, 1581. On the scaffold he was calm, his voice and his countenance continuing unaltered; and after some little time spent in devotion, he suffered death with the intrepidity that became a Douglas. His head was placed on the public gaol, and his body, after lying till sunset on the scaffold, covered with a beggarly cloak, was carried by common porters to the usual burying place of criminals. "Never was there seen," says Spottiswoode, "a more notable example of fortune's mutability, than in the earl of Morton. He who a few years before had been reverenced by all men, and feared as a king, was now at his end forsaken by all, and made the very scorn of fortune, to teach men how little stability there is in honour, wealth, friendship, and the rest of these worldly things that men do so much admire. In one thing he was nevertheless most happy, that he died truly penitent, with that courage and resignation which became a truly great man and a good christian, and in the full assurance of a blessed immortality."

DOUGLAS, James, M. D., a skilful anatomist and surgeon, and accomplished physician, was born in Scotland in the year 1675. Having completed his preliminary education, he proceeded to London, and there applied himself diligently to the studies of anatomy and surgery. Medical science was at that period but little advanced, nor were the facilities of acquiring a proficiency in any branch of it, by any means considerable. Dr Douglas laboured with assiduity to overcome the difficulties against which he had to contend;—he studied carefully the works of the ancients, which were at that time little known to his contemporaries, and sought to supply what in them appeared defective, by closely studying nature. The toils of patient industry seldom go unrewarded; and he was soon enabled so far to advance the progress of anatomy and surgery, as to entitle himself to a conspicuous place in the history of medicine. His "*Descriptio Comparativa Musculorum corporis humani et Quadrupedis*" was published in London in 1707. The quadruped he chose for his analogy was the dog; and he thus appears to have proceeded in imitation of Galen, who left on record an account of the muscles of the ape and in man. "As for the comparative part of this treatise, or the interlacing the descriptions of the human muscles with those of the canine, that" says Dr Douglas, "needs no apology. The many useful discoveries known from the dissection of quadrupeds, the knowledge of the true structure of divers parts of the body, of the course of the blood and the chyle, and of the use and proper action of the parts, that are chiefly owing to this sort of dissection; these, I say, give a very warrantable plea for insisting upon it, though it may be censured by the vulgar." His descriptions of the muscles, their origin and insertion, and their various uses, are extremely accurate; and to them many recent authors on myology, of no mean authority, have been not a little indebted. It soon obtained considerable notice on the continent, where, in 1738, an edition appeared in Latin, by John Frederic Schreiber. His anatomical *chef d'œuvre*, however, was the description he gave of the peritonæum, the complicated course and reflections of which, he pointed out with admirable accuracy. His account entitled "a description of the Peritonæum, and of that part of the Membrana Cellularis which lies on its outside," appeared in London in the year 1730. Nicholas Massa, and others of the older anatomists, had contended that the peritonæum was a uniform and continuous membrane, but it remained for Dr Douglas to demonstrate the fact; in which, after repeated dissections, he satisfactorily succeeded. Ocular inspection can alone teach the folds and processes of this membrane;—but his description is perhaps the best and most complete that can even yet be consulted. Besides his researches in anatomy, Dr Douglas laboured to advance the then rude state of surgery. He studied particularly the difficult and painful operation of lithotomy, and introduced to the notice of the profession the methods recommended by Jacques, Rau, and Mery. In the year 1726, he published "a History of the lateral operation for Stone," which was republished with an appendix, in 1733, and embraced a comparison of the methods used by different lithotomists, more especially of that which was practised by Cheselden. Dr Douglas taught for many years both anatomy and surgery; and his fame having extended, he was appointed physician to the king, who afterwards awarded him a pension of five hundred guineas per annum. It may be worth noticing, that while practising in London, he seems to have obtained considerable credit for having detected the imposition of a woman named Maria Tofts, who had for some time imposed successfully on the public. This impostor pretended, that from time to time she underwent an accouchement, during which, she gave birth —not to any human being—but to rabbits; and this strange deception she practised successfully on many well educated persons. Dr Douglas detected the

fraud, and explained the mode by which it was enacted, in an advertisement which he published in Manningham's Journal. During the period that Dr Douglas lectured on anatomy, he was waited upon by Mr, afterwards the celebrated Dr William Hunter, who solicited his advice in the direction of his studies. Pleased with his address, and knowing his industry and talents, Dr Douglas appointed him his assistant, and invited him to reside under his roof; an invitation which Mr William Hunter could not accept, until he had consulted Dr Cullen, with whom he had previously arranged to enter, when he had finished his education, into partnership, for the purpose of conducting the surgical part of his practice;—but his friend Dr Cullen, seeing how important to him would be his situation under Dr Douglas, relinquished cheerfully his former agreement; and young Hunter was left at liberty to accept the situation he desired. He thus became the assistant of, and found a kind benefactor in Dr Douglas; who must have been amply rewarded, had he lived to see the high fame to which his pupil attained. Thus often it happens, that the patron and preceptor of an obscure and humble boy, fosters talents which afterwards rise and shine even with greater brilliancy than his own. Dr Douglas not only attended to the practical duties of his profession, but excelled in what may be termed its literary department. He was an erudite scholar, and published a work entitled "*Bibliographiæ Anatomicæ specimen, seu Catalogus pene Omnium Auctorum qui ab Hippocrate ad Harveium rem Anatomicam ex professo vel obiter scripsit illustrarunt.*" This work appeared in London in the year 1715, and was republished in Leyden in 1734, which edition was enriched by several important additions from the pen of Albinus. Portal, in his history of anatomy and surgery, thus eulogises this valuable work—"c'est le tableau le plus fidele, et le plus succinct de l'anatomie ancienne. Douglas fait en peu de mots l'histoire de chaque anatomiste, indique leurs editions, et donne une légere notice de leurs ouvrages; sa liste des ecrivains est tres étendue . . . . . c'est ouvrage est une des meilleurs modelles qu'on puisse suivre pour donner l'histoire d'une science et j'avoue que je m'en suis beaucoup servi."[1] Haller, when in London, visited Dr Douglas, and informs us that he was highly pleased with his anatomical preparations; particularly with those which exhibited the motions of the joints, and the internal structure of the bones. A tribute of admiration from such a man as the illustrious Haller cannot be too highly appreciated;—he observes, that he found him "a learned and skilful person; modest, candid, and obliging; and a very diligent dissecter." Besides devoting his attention to those departments of his profession in the exercise of which he was most particularly engaged, Dr Douglas seems to have pursued botany, not only as a recreation, but as a graver study. In the year 1725, he published "*Lilium Sarmiense*," or a description of the Guernsey lily. His work, descriptive of this beautiful flower, appeared in folio, illustrated by a plate, and is an admirable monograph. He also analysed with peculiar care the coffee seed, and published a work entitled "*Arbor Yemensis*," a description and history of the coffee tree, which may still be consulted as containing a great deal of curious and valuable information. We also find in the Transactions of the royal society of London, that he contributed to that work, a description of the flower and seed vessel of the *Crocus Autumnalis Sativus;* and an essay on the different kinds of Ipecacuanha. In addition to these labours, more or less connected with his immediate professional avocations, we find that he collected, at a great expense, all the editions of Horace which had been published from 1476 to 1739. Dr Harwood, in his view of Greek and Roman classics, observes, that "this one

[1] Historie de l'anatomie et de le chirurgie, par M. Portal, lecteur du Roi et professeur de medicine au college royale de France, &c., à Paris, 1770. tom. iv. p. 403.

author multiplied, must thus have formed a very considerable library." An accurate catalogue of these is prefixed to Watson's Horace.[2]

In addition to the works we have mentioned, Dr Douglas projected a splendid design of one on the bones, and another on Hernia, which, notwithstanding the great advancement of medical science since his time, we regret that he did not live to complete. He died in the year 1742, in the sixty-seventh year of his age; and when we consider the period in which he lived, and the essential services he rendered towards the advancement of medical science, the homage of the highest respect is due to his memory.

DOUGLAS, John, the brother of the eminent physician whose biography we have already given, attained to considerable eminence as a surgeon, in which capacity he officiated to the Westminster infirmary. His name is principally distinguished among those of other medical men, for his celebrity as a lithotomist, and for having written a treatise insisting on the utility of bark in mortification. His work on the high operation for the stone, obtained for him considerable reputation; and will give the medical reader an accurate notion of the state of the surgical art at the period in which he lived. He also practised midwifery, and criticised with no inconsiderable asperity the works of Chamberlain and Chapman. He appears, indeed, to have been the author of several controversial works, which have deservedly floated down the stream of time into obscurity. Among others we may notice one, entitled "*Remarks on a late pompous Work;*" a severe and very unjust criticism on Cheselden's admirable Osteology. He wrote some useful treatises on the employment of purgatives in Syphilis; but by far his most important was "*an account of Mortifications, and of the surprising effect of Bark in putting a stop to their progress.*" This remedy had already been tried successfully in gout by Sydenham; in typhus by Ramazzini and Lanzoni; by Monro, Wall, and Huxham, in malignant variolo; and after Rushworth had tried it in the gangrene following intermittent fevers, it was introduced by Douglas, and afterwards by Shipton, Grindall, Werlhof, and Heister, in ordinary cases of gangrene.[3] This same Scottish family, we may add, gave birth to Robert Douglas, who published a treatise on the generation of animal heat; but the rude state of Physiology, and of animal chemistry, at that period, rendered abortive all speculation on this difficult, but still interesting subject of investigation.

DOUGLAS, John, D. D., bishop of Salisbury, was born at Pittenweem, Fifeshire, in the year 1721. His father was Mr John Douglas, a respectable merchant of that town, a son of a younger brother of the ancient family of Tilliquilly. Young Douglas commenced his education at the schools of Dunbar, whence in the year 1736, he was removed, and entered commoner of St Mary's college, Oxford. In the year 1738, he was elected exhibitioner on bishop Warner's foundation, in Baliol college; and in 1741, he took his bachelor's degree. In order to acquire a facility in speaking the French language, he went abroad, and remained for some time at Montreal in Picardy, and afterwards at Ghent in Flanders. Having returned to college in 1743, he was ordained deacon, and in the following year he was appointed chaplain to the third foot guards, and joined the regiment in Flanders, where it was then serving with the allied army. During the period of his service abroad, Dr Douglas occupied himself chiefly in the study of modern languages; but at the same time he took a lively interest in the operations of the army, and at the battle of Fontenoy, was employed in carrying orders from general Campbell to a detachment of English troops. He returned to England along with that body of troops, which was

[2] See also Haller Bib. Anat. and Chirurg.

[3] Spreyel Histoire de la Medicine, tom. v. f. 442.

ordered home on the breaking out of the rebellion of 1745; and having gone back to college, he was elected one of the exhibitioners on Mr Snell's foundation. In the year 1747, he was ordained priest, and became curate of Tilehurst, near Reading, and afterwards of Dunstew, in Oxfordshire. On the recommendation of Sir Charles Stuart and lady Allen, he was selected by the earl of Bath to accompany his only son lord Pulteney, as tutor, in his travels on the continent. Dr Douglas has left a MS. account of this tour, which relates chiefly to the governments and political relations of the countries through which they passed. In the year 1749, he returned home; and although lord Pulteney was prematurely cut off, yet the fidelity with which Dr Douglas had discharged his duty to his pupil, procured him the lasting friendship and valuable patronage of the earl of Bath; by whom he was presented to the free chapel of Eaton-Constantine, and the donative of Uppington, in Shropshire. In the following year, (1750) he published his first literary work. "*The Vindication of Milton,*" from the charge of plagiarism, brought against him by the impostor Lauder. In the same year he was presented by the earl of Bath to the vicarage of High Ercal, in Shropshire, when he vacated Eaton-Constantine. Dr Douglas resided only occasionally on his livings. At the desire of the earl of Bath, he took a house in town, near Bath-House, where he passed the winter months, and in summer he generally accompanied lord Bath to the fashionable watering places, or in his visits among the nobility and gentry. In the year 1752, he married Miss Dorothy Pershouse, who died within three months after her nuptials. In 1754, he published "*The Criterion of Miracles.*" In 1755, he wrote a pamphlet against the Hutchinsonians, Methodists, and other religious sects, which he published under the title of "*An Apology for the Clergy,*" and soon after, he published an ironical defence of these sectarians, entitled "*The Destruction of the French foretold by Ezekiel.*" For many years Dr Douglas seems to have engaged in writing political pamphlets, an occupation most unbecoming a clergyman. In the year 1761, he was appointed one of his majesty's chaplains, and in 1762, through the interest of the earl of Bath, he was made canon of Windsor. In 1762, he superintended the publication of "*Henry the Earl of Clarendon's Diary and Letters;*" and wrote the preface which is prefixed to that work. In June, of that year, he accompanied the earl of Bath to Spa, where he became acquainted with the hereditary prince of Brunswick, who received him with marked attention, and afterwards honoured him with his correspondence. Of this correspondence, (although it is known that Dr Douglas kept a copy of all his own letters, and although it was valuable from its presenting a detailed account of the state of parties at the time,) no trace can now be discovered. In the year 1764, the earl of Bath died, and left his library to Dr Douglas, but as general Pulteney wished to preserve it in the family, it was redeemed for a thousand pounds. On the death of general Pulteney, however, it was again left to Dr Douglas, when it was a second time redeemed for the same sum. In 1764, he exchanged his livings in Shropshire for that of St Austin and St Faith in Watling Street, London. In April 1765, Dr Douglas married Miss Elizabeth Brooke, the daughter of Henry Brudenell Brooke. In the year 1773, he assisted Sir John Dalrymple in the arrangement of his MSS. In 1776, he was removed from the chapter of Windsor to that of St Pauls. At the request of lord Sandwich, first lord of the admiralty, he prepared for publication the journal of Captain Cooke's voyages. In the year 1777, he assisted lord Hardwick in arranging and publishing his *Miscellaneous Papers.* In the following year he was elected member of the royal and the antiquarian societies. In 1781, at the request of lord Sandwich, he prepared for publication Captain Cooke's third and last voyage; to which he supplied the introduc-

tion and notes. In the same year he was chosen president of Zion college, and preached the customary Latin sermon. In 1786, he was elected one of the vice-presidents of the antiquarian society, and in the month of March of the following year, he was elected one of the trustees of the British museum. In September, 1787, he was made bishop of Carlisle. In 1788, he succeeded to the Deanery of Windsor, for which he vacated his residentiaryship of St Pauls, and in 1791 he was translated to the See of Salisbury. And having reached the 86th year of his age, he died on the 18th of May, 1807. He was buried in one of the vaults of St George's chapel in Windsor Castle, and was attended to the grave by the duke of Sussex.

Mr Douglas had the honour to be a member of the club instituted by Dr Johnson, and is frequently mentioned in Boswell's life of the lexicographer; he is also twice mentioned by Goldsmith in the "Retaliation." We are told by his son that his father was an indefatigable reader and writer, and that he was scarcely ever to be seen without a book or a pen; but the most extraordinary feature in the career of this reverend prelate is his uniform good fortune, which makes the history of his life little more than the chronicle of the honours and preferments which were heaped upon him.[4]

DOUGLAS, Robert, an eminent clergyman, is said to have been a grandson of Mary queen of Scots, through a child born by her to George Douglas, younger of Lochleven, while she suffered confinement in that castle. Nothing else has come to our knowledge respecting his parentage and early history. It would appear that he accompanied, in the capacity of chaplain, one of the brigades of auxiliaries sent over from Scotland, by connivance of Charles I., to aid the protestant cause under Gustavus Adolphus, in the celebrated thirty years' war. Wodrow, in his manuscript Analecta, under date 1712, puts down some anecdotes of this part of Douglas's life, which, he says, his informant derived from old ministers that had been acquainted with him.

"He was a considerable time in Gustavus Adolphus's army, and was in great reputation with him. He was very unwilling to part with Mr Douglas, and when he would needs leave the army, Gustavus said of him that he scarce ever knew a person of his qualifications for wisdom. Said he, 'Mr Douglas might have been counsellor to any prince in Europe; for prudence and knowledge, he might be moderator to a general assembly; and even for military skill,' said he, 'I could very freely trust my army to his conduct.' And they said that in one of Gustavus's engagements, he was standing at some distance on a

[4] The following is a list of bishop Douglas's works: "Vindication of Milton from the charge of Plagiarism, adduced by Lauder," 1750. "A letter on the criterion of miracles," 1754, principally intended as an antidote against the writings of Hume, Voltaire, and the philosophers." "An apology for the clergy against the Hutchinsonians, Methodists, &c." "The destruction of the French foretold by Ezekiel," 1759. This was an ironical defence of those he had attacked in the preceding pamphlet. "An attack on certain positions contained in Bower's history of the Popes, &c." 1756. "A serious defence of the administration," 1756,—being an attack on the cabinet of that day for introducing foreign troops. "Bower and Tillemont compared," 1757. "A full confutation of Bower's three defences." "The complete and final detection of Bower." "The conduct of the late noble commander (lord George Sackville, afterwards lord George Germain) candidly considered," 1759. This was the defence of a very unpopular character. "A letter to two great men on the appearance of peace," 1759. "A preface to the translation of Hooke's Negotiations, 1760. "The sentiments of a Frenchman on the preliminaries of peace, 1762. "The introduction and notes to captain Cooke's third voyage." "The anniversary sermon on the martyrdom of king Charles, preached before the house of Lords," 1788. "The anniversary sermon preached before the Society for the propagation of the Gospel," 1793. Besides these, bishop Douglas wrote several political papers in the public Advertiser in 1763,-66,-70,-71. He also superintended the publication of lord Clarendon's Letters and Diary, and assisted lord Hardwick and Sir John Dalrymple in arranging their MSS. for publication, and he drew up Mr Hearne's narrative, and finished the introduction.

rising ground, and when both wings were engaged, he observed some mismanagement in the left wing, that was like to prove fatal, and he either went or sent to acquaint the commanding officer, and it was prevented, and the day gained."

Mr Wodrow further mentions that Douglas, while in the army, having no other book than the Bible to read, committed nearly the whole of that sacred volume to memory, which was of immense service to him in his future ministrations in Scotland. In 1641, Douglas was one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and probably of considerable distinction. On the 25th of July that year, he preached before the parliament, an honour to which he was frequently preferred throughout the whole course of the civil war. According to Wodrow, he was "a great state preacher, one of the greatest we ever had in Scotland, for he feared no man to declare the mind of God to him." He was a man of such authority and boldness, that Mr Tullidaff, himself an eminent preacher, declared he never could stand in the presence of Douglas without a feeling of awe. Nevertheless, says Wodrow, "he was very accessible and easy to be conversed with. Unless a man were for God, he had no value for him, let him be never so great or noble." Mr Douglas was moderator of the general assembly which met in 1649, and was in general a leading member of the standing committee of that body, in company with Mr David Dickson, Mr Robert Blair, and others. In August, 1650, he was one of the commissioners sent by the clergy to Dunfermline, to request Charles II. to subscribe a declaration of his sentiments for the satisfaction of the public mind. As this document threw much blame upon his late father, Charles refused to subscribe it, and the commissioners returned without satisfaction, which laid the foundation of a division in the Scottish church. Douglas became the leading individual of the party which inclined to treat Charles leniently, and which obtained the name of the *resolutioners*. In virtue of this lofty character, he officiated at the coronation of king Charles at Scone, January 1, 1651: his sermon on that occasion was published at the time, and has since been reprinted. It contains ample evidence of his qualifications as a "state preacher," that is, a preacher who commented on state affairs in the course of his sermons; a fashion which rendered the *pulpit* of the seventeenth century equivalent to the *press* of the present day. When the royal cause was suppressed in Scotland by Cromwell, Douglas, among other members of the church commission, was sent prisoner to London, whence he was soon after released. At the departure of general Monk from Scotland in 1659, Mr Douglas joined with several other distinguished resolutioners in sending Mr James Sharp along with that commander, as an agent to attend to the interests of the Scottish church in whatever turn affairs might take. Sharp, as is well known, betrayed his constituents, and got himself appointed archbishop of St Andrews under the new system. While conducting matters to this end, he maintained a correspondence with Mr Douglas, for the use of his constituents in general; and this correspondence is introduced, almost at full length, into Wodrow's "History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland." It is said that Mr Douglas was offered high episcopal preferment, if he would have acceded to the new church-system, but that he indignantly refused. Wodrow, in his manuscript diary, gives the following anecdote: "When Mr Sharp was beginning to appear in his true colours, a little before he went up to court and was consecrate, he happened to be with Mr Douglas, and in conversation he termed Mr Douglas 'brother.' He checked him, and said, 'Brother! no more brother, James: if my conscience had been of the make of yours, I could have been bishop of St Andrews sooner than you.'" At another place, Wodrow mentions that, "when a great person was pressing him (Mr Douglas)

to be primate of Scotland, he, to put him off effectually, answered, 'I will never be archbishop of St Andrews, unless the chancellor of Scotland also, as some were before me;' which made the great man speak no more to him about that affair." This great man was probably the earl of Glencairn, who had himself been appointed chancellor. Kirkton, another church historian, says that when Mr Douglas became fully aware of Sharp's intention to accept the primacy, he said to him, in parting, "James, I see you will engage. I perceive you are clear, you will be made archbishop of St Andrews. Take it, and the curse of God with it." So saying, he clapped him on the shoulder, and shut the door upon him. In a paper which this divine afterwards wrote respecting the new introduction of prelacy, he made the quaint but true remark, that the little finger of the present bishops was bigger than the loins of their predecessors. After this period, Mr Douglas appears to have resigned his charge as a minister of Edinburgh, and nothing more is learned respecting him till 1669, when the privy council admitted him as an indulged clergyman to the parish of Pencaitland in East Lothian. The period of his death is unknown; nor is there any certain information respecting his family, except that he had a son, Alexander, who was minister of Logie, and a correspondent of Mr Wodrow.

DRUMMOND, George, provost of Edinburgh, was born on the 27th of June, 1687. He was the son of George Drummond of Newton, a branch of the noble family of Perth; and was educated at the schools of Edinburgh, where he early displayed superior abilities, particularly in the science of calculation, for which he had a natural predilection, and in which he acquired an almost unequalled proficiency. Nor was this attainment long of being called into use, and that on a very momentous occasion; for, when only eighteen years of age, he was requested by the committee of the Scottish parliament, appointed to examine and settle the national accounts, preparatory to the legislative union of the two kingdoms, to afford his assistance; and it is generally believed that most of the calculations were made by him. So great was the satisfaction which he gave on that occasion to those at the head of the Scottish affairs, that, on the establishment of the excise in 1707, he was appointed accountant-general, when he was just twenty years of age.

Mr Drummond had early imbibed those political principles which seated the present royal family on the throne; hence he took an active part on the side of government, in the rebellion of 1715. It was to him that ministry owed the first intelligence of the earl of Marr having reached Scotland to raise the standard of insurrection. He fought at the battle of Sheriff-muir, and was the first to apprize the magistrates of Edinburgh of Argyle's victory; which he did by a letter written on horseback, from the field of battle. On the 10th of February, 1715, Mr Drummond had been promoted to a seat at the board of excise; and on the rebellion being extinguished, he returned to Edinburgh, to the active discharge of his duties. On the 27th April, 1717, he was appointed one of the commissioners of the board of customs. In the same year he was elected treasurer of the city, which office he held for two years. In 1722-23, he was dean of guild, and in 1725, he was raised to the dignity of lord provost. In 1727, he was named one of the commissioners and trustees for improving the fisheries and manufactures of Scotland, and on the 15th October, 1737, he was promoted to be one of the commissioners of excise.

No better proof can be given of the high estimation in which Mr Drummond was held by government, than his rapid promotion; although the confidential correspondence which he maintained with Mr Addison, on the affairs of Scotland, was still more honourable to him.

The wretched state of poverty and intestine disorder in which Scotland was left by her native princes, when they removed to England, and which was at first aggravated by the union of the kingdoms, called forth the exertions of many of our most patriotic countrymen; and foremost in that honourable band stood George Drummond. To him the city of Edinburgh, in particular, owes much. He was the projector of many of those improvements, which, commenced under his auspices, have advanced with unexampled rapidity; insomuch, that Edinburgh, from a state approaching to decay and ruin, has risen, almost within the recollection of persons now alive, to be one of the finest and most interesting cities in the world.

The first great undertaking which Mr Drummond accomplished for the benefit of his native city, was the erection of the royal infirmary. Previous to the establishment of this hospital, the physicians and surgeons of Edinburgh, assisted by other members of the community, had contributed £2,000, with which they instituted an infirmary for the reception of the destitute sick. But Mr Drummond, anxious to secure for the sick poor of the city and neighbourhood, still more extensive aid, attempted to obtain legislative authority for incorporating the contributors as a body politic and corporate. More than ten years, however, elapsed before he brought the public to a just appreciation of his plan. At last he was successful, and an act having been procured, a charter, dated 25th August, 1736, was granted, constituting the contributors an incorporation, with power to erect *the royal infirmary*, and to purchase lands, and make bye-laws. The foundation stone of this building was laid 2nd August, 1738. It cost nearly £13,000, which was raised by the united contributions of the whole country; the nobility, gentry, and the public bodies all over the kingdom, making donations for this benevolent establishment; while even the farmers, carters, and timber-merchants, united in giving their gratuitous assistance to rear the building

The rebellion of 1745 again called Mr Drummond into active service in the defence of his country and its institutions; and although his most strenuous exertions could not induce the volunteer, and other bodies of troops in Edinburgh, to attempt the defence of the city against the rebels, yet, accompanied by a few of the volunteer corps, he retired and joined the royal forces under Sir John Cope, and was present at the unfortunate battle of Prestonpans. After that defeat, he retired with the royal forces to Berwick, where he continued to collect and forward information to government, of the movements of the rebel army.

The rebellion of 1745 having been totally quelled in the spring of 1746, Drummond, in the month of November following, was a second time elected provost of Edinburgh. In the year 1750, he was a third time provost, and in 1752, he was appointed one of the committee for the improvement of the city.

The desire of beautifying their native city, so conspicuous among the inhabitants of Edinburgh, and which has engaged the citizens of later times in such magnificent schemes of improvement, first displayed itself during the provostship of Mr Drummond. Proposals were then published, signed by provost Drummond, which were circulated through the kingdom, calling upon all Scotsmen to contribute to the improvement of the capital of their country. These proposals contained a plan for erecting an Exchange upon the ruins on the north side of the High Street; for erecting buildings on the ruins in the Parliament Close; for the increased accommodation of the different courts of justice; and for offices for the convention of the royal burghs, the town council, and the advocates' library. A petition to parliament was also proposed, praying for an extension of the royalty of the town, in contemplation of a plan for opening new streets

to the south and north; for building bridges over the intermediate valleys to connect these districts with the old town; and for turning the North Loch into a canal, with terraced gardens on each side. In consequence chiefly of the strenuous exertions of provost Drummond, the success which attended these projects was very considerable. On the 3d of September, 1753, he, as grand-master of the free masons in Scotland, laid the foundation of the royal exchange, on which occasion, there was a very splendid procession. In 1754, he was a fourth time chosen provost, chiefly that he might forward and superintend the improvements. In the year 1755, he was appointed one of the trustees on the forfeited estates, and elected a manager of the select society for the encouragement of arts and sciences in Scotland. In the year 1758, he again held the office of provost; and in October, 1763, during his sixth provostship, he laid the foundation stone of the North Bridge.

Mr Drummond, having seen his schemes for the improvement of the city accomplished to an extent beyond his most sanguine expectations, retired from public life on the expiration of his sixth provostship; and after enjoying good health until within a short time of his death, he died on the 4th of November, 1766, in the 80th year of his age. He was buried in the Canongate churchyard. His funeral, which was a public one, was attended by the magistrates and town council in their robes, with their sword and mace covered with crape; by the professors of the university in their gowns; by most of the lords of session, and barons of the exchequer; the commissioners of the excise and customs; the ministers of Edinburgh; several of the nobility; and some hundreds of the principal inhabitants of the city and neighbourhood. A grand funeral concert was performed in St Cecilia's hall, on the 19th of December, to his memory, by the musical society, of which he was deputy-governor. The concert was crowdedly attended, the whole assembly being dressed in mourning. The most solemn silence and attention prevailed during the performance. Similar honours were paid to his memory by the masons' lodge of which he had been grand master. The managers of the royal infirmary, some few years after his death, placed a bust of him by Nollekins in the public hall of the hospital, under which the following inscription, written by his friend Dr Robertson the historian, was placed:—"George Drummond, to whom this country is indebted for all the benefit which it derives from the royal infirmary."

The strict integrity and great talents for business, together with his affable manners and his powers as a public speaker, which were considerable, peculiarly fitted Mr Drummond to take a prominent part in civic affairs. His management of the city revenues was highly creditable to him; and although the great improvements which were accomplished under his auspices, and during his provostships, might have warranted additional demands upon the citizens, he did not even attempt to increase the taxation of the town. Not only was he highly popular with his fellow citizens, but during four successive reigns, he obtained the confidence of the various administrations successively in power, and was the means of communicating, on several important occasions, most valuable information to government.

Mr Drummond was about the middle stature, and was of a graceful and dignified deportment. His manners were conciliating and agreeable, and his hospitality profuse; more especially during those years in which he was provost, when he kept open table at his villa called Drummond Lodge, which stood almost on the site of Bellevue House, (afterwards the custom house, and more recently the excise office,) and nearly in the centre of the modern square called Drummond Place. Mr Drummond was strenuous in his support of religion and literature. He was a member of the "*Select Society*," which contained

among its members all the illustrious Scotsmen of the age. It was to him that Dr Robertson the historian owed his appointment as principal of the university of Edinburgh. The university was also indebted to him for the institution of five professorships: viz. chemistry, the theory of physic, the practice of physic, midwifery, and rhetoric and belles lettres.

DRUMMOND, Robert Hay, archbishop of York, was the second son of George Henry, seventh earl of Kinnoul, and of lady Abigail, second daughter of Robert, earl of Oxford, lord high treasurer of Great Britain. He was born in London, 10th November, 1711. After receiving the preliminary branches of his education at Westminster school, he was removed to Oxford, and entered at Christ Church college, where he prosecuted his studies with great diligence. Having taken his degree, he accompanied his cousin-german, the duke of Leeds, on a tour to the continent. He returned to college in the year 1735, to pursue the study of divinity, and being admitted M.A. soon after, took holy orders, when he was presented, by the Oxford family, to the Rectory of Bothall in Northumberland. In the year 1737, on the recommendation of queen Caroline, he was appointed chaplain in ordinary to his majesty George II. In 1739, he assumed the name and arms of Drummond, as heir of entail of his great-grandfather, William, viscount of Strathallan; by whom the estates of Cromlin and Innerpeffry in Perthshire were settled, as a perpetual provision for the second branch of the Kinnoul family. In 1743, he attended George II. in the German campaign, and on the 7th of July preached before the king at Hanover a sermon of thanksgiving for the victory at Dettingen. On his return home, he was installed prebendary of Westminster. In 1745, he was admitted B.D. and D.D. In 1748, he was consecrated bishop of St Asaph. In this diocese he presided for thirteen years, and was accustomed to look back on the years spent there as the most delightful of his life. In the year 1753, a severe attack having been made on the political conduct of his two most intimate friends, Mr Stone and Mr Murray (afterwards the great lord Mansfield), he stood forward as their vindicator; and in an examination before the privy council made so eloquent a defence of their conduct, that the king, on reading the examination, is said to have exclaimed,—"That is indeed a man to make a friend of." In May, 1761, he was translated to the see of Salisbury, and in November following was promoted to the archiepiscopal see of York. He was soon after sworn a privy councillor, and appointed high almoner. He had the honour of preaching the coronation sermon before George III. and queen Charlotte. He died at his palace of Bishopthrope on the 10th of December, 1776, in the 66th year of his age. His conduct in the metropolitan see was most exemplary; and Mr Rostal in his history of Southwell speaks of him as being "peculiarly virtuous as a statesmen, attentive to his duties as a churchman, magnificent as an archbishop, and amiable as a man," while Robert, the late archbishop of York, says, "His worth is written in legible characters in the annals of the church, over which he presided with dignified ability and apostolic affection: in those of the state, whose honest counsellor and disinterested supporter he approved himself; and in the hearts of his surviving family and friends, who were witnesses to the extent of his information, the acuteness of his talents, the soundness of his learning, the candid generosity of his heart, and the sweet urbanity of his daily conversation." When he was promoted to the see of York, he found the palace small and unworthy of the dignity of the primate, and the parish church in a state of absolute ruin. To the palace he made many splendid additions, particularly in the private chapel; while, assisted by a few small contributions from the clergy and neighbouring gentry, he entirely rebuilt the church.

RUMMOND

OF HAWTHORNDEN

Published by Blackie & Son Glasgow

His grace married on the 31st January, 1748, the daughter and heiress of Peter Auriol, merchant, London, by whom he had seven children. Abigail, who died young and is commemorated by Mason in a well known epitaph; Robert Auriol 9th earl of Kinnoul, Thomas Peter, lieutenant-colonel of the West York militia, John, commander, R.N. the reverend Edward, and the reverend George William, who was prebendary in York cathedral, and held many other livings, and who was unfortunately drowned in 1807, while on a voyage from Devonshire to the Clyde. Mr George William Drummond was the author of a volume of poems entitled, *Verses Social and Domestic*, Edinburgh, 1802; editor of his father's sermons, and author of that prelate's life prefixed to them.

DRUMMOND William, of Hawthornden, a celebrated poet and historian, was born on the 13th of December, 1585. His father, Sir John Drummond of Hawthornden, was gentleman usher to king James VI., a place which he had only enjoyed a few months before he died. His mother, Susanna Fowler, was daughter to Sir William Fowler, secretary to the queen, a lady much esteemed for her exemplary and virtuous life.

The family of our poet was among the most ancient and noble in Scotland. The first of the name who settled in this country, came from Hungary as admiral of the fleet which conveyed over Margaret, queen to Malcolm Canmore, at the time when sirnames were first known in Scotland. Walter de Drummond, a descendent of the original founder, was secretary, or as it was termed clerk-register, to the great Bruce, and was employed in various political negotiations with England, by that prince. Annabella Drummond, queen of king Robert II. and mother of James I. was a daughter of the house of Stobhall, from which were descended the earls of Perth. The Drummonds of Carnock at this early time became a branch of the house of Stobhall, and from this branch William Drummond of Hawthornden was immediately descended.

The poet was well aware, and indeed seems to have been not a little proud of his illustrious descent. In the dedication of his history to John earl of Perth, whom he styles his "very good lord and chief," he takes occasion to expatiate at some length on the fame and honour of their common ancestors, and sums up his eulogium with the following words:—"But the greatest honour of of all is, (and no subject can have any greater,) that the high and mighty prince Charles, king of Great Britain, and the most part of the crowned heads in Europe, are descended of your honourable and ancient family." His consanguinity, remote as that was to James I., who was himself a kindred genius and a poet, was the circumstance, however, which Drummond dwelt most proudly upon; and to the feelings which this gave rise to, we are to attribute his history. He indeed intimates himself, that such was the case, in a manner at once noble and delicate:—"If we believe some schoolmen," says he, "that the souls of the departed have some dark knowledge of the actions done upon earth, which concern their good or evil; what solace then will this bring to James I., that after two hundred years, he hath one of his mother's name and race, that hath renewed his fame and actions in the world?"

Of the early period of our author's life few particulars are known. The rudiments of his education he received at the high school of Edinburgh, where we are told, he displayed early signs of that worth and genius, for which at a maturer age he became conspicuous. From thence, in due time, he entered the university of the same city, where, after the usual course of study, he took his degree of master of arts. He was then well versed in the metaphysical learning of the period; but this was not his favourite study, nor was he ever after in his life addicted to it. His first passion, on leaving college, lay in the study of the classical authors of antiquity, and to this early attachment, we have

no hesitation in saying, is to be attributed the singular purity and elegance of style to which he attained, and which set him on a level, in that particular, with the most classical of his English contemporaries.

His father, intending him for the profession of the law, he was, at the age of 21 years, sent over into France to prosecute that study. At Bourges, therefore, he applied himself to the civil law under some of the most eminent professors of the age, with diligence and applause; and it is probable, had a serious intention of devoting his after life to that laborious profession. In the year 1610, his father, Sir John, died, and our author returned to his native country, after an absence from it of four years. To his other learning and accomplishments, which there is every reason to suppose were extensive and varied beyond those of most young men of his age in Scotland, he had now added the requisites necessary to begin his course in an active professional life. That he was well fitted for this course of life, is not left to mere conjecture. The learned president Lockhart is known to have declared of him, "that had he followed the practice of the law, he would have made the best figure of any lawyer in his time." The various political papers, which he has left behind him, written, some of them, upon those difficult topics which agitated king and people, during the disturbed period in which he lived, attest the same fact; as displaying, along with the eloquence which was peculiar to their author, the more forensic qualities of a perspicuous arrangement, and a judicious, clear, and masterly management of his argument.

It was to the surprise of those who knew him that our author turned aside from the course, which, though laborious, lay so invitingly open to his approach; and preferred to the attainment of riches and honour, the quiet ease and obscurity of a country gentleman's life. He was naturally of a melancholy temperament; and it is probable, that like many others, who owe such to an over delicate and refined turn of sentiment, he allowed some vague disgust to influence him in his decision. His father's death, at the same time, leaving him in easy independency, he had no longer any obstruction to following the bent of his inclination. That decidedly led him to indulge in the luxury of a literary life, certainly the most dignified of all indolencies, when it can be associated with ease and competence. He had a strong desire for retirement, even at this early period of his life, and now, having relinquished all thoughts of appearing in public, he would leave also even the bustle and noise of the world.

No poet, in this state of mind, perhaps, ever enjoyed the possession of a retreat more favoured by nature than is that of Hawthornden—so well fitted to the realization of a poet's vision of earthly bliss. The place has been long known to every lover of the picturesque, and, associated as it has become, with the poetry and life of its ancient and distinguished possessor, is now a classical spot. Upwards of a hundred years ago, it is pleasing to be made aware that this feeling was not new. The learned and critical Ruddiman, at no time given to be poetical, has yet described Hawthornden as being "a sweet and solitary seat, *and very fit and proper for the muses.*" It was here that our author passed many of the years of his early life, devoted in a great measure to literary and philosophical study, and the cultivation of poetry. We cannot now mark with any degree of precision, the order of his compositions at this period. The first, and *only* collection published in his lifetime, containing the "Flowers of Sion," with several other poems, and "A Cypress Grove," appeared in Edinburgh in the year 1616; and to this publication, limited as it is, we must ascribe in great part, the literary fame which the author himself enjoyed among his contemporaries.

Of the poems we shall speak afterwards; but the philosophical discourse

which accompanies them, it may be as well to notice in the present place. ‘ A Cypress Grove ” was written after the author’s recovery from a severe illness; and the subject, suggested we are told, by the train of his reflections on a bed of sickness, is *Death*. We have often admired the splendid passages of Jeremy Taylor on this sublimest of all earthly topics, and it is if anything but a more decided praise of these to say, that Drummond at least rivalled them. The style is exalted, and classical as that of the distinguished churchman we have named; the conception, expression, and imagery, scarcely inferior in sublimity and beauty. That laboured display of learning, a fault peculiar to the literary men of their day, attaches in a great measure to both. In this particular, however, Drummond has certainly been more than usually judicious. We could well wish to see this work of our author, in preference to all his others, more popularly known. It is decidedly of a higher cast than his other prose pieces; and the reading of it, would tend, better than any comment, to make these others relished, and their spirit appreciated.

Not long after the publication of his volume, we find Drummond on terms of familiar correspondence with several of the great men of his day. It would be impossible, considering our materials, to be so full on this head as we could have wished. The information can only be gathered from the correspondence which has been published in his works; and the very great imperfection of that, as regards the few individuals which it embraces, plainly indicates that other, and perhaps, great names have been omitted, and that much that may have been curious or important, is lost. Among the names which remain recorded, the principal are Ben Jonson, Michael Drayton, Sir Robert Kerr, afterwards earl of Ancrum, Dr Arthur Johnston, and Sir William Alexander, afterwards earl of Stirling.

For the last mentioned of these, our author seems to have entertained the most perfect esteem and friendship. Alexander was a courtier, rather than a poet, though a man not the less capable of free and generous feelings. Had king James VI. not been a poet, it is to be doubted if Sir William would have had so much devotion to the divine art. His assumed passion for poetry, however, led him to cultivate the society of his ingenious contemporaries, by whom he is mentioned with respect, as much, we may believe, on account of the real excellence of the man, as of the poet. His poems, indeed, though those of an amateur, and now read only by the curious, are some of them, far from being deficient in poetical merit. His correspondence with our author, which extends through many years, is of little interest, referring almost entirely to the transmission of poetical pieces, and to points of minor criticism.

Michael Drayton, in an elogy on the English poets, takes occasion to speak of Drummond with much distinction. In the letters of this pleasing and once popular poet, there is a frank openness of manner, which forms a refreshing contrast to the stiff form and stiffer compliment of the greater part of the ‘ familiar epistles,’ as they are termed, which passed between the literary men of that period, not excepting many of those in the correspondence of the poet of Hawthornden—“ My dear noble Drummond,” says he, in one of them, “ your letters were as welcome to me, as if they had come from my mistress, which I think is one of the fairest and worthiest living. Little did you think how oft that noble friend of yours, Sir William Alexander, and I, have remembered you, before we traflicked in friendship. Love me as much as you can, and so I will you: I can never hear of you too oft, and I will ever mention you with much respect of your deserved worth, &c.”—“ I thank you, my dear sweet Drummond, for your good opinion of ‘ Poly-Olbyon :’ I have done twelve books more; that is, from the eighteenth book, which was Kent,

(if you note it) all the east parts, and north to the river Tweed; but it lyeth by me, for the booksellers and I am in terms: they are a company of base knaves, whom I both scorn and kick at," &c. One other passage we shall quote, which, though Euphuistic, has yet as much affection as conceit in it:—"I am oft thinking whether this long silence proceeds from you or me, whether [which] I know not; but I would have you take it upon you, and excuse me; and then I would have you lay it upon me, and excuse yourself: but if you will (if you think it our faults, as I do) let us divide, and both, as we may, amend it. My long being in the country this summer, from whence I had no means to send my letter, shall partly speak for me; for, believe me, worthy William, I am more than a fortnight's friend; where I love, I love for years, which I hope you shall find, &c."

Only two of Drummond's letters in return to this excellent poet and agreeable friend have been preserved. We shall make a brief extract from one of them, as it seems to refer to the commencement of their friendship, and to be in answer to that we have first quoted of Drayton:—"I must love this year of my life (1618) more dearly than any that forewent it, because in it I was so happy as to be acquainted with such worth. Whatever were Mr Davis' other designs, methinks some secret prudence directed him to those parts only: for this, I will in love of you surpass as far your countrymen, as you go beyond them in all true worth; and shall strive to be second to none, save your fair and worthy mistress." John Davis had, it would seem, in a visit to Scotland, become acquainted with Drummond, and on his return to London did not fail to manifest the respect and admiration our poet had inspired him with. Drayton communicates as much to his friend in the following brief postscript to one of his letters:—"*John Davis is in love with you.*" He could not have used fewer words.

Sir Robert Kerr was, like Sir William Alexander, a courtier and a poet, though unlike him he never came to be distinguished as an author. He is best known to posterity for the singular feat which he performed, by killing in a duel the "giant," Charles Maxwell, who had, with great arrogance and insult, provoked him to the combat. There is a letter from our poet to Sir Robert, on this occasion, in which philosophically, and with much kindness, he thus reprehends his friend's rashness and temerity:—"It was too much hazarded in a point of honour. Why should true valour have answered fierce barbarity; nobleness, arrogancy; religion, impiety; innocence, malice;—the disparagement being so vast? And had ye then to venture to the hazard of a combat, the exemplar of virtue, and the muses' sanctuary? The lives of twenty such as his who hath fallen, in honour's balance would not counterpoise your one. Ye are too good for these times, in which, as in a time of plague, men must once be sick, and that deadly, ere they can be assured of any safety. Would I could persuade you in your sweet walks at home to take the prospect of court-shipwrecks."

There is another letter of Drummond's to this gentleman which we need not here notice, but rather pass to the one, for there is only one preserved, from the pen of Sir Robert, as it tends some little to explain the footing in which he stood related to our poet. This, which is dated from "Cambridge, where the court was the week past, about the making of the French match, 16th Dec. 1624," (about four years after the date of that above quoted,)—sets off in the following strain:—"Every wretched creature knows the way to that place where it is most made of, and so do my verses to you, that was so kind to the last, that every thought I think that way hastes to be at you: it is true I get leisure to think few, not that they are *cara* because *rara*, but indeed to declare,

that my employment and ingine concur to make them, like Jacob's days, few and evil."—"The best is, I care as little for them as their fame; yet if you do not mislike them, it is warrant enough for me to let them live till they get your doom. In this sonnet I have sent you an approbation of your own life, whose character, howsoever I have mist, I have let you see how I love it, and would fain praise it, and, indeed, fainer practice it." The poem thus diffidently introduced, has had a more fortunate fate than was probably contemplated for it by its author. It is entitled "A Sonnet in praise of a Solitary Life;" and we are gratuitously informed at the end, that "the date of this starved rhyme, and the place, was the very bed-chamber where I could not sleep." Sir Robert Kerr was indeed, a character for whom Drummond might well entertain a high respect. In the remarkable adventure above alluded to, and for which he became very famous, he was not only acquitted of all blame by his own friends, but even lord Maxwell, the brother of the gentleman killed, generously protested that they should never quarrel with, nor dislike him on that account.

There is only one letter recorded of Drummond to mark that an intimacy had existed between him and his countryman the celebrated Arthur Johnston, the Latin poet. It is rather a short essay, on the subject of poetry, indeed, than a letter, written, says he, "not to give you any instruction, but to manifest mine obedience to your request." We shall quote a passage or two from this piece, not so much on account of any general excellence, as to show that Drummond, though he tolerated, and in some few instances adopted them, well understood the errors of the English poets of his time, and that he properly appreciated the purer taste displayed in the earlier models:—"It is more praiseworthy," thus it begins, "in noble and excellent things to know something, though little, than in mean and ignoble matters to have a perfect knowledge. Amongst all those rare ornaments of the mind of man, poesy hath had a most eminent place, and been in high esteem, not only at one time, and in one climate, but during all times, and through all those parts of the world, where any ray of humanity and civility hath shined: so that she hath not unworthily deserved the name of the mistress of human life, the height of eloquence, the quintessence of knowledge, the loud trumpet of fame, the language of the gods. There is not anything endureth longer: Homer's Troy hath outlived many republics, and both the Roman and Grecian monarchies: she subsisteth by herself; and after one demeanour and continuance, her beauty appeareth to all ages. In vain have some men of late (transformers of every thing) consulted upon her reformation, and endeavoured to abstract her to *metaphysical* ideas and *scholastical* quiddities, denuding her of her own habits, and those ornaments with which she hath amused the world some thousand years." We might well quote more, or indeed the whole of it, for the essay, if it may be called such, is very short; but we must make this serve. It naturally occurs to notice how much the classical taste of Johnston must have harmonized with that of his contemporary,—and how in the junction of two such minds much mutual benefit must have been communicated. In that language which became him as his own, Johnston has written a few commendatory verses on his friend, which, in the fashion of the time have been regularly prefixed to the collections of Drummond's poems.

The most remarkable incident which has descended to us, connected with the literary life of our poet, was the visit with which the well-known English dramatist, Ben Jonson, honoured him, in the winter of 1618-19. Upon this, therefore, we would desire to be somewhat particular, and the materials we have for being so, are not so barren as those which refer to other passages. Ben Jonson was a man of much decision, or what, on some occasions, might no doubt be termed

obstinacy, of purpose; and to undertake a journey on foot of several hundred miles, into a strange country, and at an unfavourable season of the year, to visit a brother poet, whose fame had reached his ears, was characteristic in every way of his constitutional resoluteness, and of that sort of practical sincerity which actuated his conduct indifferently either to friendship or enmity. We mean no disparagement by these last words, to the character of a man acknowledgedly great, as every one will allow Ben Jonson's to have been; but merely allude to a trait in that character, fully marked in the individual, and which he himself never attempted to disguise. His drinking out the full cup of wine at the communion table, in token of his reconciliation with the church of England, and sincere renunciation of popery, is an anecdote in point; and we need only hint at the animosities, one of them fatal, into which, in an opposite way, the same zealousness of spirit hurried him. There is much occasion to mark this humour throughout the whole substance of the conversations which passed between Drummond and his remarkable visitor.

The curious document which contains these, is in itself but a rough draught, written by Drummond when the matters contained in it were fresh in his recollection, and intended merely, it would seem, as a sort of memorandum for his own use. That its author never intended it should become public is evident, not only from the imperfect and desultory manner in which it is put together, but from the unsophisticated and unguarded freedom of its personal reflections. There is every proof that though it unhappily treats with much and almost unpalliated severity the character and foibles of the English poet, the truth is not, so far as it goes, violated. It is not kindly, nor can it be said to be hostilely written. Inhospitably, we cannot allow it to be, as it certainly never was intended to prove offensive, to the feelings of the person whom it describes, or his admirers.

Several of the incidents of Ben Jonson's life, as they were communicated by him to Drummond have been given. These we have not occasion to notice; but we cannot pass over, as equally out of place, some of the opinions entertained by that remarkable man of his literary contemporaries. They are for the most part sweeping censures, containing some truth, but oftener much illiberality; pointed, and on one or two occasions coarse,—Jonson being at all times rather given to lose a friend than a jest. Spenser's stanzas we are told, "pleased him not, nor his matter."—"Samuel Daniel was a good honest man, had no children, and was no poet; that he had wrote the 'Civil Wars,' and yet hath not one battle in his whole book." Michael Drayton, "*if* he had performed what he promised in his Polyolbion, (to write the deeds of all the worthies,) had been excellent."—"Sir John Harrington's Ariosto, of all translations was the worst. That when Sir John desired him to tell the truth of his epigrams; he answered him, that he loved not the truth, for they were narrations, not epigrams."—"Donne, for not being understood, would perish. He esteemed him the first poet in the world for some things; his verses of Ohadine he had by heart, and that passage of *the Calm, that dust and feathers did not stir, all was so quiet.*" He told Donne that his "*Anniversary* was profane and full of blasphemies; that if it had been written on the Virgin Mary it had been tolerable." To which Donne answered, "that he described the *idea* of a woman, and not as she was."—"Owen was a poor pedantic schoolmaster, sweeping his living from the posteriors of little children, and has nothing good in him, his epigrams being bare narrations."—"Sir Walter Raleigh esteemed more fame than conscience: the best wits in England were employed in making his history. He himself had written a piece to him of the Punic war, which he altered and set in his book."—"Francis Beaumont was a good poet, as were Fletcher and Chapman whom he loved."—"He fought several times with Mars-

ton. Marston wrote his father-in-law's preachings, and his father-in-law his comedies, &c." The most singular of all, to the modern reader, is what follows regarding Shakspeare, who is introduced with fully as little respect as is shown to any of the others mentioned:—He said, "Shakspeare wanted art and sometimes sense; for in one of his plays, he brought a number of men, saying they had suffered shipwreck in Bohemia, where is no sea, near by one hundred miles." Shakspeare, it may be remarked, though two years dead at the time of this conversation, was then but little known out of London, the sphere of his original attraction, The first, and well known folio edition of his plays, which may be said to have first shown forth our great dramatist to the world, did not appear till 1623, several years after. Drummond merely refers to him as the author of "Venus and Adonis," and the "Rape of Lucrece," pieces as little popularly known now, as his plays were then.

It is to Ben Jonson's honour, that, when he spared so little the absent poets of his country, he did not altogether pass over the poet of Hawthornden to his face. Our author's verses he allowed, "were all good, especially his epitaph on prince Henry; save that they smelled too much of the schools, and were not after the fancy of the times: for a child, said he, may write after the fashion of the Greek and Latin verses, in running;—yet, that he wished for pleasing the king, that piece of *Forth Feasting* had been his own."

So little did any intercourse exist two hundred years ago between the then newly united kingdoms of England and Scotland, and in particular, so unknown did the latter kingdom then and long after remain to the sister islanders, that a friendly or curious tour into Scotland, now become a matter of everyday and fashionable occurrence, was by them looked upon as pregnant with every species of novelty and adventure. Necessity or business could alone be considered as an inducement to the prosecution of such a journey, attended with so many supposed risks, and some real inconveniences; and we can well believe in the wonder and delight which a devoted and adventurous English angler is said to have experienced, when he began to reflect how, almost unconsciously, the beauty and excellence of its fine rivers had seduced him far into the heart of a peaceful and romantic land till then thought savage and barbarous. Infected we may suppose with similar feelings, Ben Jonson contemplated the design of writing "a Fisher or pastoral play," the scene of which was to be the "Lomond lake;" and he likewise formed the intention of turning to poetical account his foot pilgrimage, under the form and title of a "*Discovery* of Edinburgh"—

"The heart of Scotland, Britain's other eye."

A letter to our author, upon his return to London, and the answer to it, almost entirely refer to these two schemes.

We are informed, in the first of these, that the laureate of his day returned safely from his long journey, and met "with a most catholic welcome;" that his reports were not unacceptable to his majesty;—"who," says he, "professed (I thank God) some joy to see me, and is pleased to hear of the purpose of my book." The letter concludes thus:—"Salute the beloved Fentons, the Nisbets, the Scots, the Levingstons, and all the honest and honoured names with you; especially Mr James Writh, his wife, your sister, &c."[1]

[1] "No one," says a correspondent, "can read the celebrated *Heads of Conversation* between Drummond and Ben Jonson, without regretting that the former had not a spice more of Boswell in him, so as to have preserved not only his visitor's share of the dialogue, but his own also. As it is, we have a meagre outline of Jonson's opinions, with no intermixture of Drummond's replies. What an interesting discourse on the extravagant freaks of imagination may we suppose to have accompanied Jonson's statement 'that he had spent a whole night lying looking to his great toe, about which he hath seen Tartars and Turks, Romans

We now come to a circumstance in the life of our poet which was destined, in its consequences, to interrupt the quiet course in which his existence had hitherto flowed, and to exercise over his mind and future happiness a deep and lasting influence. This was the attachment which he formed for a young and

and Carthaginians, fight in his imagination!' Yet it is presented to us in an isolated paragraph, as if the two bards had spent a whole evening together, and that was the only thing that passed between them. Again, we have Jonson making the startling declaration, 'that he wrote all his verses first in prose, as his master Camden taught him,' and adding, 'that verses stood by sense, without either colours or accent;' and we may be sure these annunciations did not fall upon the ear of Drummond like the sound of a clock striking the hour of midnight: but he tells us nothing to the contrary. Lastly, we know that Drummond had weighed well the subject of astrology, and arrived at very rational conclusions concerning the predictions pretended to be derived from it,—namely, that they were aimed 'by the sagacity of the astrologer at the blockishness of the consulter;' we might therefore have expected from him something pertinent in relation to other occult matters: but no; he gives without a word of comment the following story: 'when the king came to England, about the time the plague was in London, he (Ben Jonson) being in the country at Sir Robert Cotton's house, with old Camden, he saw in a vision his eldest son, then a young child, and at London, appear unto him, with the mark of a bloody cross on its forehead, as if it had been cut with a sword; at which amazed, he prayed to God, and in the morning came to Mr Camden's chamber to tell him; who persuaded him it was but an apprehension at which he should not be dejected. In the meantime there come letters from his wife of the death of that boy in the plague. He appeared to him, he said, of a manly shape, and of that growth he shall be at the resurrection.' Whether Drummond suspected that Ben exercised his invention upon this occasion cannot be discovered; but such is the solution which he applies, in his *History of the Five Jameses*, to two similar tales current regarding James V.: 'both seem,' he says, 'to have been forged by the men of those times, and may challenge a place in the poetical part of history.' But though thus provokingly silent concerning his own views of the greater number of the subjects touched upon by his friend, some of the doctrines of the latter seemed to Hawthornden too preposterous to be recorded without some mark of disapprobation. It is amusing to find him expressing his displeasure at the innovation which Jonson did not scruple to make upon the classical model for the composition of pastorals. 'He bringeth in clowns,' says Drummond, 'making mirth and foolish sports, *contrary to all other pastorals!*' The decorous Scotsman would no doubt have had him to continue to show off the stiff swain of antiquity, constructed with his pipe in the accustomed mould,—thus precluding the poet not only from the imitation of nature, but even from displaying any ingenuity of art in the contrivance of new characters, just as if we should insist that the sculptor's skill ought not hereafter to aim at anything beyond multiplying copies of certain groups of figures which the world may for the time have agreed to call classical.

"Jonson's unbridled exuberance of fancy, bordering occasionally upon irreverence, appears to have been a flight beyond what was calculated to please the pure mind of the retired and philosophic Drummond; and his friend's visit probably opened to him a view of the jealousies of the poetical tribe, when assembled in one place, and all struggling for pre-eminence, which made him still more content with his own seclusion. The frankness with which Jonson criticised the verses of Drummond,—telling him 'that they were all good, especially his epitaph on prince Henry, save that they smelled too much of the schools, and were not after the fancy of the times,—for that a child might write after the fashion of the Greek and Latin verses in running,'—may have piqued the author a little; and Ben's boisterous and jovial character may also have been offensive to the sedate and contemplative solitary of Hawthornden. It is farther to be remembered, that Drummond employed a severity in judging, the edge of which, a little more intercourse with the world might have blunted. But with all these allowances, the character he has drawn of his visitor is probably very little if at all overcharged. 'Ben Jonson,' says he, 'was a great lover and praiser of himself, a contemner and scorner of others, given rather to lose a friend than a jest; jealous of every word and action of those about him, especially after drink, which is one of the elements in which he lived; a dissembler of the great parts which reign in him; a bragger of some good that he wanted; thinketh nothing well done but what either he himself or some of his friends hath said or done; he is passionately kind and angry, careless either to gain or keep; vindictive, but, if he be well answered, at himself; interprets best sayings and deeds often to the worst. He was for any religion, as being versed in both; oppressed with fancy, which hath overmastered his reason,—a general disease in many poets. His inventions are smooth and easy; but above all he excelleth in a translation. When his play of *The Silent Woman* was first acted, there were found verses after on the stage against him; concluding that that play was well named *The Silent Woman*, because there was never one man to say *Plaudite* to it.

"Drummond has been much blamed by some for leaving behind him these notes of the conversation, and remarks on the character, of 'his worthy friend Master Benjamin Jonson;' as if all the while that he entertained his guests, he had been upon the watch for mat-

beautiful lady, daughter to Cunninghame of Barnes, an ancient and honourable family. His affection was returned by his mistress; the marriage day appointed, and preparations in progress for the happy solemnization, when the young lady was seized suddenly with a fever, of which she died. His grief on this event he has expressed in many of those sonnets, which have given to him the title of this country's Petrarch; and it has well been said, that with more passion and sincerity he celebrated his dead mistress, than others use to praise their living ones.

The melancholy temperament of Drummond, we have before said, was one reason of his secluding himself from the world, and the ease and relief of mind which he sought, he had probably found, in his mode of life; but the rude shock which he now received rendered solitude irksome and baneful to him. To divert the train of his reflections, he resolved once more to go abroad, and in time, distance, and novelty, lose recollection of the happiness which had deluded him in his own country. He spent eight years in prosecution of this design, during which he travelled through the whole of Germany, France, and Italy; Rome and Paris being the two places in which he principally resided. He was at pains in cultivating the society of learned foreigners; and bestowed some attention in forming a collection of the best ancient Greek and Latin

ter which might afterwards be reported to his prejudice. Drummond was no doubt entirely innocent of any such treacherous design; but being cut off from intercourse with men of genius, and yet having a great liking to such society, the opportunity of hearing, from the mouth of one of the most eminent wits of his time, a rapid sketch of whatever was interesting in the literary world, seemed too high an advantage not to be improved to the utmost; and Drummond wrote down notes of what passed, that he might recur to them when he could no longer enjoy the conversation of his visitor. If there happen to be some things which Jonson's biographers could wish had not been recorded against him, we cannot join them in their regret. It is certainly a pity that great men are not immaculate; but it is no pity that such faults as they are chargeable with are made known. If we were to choose, we would have the courses most frequented by our ships all clear of rocks and sands; but not being able to get things to our mind in this respect, the only resource is to mark them out as faithfully and conspicuously as possible, that those who sail the same way in future, may know to keep clear of these dangerous places. We trust the time is now nearly past for the biographer thinking it his duty to preserve an unvarying whiteness in the character he undertakes to draw. Cromwell's injunction to his painter ought to serve as a canon to all historians and writers of memoirs: 'I desire, Mr Lely,' said the gruff protector, 'that you will paint my picture truly like me, and not flatter me at all; but remark all these roughnesses, pimples, warts, and every thing as you see me: otherwise, I will never pay you a farthing.'

"But all this, it may be said, is nothing to the breach of private confidence: Drummond was not Jonson's biographer; and there was no occasion for his setting down aught to his prejudice, of what passed in the course of social converse, and was not expected by his guest ever to be repeated. To this it may be answered, that probably Jonson cared very little whether his conversation was repeated or not. His opinions must have been expressed with equal freedom to many others besides Drummond; for he was not a man to carry them about with him, locked up with difficulty in his own breast, till he came down to Scotland, and then think he had got them safely buried in a hole,—like that foolish servant of Midas, who could not rest till he had dug a pit, whispered into it the portentous fact that his master had the ears of an ass, and then retired, thinking his secret closed up under the earth with which he had filled the pit again. If, then, Jonson did not care whether what he said was repeated or not, there was no breach of confidence towards him as an individual; and as for what is said of such disclosures having the effect to put a stop to all freedom of intercourse among literary men, since no one can be sure but that his friend is a note-taker, and will exhibit his private conversations, why, every one must take care for himself not to utter any thing upon these occasions derogatory to his own character, or which he would be ashamed to avow openly. This is a restraint, indeed, but it is one of a most salutary kind; for it cannot be contended that the enjoyments of society—or at least what ought to be its enjoyments—are abridged by the exclusion of such talk as people would afterwards have the world believe they took no part in. It is true, that in this way a man has no safeguard against a malicious or ignorant representation of his words; because such things do not usually come abroad till after the death of those persons to whom they refer. But there is no help for it; every one must just oppose uprightness of conduct and purity of conversation, to slanders present and posthumous. Voltaire furnished the world with at least one safe maxim, when he said, 'the only way to oblige people to speak well of us, is to deserve it.'"

authors, and the works of the esteemed modern writers of Spain, France, and Italy. He afterwards made a donation of many of these to the college of Edinburgh, and it formed, at the time, one of the most curious and valuable collections in that great library. The catalogue, printed in the year 1627, is furnished with a Latin preface from the pen of our author, upon " the advantage and honour of libraries."

After an absence of eight years, Drummond returned to his native country, which he found already breaking out into those political and religious dissentions, which so unhappily marked, and so tragically completed the reign of Charles I. It does not appear that he took any hand whatever in these differences till a much more advanced period of his life. It would seem rather that other and quieter designs possessed his mind, as he is said about this time to have composed his history, during a stay which he made in the house of his brother-in-law, Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet. The history of the reigns of the five Jameses, as a piece of composition, is no mean acquirement to the literature of this country; and for purity of style and elegance of expression, it was not surpassed by any Scottish author of the age. In an historical point of view, the spirit of the work varies materially from that of preceding authors, who had written on the same period, and especially from Buchanan, though in a different way. It is certainly as free from bias and prejudice as any of these can be said to be, and on some occasions better informed. The speeches invented for some of the leading characters, after the fashion of the great Roman historian, and his imitators, are altogether excellent, and, properly discarded as they are from modern history, add much grace and beauty to the work. In short, as an old editor has expressed himself; " If we consider but the language, how florid and ornate it is, consider the order, and the prudent conduct of the story, we will rank the author in the number of the best writers, and compare him even with Thuanus himself." This work was not published till some years after Drummond's decease.

We have no reason to believe that at this time he had relinquished the cultivation of poetry; but can arrive at no certainty regarding the order of his compositions. Our author seems throughout his life, if we except the collection, which he made of his early poems, to have entertained little concern or anxiety for the preservation of his literary labours. Many of his poems were only printed during his lifetime, upon loose sheets; and it was not till 1650, six years after his death, that Sir John Scot caused them to be collected and published in one volume. An edition of this collection was published at London in 1659, with the following highly encomiastic title :—" The most elegant and elaborate Poems of that great court wit, Mr William Drummond; whose labours both in verse and prose, being heretofore so precious to prince Henry and to king Charles, shall live and flourish in all ages, whiles there are men to read them, or art and judgement to approve them." Some there were of his pieces which remained in manuscript, till incorporated in the folio edition of his works in 1711. The most popular of those detached productions, printed in Drummond's lifetime, was a macaronic poem entitled " Polemo-Middinia, or the Battle of the Dunghill." This was meant as a satire upon some of the author's contemporaries; and contains much humour in a style of composition which had not before been attempted in this country. It long retained its popularity in the city of Edinburgh, where it was almost yearly reprinted; and it was published at Oxford in 1691, with Latin notes and a preface by bishop Gibson.

He had carefully studied the mathematics, and in the mechanical part of that science effected considerable improvements. These consisted principally in the restoring and perfecting some of the warlike machines of the ancients, and in

the invention of several new instruments for sea and land service, in peace and war. The names of the machines in English, Greek, and Latin, and their descriptions and uses, may be found detailed in a patent granted to our author by king Charles I., in the year 1626, for the sole making, vending, and exporting of the same. This document has been published in the collection of Drummond's works, and is worthy of notice, as illustrating that useful science, though then a neglected object of pursuit, was not overlooked by our author in the midst of more intellectual studies. Perhaps we might even be warranted in saying farther, that the attention which he thus bestowed on the existing wants and deficiencies of his country, indicated more clearly than any other fact, that his mind had progressed beyond the genius of the age in which his existence had been cast.

Drummond lived till his forty-fifth year a bachelor, a circumstance which may in great part be ascribed to the unfortunate issue of his first love. He had, however, accidently become acquainted with Elizabeth Logan, granddaughter to Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig, in whom he either found, or fancied he had found, a resemblance to his first mistress; and this impression, so interesting to his feelings, revived once more in his bosom those tender affections which had so long lain dormant. He became united to this lady in the year 1630. By his marriage he had several children. William, the eldest son, lived till an advanced age, was knighted by Charles II., and came to be the only representative of the knights-baronets formerly of Carnock, of whom in the beginning of this article we have made mention. We learn little more of the private life of our author after this period; but that he lived retiredly at his house of Hawthornden, which he repaired; an inscription to this effect, bearing date 1638, is still extant upon the building.

Drummond has left behind him many political papers, written between the years 1632 and 1646, in which, if he has not approved himself a judicious supporter of king Charles, and his contested rights and authority, he has only failed in a cause which could not then be supported, and which has never since been approved. That all his former feelings and habits should have inclined him to the side of monarchy, in the great struggle which had then commenced for popular rights, was natural, and to be expected; still it is evident enough, that his strong inclination for peace, and philanthropic desire of averting the impending miseries of civil war, actuated him in his interference, as powerfully as did any spirit of partisanship even in the cause of royalty itself. At a time when the grand principles of constitutional freedom were unknown or undefined, and when no wisdom could foresee the event to which new and uncertain lights regarding civil and religious government might lead, the temporizing with old established forms and customs, though it might seem to retard the spirit of improvement so busily at work, might be called humane, if it was not indeed expedient. It was not till very near the end of that century that the universal sense of the nation was prepared for a decisive and bloodless revolution.

"Irena, or a remonstrance for concord among his majesty's subjects," is the first of these political tracts; and the picture which it draws of civil strifes and disorders, and of men given to change, is set forth with much eloquence and persuasive force. Though the doctrine of obedience is enforced throughout, it is neither dogmatically nor offensively insisted upon. This, and other papers of a similar tendency, Drummond wrote in the years 1638-9; "but finding," as he informs us in one of his letters, "his majesty's authority so fearly eclipsed, and the stream of rebellion swelled to that height, that honest men, without danger dared hardly speak, less publish their conceptions in write, the papers were suppressed."

We shall only notice one other of these compositions on account of some passages contained in it, which have been adduced as evidence of the political foresight and sagacity of the writer. It is entitled "An address to the noblemen, barons, gentlemen, &c., who have leagued themselves for the defence of religion and the liberties of Scotland," and is dated 2d May, 1639, ten years previous to the trial and execution of the king, to which, and to events following, it has prophetic reference: "During these miseries," says he, "of which the troublers of the state shall make their profit, there will arise (perhaps) one, who will name himself PROTECTOR of the liberty of the kingdom: he shall surcharge the people with greater miseries than ever before they did suffer: he shall be protector of the church, himself being without soul or conscience, without letters or great knowledge, under the shadow of piety and zeal shall commit a thousand impieties; *and in end shall essay to make himself king;* and under pretext of reformation, bring in all confusion."—"*Then shall the poor people suffer for all their follies:* then shall they see, to their own charges, what it is to pull the sceptre from their sovereign, the sword from the lawful magistrate, whom God hath set over them, and that it is a fearful matter for subjects to degraduate their king. This progress is no new divining, being approved by the histories of all times." The general truth of this vaticination is amazing.

It was a saying of Drummond, "That it was good to admire great hills, but to live in the plains;" and, as in the earlier part of life he had resisted the temptations of courtly or professional celebrity, which birth and talent put alike in his way, so afterwards, he as carefully eschewed the more easily attained, though more perilous distinctions of political faction. His heart lay more towards private than public virtues; and his political writings, it is probable, were intended by their author as much for the instruction and satisfaction of a few intimate friends, as to serve (which they never did) the more important ends for which they were ostensibly written. He was a cavalier, and his principles, early prejudices, and inclinations, led him to espouse the royal cause; but his patriotism and good sense informed him correctly how far his support should be extended. His prudential forbearance was indeed sometimes put to the test; but though reputed a malignant, and more than once summoned before the circular tables at Edinburgh for satirical verses, discourses, and conversations, it does not appear that he ever seriously compromised his safety or property.

The sarcasms and lampoons of the cavalier came to be the most effective weapons they could employ against their adversaries, as they were those for the use of which it was most difficult to call them to account. Drummond, though free from the licentiousness which marked his party in their lives and conversations, could not fail of being infected somewhat with their prevailing humours. One piece of his wit in this way has been preserved. Being obliged to furnish men to the parliamentary army, it so happened, that, his estate lying in three different shires, he had not occasion to send one entire man from any of the parts of it. Upon his quota, therefore, of fractions as they might be called, he composed the following lines addressed to his majesty:

"Of all these forces raised against the king,
'Tis my strange hap not one whole man to bring:
From diverse parishes, yet diverse men,
But all in halves and quarters; great king, then,
In halves and quarters if they come 'gainst thee,
In halves and quarters send them back to me."

The year 1649, in its commencement, witnessed the tragical end of Charles I., that first great and ominous eclipse of the Stuart dynasty. On the 4th De-

cember of the same year, Drummond died, wanting only nine days to the completion of his sixty-fourth year. His body had long been weakened by disease induced by sedentary and studious habits, and the shock which the king's fate gave him is said to have affected his remaining health and spirits. His body was interred in the family aisle in Lasswade church, in the neighbourhood of the house of Hawthornden.

In respect of his virtues and accomplishments, Drummond is entitled to rank high among his contemporaries, not in Scotland only, but in the most civilized nations of that day in Europe. Endowed with parts naturally excellent, and fitted for almost every species of improvement, his philosophic temperament and habits, and peculiar incidents of his life, tended to develope these in a manner advantageous as it was original. His early education imbued his mind deeply with the genius and classical taste of ancient Greece and Rome, perfection in which studies then formed the almost exclusive standard of literary excellence. A long residence in the more polished countries of the continent familiarized his mind with those great works of modern enlightenment, the knowledge of which had as yet made but obscure progress in Britain. He not only read the works of Italian, French, and Spanish authors, but spoke these different languages with ease and fluency. He occasionally visited London, and was upon familiar terms, as we have seen, with the men of genius of his own and the sister kingdom. He added to his other high and varied acquirements, accomplishments of a lighter kind, well fitted to enhance these others in general society, and to add grace to a character whose worth, dignity, and intelligence have alone gone down to posterity. "He was not much taken up (his old biographer informs us) with the ordinary amusements of dancing, singing, playing, &c. *though he had as much of them as a well-bred gentleman should have;* and when his spirits were too much bended by severe studies, he unbended them by playing on his lute." One of his sonnets may be considered as an apostrophe, and it is one of singular beauty, to this his favourite instrument: it adds to the effect of the address to know, that it was not vainly spoken.

Of the private life and manners of the poet of Hawthornden, we only know enough to make us regret the imperfection of his biography. Though he passed the greater part of his life as a retired country gentleman, his existence never could be, at any time, obscure or insignificant. He was related to many persons of distinguished rank and intimate with others. Congeniality, however, of mind and pursuits, alone led him to cultivate the society of men of exalted station; and, such is the nature of human excellence and dignity, the poet and man of literature, in this case, conferred lustre upon the peer and the favourite of a court. He was not a courtier, and he was, as he has himself expressed it, even "careless and negligent about fame and reputation." His philosophy was practical, not assumed; and we cannot fail to be impressed with its pure and noble spirit in the tenor of his life, no less than in the tone of many of his writings.

His natural disposition certainly bordered upon the grave and contemplative; but it was free from the reproach of morbid sentimentality or sourness of mind. "Contrary to this," says his old biographer, whom on such points there is satisfaction in quoting, "his humour was very jovial and cheerful among his friends and comrades, with whom he sometimes took a bottle, only *ad hilaritatem*, according to the example of the best ancient and modern poets, for the raising his spirits, which were much flagged with constant reading and meditating; but he never went to excess, or committed anything against the rules of religion and good manners. He was very smart and witty in his sayings and repartees, and had a most excellent talent in extemporary versifying, above the most part

of his contemporaries." The instances given of our author's pleasantry in this way are any thing but well chosen, and their authenticity may be questioned. We may continue the quotation, and present the following, not certainly for its merit, but for the pleasure of the association which it gives rise to, and as the only remaining trait which a scanty biography has left us to notice. "Being at London, it is very creditably reported of him (though by some ascribed to others) that he peeped into the room where Sir William Alexander, Sir Robert Kerr, Michael Drayton, and Ben Jonson, these famous poets, were sitting. They desired Bo-peep, as they called him, to come in, which he did. They fell a rhyming about paying the reckoning; and all owned their verses were not comparable to his, which are still remembered by the curious :—

'I, Bo-peep,
See you four sheep,
And each of you his fleece.
The reckoning is five shilling;
If each of you be willing
It's fifteen pence a piece.'"

We have already alluded to several of Drummond's productions,—his "Cypress Grove," his history, and his "Irena,"—and must now briefly refer to those on which his fame as a poet is founded. They consist principally of sonnets of an amatory and religious cast; a poem of some length entitled "The river of Forth feasting;" and "Tears on the death of Mœliades," anagrammatically Miles a Deo, the name assumed in challenges of martial sport by Henry, prince of Wales, eldest son of king James VI. This last piece was written so early as 1612. As a panegyric it is turgid and overcharged; but it has been referred to by more than one critic as displaying much beauty of versification.

The sonnet, about this time introduced into our literature, must be supposed to owe somewhat of the favour it received to the elegant and discriminating taste of Drummond. He had a perfect knowledge of Italian poetry, and professed much admiration for that of Petrarch, to whom he more nearly approaches in his beauties and his faults, than we believe any other English writer of sonnets. This, however, refers more particularly to his early muse, to those pieces written before his own better taste had dared use an unshackled freedom. We shall give two specimens, which we think altogether excellent, of what we consider Drummond's matured style in this composition. The first is one of six sonnets entitled "Urania, or Spiritual Poems;" and the second (already transiently alluded to) is a sonnet addressed by the poet to his lute. The first, perhaps, refers to what Drummond considered the political unhappiness or degradation of his country; though, in truth, it may be made answerable to the state of humanity at all times; the second, to the well known catastrophe of his first love, and accordingly it has its place among the sonnets professedly written on that topic.

I.

What hapless hap had I for to be born
In these unhappy times, and dying days
Of this now doting world, when good decays;—
Love's quite extinct and Virtue's held a scorn!
When such are only priz'd, by wretched ways,
Who with a golden fleece can them adorn;
When avarice and lust are counted praise,
And bravest minds live orphan-like forlorn!

Why was not I born in that golden age,
When gold was not yet known? and those black arts
By which base worldlings vilely play their parts,
With horrid acts staining earth's stately stage?
To have been then, O Heaven, 't had been my bliss,
But bless me now, and take me soon from this.

II.

My lute, be as thou wert when thou did grow
With thy green mother in some shady grove,
When immelodious winds but made thee move,
And birds their ramage did on thee bestow.
Since that dear voice which did thy sounds approve,
Which wont in such harmonious strains to flow,
Is reft from earth to tune the spheres above,
What art thou but a harbinger of woe?
Thy pleasing notes be pleasing notes no more,
But orphan's wailings to their fainting ear,
Each stroke a sigh, each sound draws forth a tear,
For which be silent as in woods before:
Or if that any hand to touch thee deign,
Like widowed turtle still *her* loss complain.

The "Forth Feasting" is a poem of some ingenuity in its contrivance, designed to compliment king James VI., on the visit with which that monarch favoured his native land in 1617. Of the many effusions which that joyous event called forth, this, we believe, has alone kept its ground in public estimation; and, indeed, as a performance professedly panegyrical, and possessing little adventitious claim from the merit of its object, it is no ordinary praise to say that it has done so. It attracted, lord Woodhouselee has remarked "the envy as well as the praise of Ben Jonson, is superior in harmony of numbers to any of the compositions of the contemporary poets of England, and in its subject one of the most elegant panegyrics ever addressed by a poet to a prince."

DRYSDALE, Reverend Dr John, was born in Kirkaldy, Fifeshire, on the 29th of April, 1718, being the third son of Mr John Drysdale, minister of that parish, and of Anne, daughter of William Ferguson, provost of the town of Kirkaldy. He received the elements of his classical education at the parish school of Kirkaldy, taught by Mr David Young. While at school, young Drysdale was favourably distinguished: also at that early age he had the good fortune to contract a friendship (which proved lasting), with two of his schoolfellows, who afterwards attained very high distinction; one of these was the celebrated Dr Adam Smith, and the other James Oswald, Esq. of Dunnikier—a name well known to all those who are familiar with the history of the leading Scotsmen of the last century. In the year 1732, at the age of fourteen, Drysdale was removed to the university of Edinburgh, where he prosecuted his studies with great success, and early attracted the notice of the professors. Having gone through the preliminary branches of education, he commenced the study of divinity, which he pursued until the year 1740, when he was licensed as a preacher of the gospel by the presbytery of Kirkaldy.

After having officiated as assistant-minister in the college church of Edinburgh for several years, he obtained, through the interest of the earl of Hopeton, a crown presentation to the church of Kirkliston in West Lothian. On entering upon the duties, he met with some opposition from his parishioners, arising from the notion that he was rather what was called a moral than an orthodox divine. He speedily acquired their esteem, however, and is said, by his unwearied benevolence and practical piety, as well as by the good sense

which pervaded his discourses, to have effected a visible improvement in the morals of his parishioners, who had been formerly noted for their irregularities and vice. After a faithful discharge of his parochial duties at Kirkliston for fifteen years, he was, through the intercession of his friend Mr Oswald with lord Bute, appointed minister of lady Yester's, one of the churches of Edinburgh. On his removal to town, the nervous eloquence of his sermons attracted a great concourse of hearers to his church. And so great was his fame as a preacher, that while he was on a visit to London, Mr Strachan, the printer, pressed him much to prepare a volume of his sermons for publication. But although on his return to Scotland, he did begin to select and revise his sermons for that purpose, a natural diffidence induced him first to procrastinate and ultimately to relinquish the undertaking.

Previous to his translation to Edinburgh, Mr Drysdale had taken little concern in the affairs of the church, but the close connection into which he was brought in town, with Dr Robertson the historian, the leader of the moderate party in the church, induced him to give that great man his best assistance and support.

In the year 1765, Mr Drysdale, without solicitation on his part, had the degree of doctor of divinity conferred on him by the university of Aberdeen. The following year, on the death of Dr John Jardine, he was preferred to the collegiate charge of the Tron church, where he had the good fortune to have for his colleague, the much esteemed and eloquent Dr Wishart. On the death of Dr Jardine, Dr Drysdale was also appointed one of his majesty's chaplains, with one-third of the emoluments of the deanery of the chapel royal. During the years 1773 and 1784, Dr Drysdale was moderator of the general assembly, being the highest mark of respect which the church of Scotland can confer on its members. At the meeting of the general assembly in May, 1788, he was appointed principal clerk to the assembly; but being unable, from the delicacy of his health, to perform the duties, he obtained permission that his son-in-law, professor Dalzell, should assist him. He did not survive long; his health had been for a considerable time very precarious, and early in June 1788, his complaints acquired increased violence, and his constitution being completely worn out, he died on the 16th of June of that year, in the 71st year of his age.

Drysdale was extremely pleasing in his manners and conversation, and seems to have gained the esteem and affection of his friends by the amiable benevolence of his heart, and the inflexible integrity of his conduct. His house was open at all times to his numerous friends and acquaintance, and was their frequent place of resort. To young men in particular, the cheerful and agreeable conversation which was encouraged in his society held out a peculiar charm. He had a very extensive correspondence with many of the first people of the day and with the clergy in general, who frequently applied to him for advice. His letters were remarkable for a happy facility and elegance of expression. Drysdale was married to the daughter of Willam Adam, Esq., of Maryburgh, architect.

His only work was two volumes of sermons published after his death by Professor Dalzell. Of these the late Dr Moodie who was one of the ministers of Edinburgh, says "These sermons seem admirably calculated to inspire the mind with high sentiments of piety to God, trust in providence, independence of the world, admiration of virtue, steady and resolute attachment to duty, and contempt of every thing base and dishonourable."

DUNBAR, William, "the chief of the ancient Scottish poets," as he had been termed by Mr Pinkerton, was probably born in the latter part of the fifteenth century. Mr Pinkerton suggests 1465, as nearly about the date of

his birth; but this supposition proceeds upon very vague grounds; namely, that Lindsay spoke of him as dead, in a poem probably written about the year 1530, and that he is known to have died in old age; hence, taking sixty-five for an average old age, he might, thinks Mr Pinkerton, be born about 1465. The place of his birth is not more accurately known. In the *Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy*, a series of satires which these two poets interchanged with each other, the former speaks of the "Carrick lips" of his antagonist, a *bona-fide* allusion to the provincial vernacular of that poet, and, within three lines, he uses the adjective *Lothian* in the same way, respecting a part of his own person; thereby, apparently, indicating that he was a native of that district. Unless Dunbar here meant only to imply his habitual residence in Lothian, and his having consequently contracted its peculiar language, he must be held as acknowledging himself a native of the province. In one of Kennedy's satires occurs the following passage:

> "Thy geir and substance is a widdy teuch
> On Falcoun Mount about thy craig to rax;
> And yet Mount Falcoun gallows is our fair
> For to be fleyit with sic a frontless face."

At another place, the Carrick poet charges his antagonist with being of the *kin* of the Dunbars, earls of March, and, consequently, loads him with part of the guilt of that turbulent family. How much of this may be jest, and how much earnest, it is impossible to say; but even supposing it all in earnest, we only learn, for certain, that Dunbar was descended from a family whose honours had long been forfeited for treason. Mr Sibbald has suggested, that Falcoun Mount may imply some locality near Falkland, in Fife, where a gallows might very properly be erected; and he takes it for granted, that Kennedy, by using the terms "geir and substance," means the patrimony of his opponent. We are of opinion that Falcoun Mount is far more probably a metaphorical paraphrase of Gladsmuir, [*q. d.* the *muir* of the *gled* or falcon] in East Lothian; but we fear that the passage is altogether too jocular to be the foundation of any good theory whatever respecting the poet's birth-place.

Dunbar is known, in general, as a priest residing in the court of James IV., about the beginning of the sixteenth century: hardly any other circumstance of his life has come down to us in a perfectly authentic form. In his youth, he seems to have been a travelling noviciate of the Franciscan order. This we learn from his poem entitled, *How Dunbar was desyred to be ane Frier;* in which he gives the following relation, as reduced to prose, by Dr Irving: "Before the dawn of day, methought St Francis appeared to me with a religious habit in his hand, and said, 'Go, my servant, clothe thee in these vestments, and renounce the world.' But at him and his habit I was scared like a man who sees a ghost. 'And why art thou terrified at the sight of the holy weed?' 'St Francis, reverence attend thee. I thank thee for the good-will which thou hast manifested towards me; but with regard to these garments, of which thou art so liberal, it has never entered into my mind to wear them. Sweet confessor, thou needs not take it in evil part. In holy legends have I heard it alleged that bishops are more frequently canonized than friars. If, therefore, thou wouldest guide my soul towards heaven, invest me with the robes of a bishop. Had it ever been my fortune to become a friar, the date is now long past. Between Berwick and Calais, in every flourishing town of the English dominions, have I made good cheer in the habit of thy order. In friars' weed have I ascended the pulpit at Dernton and Canterbury; in it have I crossed the sea at Dover, and instructed the inhabitants of Picardy. But this mode of life com-

pelled me to have recourse to many a pious fraud, from whose guilt no holy water can cleanse me.' "

In the books of the treasurer of Scotland, we find that Dunbar enjoyed a pension from his sovereign. Under date May 23, 1501, occurs the following entry: " Item, to Maister William Dunbar, in his pension of Martymes by past, 5*l*." Another entry occurs December 20, " quhilk was peyit to him eftir he com furth of England." If these were half-yearly payments, the pension must have been one of ten pounds, which cannot be deemed inconsiderable, when we take into account the resources of the king, the probable necessities of the bard, and the value of money at that time. Dunbar appears to have been simply a hanger-on at the court, paying with flattery and drollery the solid benefits dispensed to him. The above notice of a journey to England leads to two conjectures. Either he had gone to study at Oxford, whence he dates one of his poems, or he might have been employed in some inferior diplomatic capacity. On the marriage of James IV. to Margaret of England, Dunbar celebrated that event, so auspicious of the happiness of his country, in a poem entitled " the Thistle and the Rose," in which he emblematized the junction and amity of the two portions of Britain. In the plan of this poem, he displays, according to Dr Irving, " boldness of invention and beauty of arrangement, and, in several of its detached parts, the utmost strength and even delicacy of colouring." Dunbar seems to have afterwards been on as good terms with the queen as he had previously been with the king, for he addresses several poems in a very familiar style to her majesty. In one, moreover, " on a Daunce in the Queene's chalmer," where various court personages are represented as coming in successively and exhibiting their powers of saltation, he thus introduces himself:

" Than in cam Dunbar the Makar;[1]
On all the flure there was nane frackar,
And thair he dauncet the Dirry-duntoun:
He hopet, like a filler wantoun,
For luff of Musgraeffe men fulis me.
He trippet quhile he tur his pantoun:
A mirrear daunce micht na man see."

The next person introduced was Mrs Musgrave, probably an English attendant of the queen, and, as the poet seems to have admired her, we shall give the stanza in which she is described:

" Then in cam Maestres Musgraeffe:
Scho micht haff lernit all the laeffe.
Quhen I saw her sa trimlye dance,
Hir gud convoy and contenance,
Than for hir saek I wissit to be
The grytast erle, or duke, in France:
A mirrear dance micht na man see."

Notwithstanding the great merit of Dunbar as a poet, he seems to have lived a life of poverty, with perhaps no regular means of subsistence but his pension. He appears to have addressed both the king and the queen for a benefice, but always without success. How it came to pass that king James, who was so kind a patron to men professing powers of amusement, neglected to provide for Dunbar, is not to be accounted for. The poet must have been singularly disqualified, indeed, to have been deemed unfit in those days for church-preferment. It appears that the queen became more disposed to be his patron than the king,

[1] Writers of verses were so termed in the sixteenth century.

for he writes a poem in the form of a prayer, wishing that the king were *John Thomson's man*, that is, subservient to the views of his consort, so that he might obtain what the queen desired his majesty to bestow upon him. The poor poet tells the king that his hopes were in reality very humble:

> " Greit abbais graith I nill to gather,
> Bot *ane kirk scant coverit with hadder;*
> *For I of lytil wald be fane*:
> Quhilk to considder is ane pane."

His poetry is full of pensive meditations upon the ill division of the world's goods,—how some have too much, without meriting even little, while others merit all and have nothing. He says:

> " I knaw nocht how the kirk is gydit,
> Bot beneficcs are nocht leil divydit;
> Sum men hes sevin, and I nocht ane:
> Quhilk to considder is ane pane."

He also reflects much upon the vanity of all sublunary affairs. At the beginning, for instance, of the above poem, he thus moralizes on " the warld's instabilitie:"

> " This waverand warldis wretchidnes,
> The failyand and fruitles bissines,
> The mispent tyme, the service vane,
> For to considder is ane pane.
>
> The slydan joy, the glaidness schort,
> The feinyand luif, the fals confort,
> The sueit abayd, the flichtful trane,
> For to considder is ane pane.
>
> The sugarit mouthis, with mynds thairfra;
> The figurit speiche, with faces twa;
> The plesand toungis, with harts unplane,
> For to considder is ane pane."

On another occasion, Dunbar writes in the following strain:

> " Yestirday fair sprang the flowris,
> This day thai ar all slane with showris:
> And fouls, in forest that sang cleir,
> Now walkis with ane dreirie cheir;
> Full cald ar bayth thair beds and bouris.
>
> So nixt to Symmer, Wynter bein;
> Nixt eftir confort, caires kein;
> Nixt eftir midnycht, the mirthful morrow;
> Nixt joy ay cummis eftir sorow:
> So is this warld and ay hes bein."

In short, the proverbial poverty of the poetical race seems to have been inherited in its fullest sense by Dunbar. Mr Pinkerton says he has looked over all the charters of that age in search of his name, but is of opinion that it never was written by a lawyer.

Next to " the Thistle and the Rose," the next considerable poem by Dunbar was " the Golden Targe," a moral allegorical piece, intended to demonstrate the general ascendency of love over reason: the golden targe, or shield, of rea-

son, he shows to be an insufficient protection to the shafts of Cupid. He is also supposed to be the author of an exquisitely humorous tale, entitled "the Freirs of Berwick," which has supplied the ground-work of a well-known poem of Allan Ramsay, designated "the Monk and the Miller's wife." Another composition, styled "the Twa Marriet Wemen and the Wedo," contains much humorous sentiment, and many sarcastic reflections upon the fair sex. The poem, however, displaying the highest powers of mind, is certainly that entitled "a Dance," which presents pictures of the *seven deadly sins*, equally expressive, perhaps, with any that could have been delineated by the pen of Milton himself.

Dunbar had the fortune, rare in that age, of seeing some of his works printed in his own life-time. In 1508, among the very first efforts of the Scottish press, Chepman and Millar published his "Golden Targe," his "Twa Marriet Wemen and the Wedo," and several other poems. The remainder of his compositions have only reached us, through the medium of the Bannatyne and Maitland manuscripts. It has long been a matter of reproach to Scotland, that compositions reflecting such honour on her early literature, should not have been published in a separate form; but this is about to be obviated by Mr David Laing of Edinburgh, who has long been engaged in preparing an edition worthy of the poet and of the country.

DUNCAN, Lord Viscount, one of the comparatively few naval heroes of whom Scotland can boast, was a younger son of Alexander Duncan, Esq. of Lundie, in the county of Forfar. He was born in Dundee on 1st July, 1731; in which town he also received the rudiments of his education. The family of Lundie, which had for centuries been distinguished for its peaceful and domestic virtues, seems, at this time to have had an inclination directed towards the more active business of war—the eldest son having gone into the army, while the younger, the subject of the present sketch, joined the navy at the aspiring age of sixteen. In 1747, he took the humble conveyance of a carrier's cart to Leith, whence he sailed to London; and beginning his career in a manner so characteristic of the unostentatious but settled views of his countrymen, he did not revisit the place of his birth until his genius, his virtues, and his courage had secured for him the honour of an admiral's commission, and the gratitude of his country.

In the year last mentioned, young Duncan went on board the Shoreham frigate, Captain Kaldane, under whom he served for three years. He was afterwards entered as a midshipman on board the Centurion of fifty guns, then flag-ship of commodore Keppel, who had received the appointment of commander-in-chief on the Mediterranean station. While on this station, Mr Duncan attracted the attention and regard of the commodore, no less by the mildness of his manners, and the excellence of his disposition, which, indeed, distinguished his character through life, than by the ability and intrepidity which he uniformly displayed in the discharge of his arduous though subordinate duties. How true it is that the sure foundations of future fame can be laid only during that period of youth which precedes the commencement of manhood's more anxious business! His submission to the severity of naval discipline, the diligence with which he made himself acquainted with the practical details of his professional duties, and the assiduity with which he cultivated an intellect naturally powerful, formed the true germs whence his greatness afterwards sprung. The amiable and excellent qualities which so soon and so conspicuously manifested themselves in his mind and character, gained for him, at an early period of his life, the affection of many whose friendship proved useful to him in the subsequent stages of his professional advancement.

DUN[illegible]

[illegible] ADMIRAL OF THE BLUE &c &c

Published by Blackie & Son, Glasgow

As Keppel, himself a hero, had been the first to discover kindred qualities in his young friend, so he was also the first who had the honour to reward the rising genius of Mr Duncan. In January 1755, the commodore was selected to command the ships of war destined to convey the transports which had been equipped for the purpose of carrying out troops under general Braddock to North America, where the French had made various encroachments on British territory; and it was then that Keppel paid a compliment no less creditable to his own discrimination than flattering to Duncan's merits, by placing his name at the head of the list of those whom he had the privilege of recommending to promotion. Mr Duncan was accordingly raised to the rank of lieutenant; in which capacity he went on board the Norwich, captain Barrington. Soon after the arrival of the fleet in Virginia, the commodore removed Mr Duncan on board his own ship the Centurion, whereby he was placed not only more immediately under the friendly eye of his commander, but in a more certain channel of promotion, With the Centurion he returned to England, and remained unemployed (still the shipmate of Keppel, now on the home station) for three years. He was soon afterwards, however, called into active service, having been present at the attack on the French settlement of Goree on the coast of Africa; and the expectations which his commander had formed of him were amply realized by the bravery which he displayed in the attack on the fort. Before the schism of the expedition he rose to the first lieutenancy of the commodore's ship, the Torbay.

In September, 1759, he was promoted to the rank of commander, and in February, 1761, being then in his thirtieth year, he obtained a post-captaincy. The ship to which on this occasion he was appointed was the Valiant, of seventy-four guns, on board which Keppel hoisted his flag, as commodore in command of the fleet which carried out the expedition to Belleisle. Here the critical duty of commanding the boats to cover the disembarkation of the troops devolved on captain Duncan, and in this, as in various other difficult and important services in which he was employed during the siege, he greatly distinguished himself. He had the honour, also, of taking possession of the Spanish ships when the town surrendered to the English.

In the year following, he sailed with the Valiant in the expedition under admiral Pocock, which reduced the Havannah; and he remained in command of the same vessel till the conclusion of the war, in 1763. The powers of Europe, notwithstanding the exhausting conflicts in which they had for many years been engaged, were still too heated to remain long at peace, and the war which followed, again called into active operations all the energies of the British navy. No opportunity, however, occurred that enabled Duncan, now commander of the Suffolk of 74 guns, to distinguish himself. On returning to England on the temporary cessation of hostilities, he had the singular fortune of being called to sit as a member of the court-martial which was held on his brave and injured friend, admiral Keppel, whose unanimous and most honourable acquittal was immediately followed by votes of thanks from both houses of parliament for his distinguished services. He discharged perhaps a less irksome, but a not less impartial duty, on the trial of Keppel's accuser, Sir Hugh Palliser, who, suffering under the censure of the court, and the resentment of the nation, was forced to relinquish all his public offices.

In the summer of 1779, captain Duncan commanded the Monarch, 74, attached to the channel fleet under Sir Charles Hardy; and towards the conclusion of the year, he was placed under the orders of Sir George Rodney, who sailed with a powerful squadron to attempt the relief of Gibraltar. This armament, besides effecting the purpose for which it had been sent out, had the good

fortune to capture a fleet of fifteen Spanish merchantment and their convoy, a sixty-four gun ship and four frigates. The admiral had scarcely regulated the distribution of the prizes, when, on 16th January, off Cape St Vincent, he came in sight of a Spanish squadron of eleven ships of the line, commanded by Don Juan Langara. The English admiral immediately bore down with his whole force, and captain Duncan, although his ship was one of the worst sailers in the fleet, had the honour, as it had been his ambition, to get first into action. His gallant impetuosity having been observed by his no less daring commander, the captain was warned of the danger of rushing unsupported into a position where he would be exposed to the fire of three of the enemy's largest ships. "*Just what I want*, (he coolly replied,) *I wish to be among them*,"—and the Monarch dashing on, was in an instant alongside of a Spanish ship of much larger dimensions, while two others of the same rate and magnitude lay within musket shot to leeward of him. In this perilous position—one, however, in which every true British sailor glories to be placed—the Monarch had to contend against fearful odds; but then Duncan knew that allowance was to be made for the difference between British and Spanish skill and bravery, and he calculated rightly, for though the Spaniards defended themselves with great gallantry, the two ships to leeward soon perceived that there was more safety in flight than in maintaining the contest, and they accordingly made off with all the sail they could carry, leaving their companion, who had no opportunity of escape, to make the best defence in his power. Duncan had now comparatively easy work; and directing all his fire against his antagonist, he had the satisfaction, in less than half an hour, of seeing the St Augustin of 70 guns, strike her colours to the Monarch. This engagement afforded little opportunity for a display of scientific tactics; it was, in seamen's language, a fair stand-up fight, gained by the party who had the stoutest heart and the strongest arm. But it distinguished captain Duncan as a man of the most dauntless intrepidity, and of judgment competent to form a correct estimate of his own strength, as compared with that of his adversaries. After beating the St Augustin, captain Duncan pushed forward into the heart of the battle, and, by a well-directed fire against several of the enemy's ships, contributed greatly to the victory which was that day achieved over the Spanish flag. The St Augustin proved a worthless prize. So much had she been shattered by the Monarch's tremendous fire, that it became necessary to take her in tow; but, making water rapidly, her captors were under the necessity of abandoning her, in consequence of which she was repossessed by her original crew, and carried into a Spanish port.

On captain Duncan's return to England in the same year, he quitted the Monarch, and, in 1782, was appointed to the Blenheim, of 90 guns. With this ship he joined the main or channel fleet, under lord Howe. He shortly afterwards accompanied his lordship to Gibraltar, and bore a distinguished part in the engagement which took place in October, off the mouth of the straits, with the combined fleets of France and Spain, on which occasion he led the larboard division of the centre, or commander-in-chief's squadron. Here he again signalized himself by the skill and bravery with which he fought his ship.

After returning to England he enjoyed a respite for a few years from the dangers and anxieties of active warfare. Having removed to the Edgar, 74, a Portsmouth guard-ship, he employed his time usefully to his country, and agreeably to himself; though he would have preferred the wider sphere of usefulness which a command on the seas would have afforded him; in giving instructions in the science of naval warfare to a number of young gentlemen, several of whom have since distinguished themselves in their profession.

Overlooked for several years by an administration who did not always reward merit according to its deserts, he was now destined to receive that promotion to which, by his deeds, he had acquired so just a claim. On 14th September, 1787, he was raised to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue; and three years afterwards, he was invested with the same rank in the white squadron. On 1st February, 1793, he received promotion as vice-admiral of the blue, and, on 12th April, 1794, as vice-admiral of the white. On 1st June, 1795, he was appointed admiral of the blue, and of the white, on 14th February, 1799. At none of these successive steps of advancement, except the two last, was he in active service, although he had frequently solicited a command.

In February, 1795, he received the appointment of commander-in-chief of all the ships and vessels in the north seas: he first hoisted his flag on board the Prince George, of ninety guns, but afterwards removed to the Venerable, of seventy-four, a vessel of a more suitable size for the service in which he was about to engage, and one in which he afterwards rendered so glorious a service to his country.

History does not perhaps record a situation of more perplexing difficulty than that in which admiral Duncan found himself placed in the summer of 1797. For a considerable period he had maintained his station off the Dutch coast, in the face of a strong fleet, and in defiance of the seasons, and when it was known with certainty that his opponents were ready for sea, and anxious to effect a landing in Ireland, where they expected the co-operation of a numerous band of malcontents. At this most critical juncture, he was deserted by almost the whole of his fleet, the crews of his different ships having, with those of the channel fleet, and the fleet at the Nore, broken out into a mutiny, the most formidable recorded in history. With the assistance of a foreign force, Ireland was prepared for open rebellion; Scotland had its united societies; and England, too, was agitated by political discontent, when a spirit of a similar kind unhappily manifested itself in the British fleet. Early in the year of which we speak, petitions on the subject of pay and provisions had been addressed to lord Howe from every line of battle ship lying at Portsmouth, of which no notice whatever was taken. In consequence, on the return of the fleet to the port, an epistolary correspondence was held throughout the whole fleet, which ended in a resolution, that not an anchor should be lifted until a redress of grievances was obtained. Accordingly, on the 15th of April, when lord Bredport ordered the signal for the fleet to prepare for sea, the sailors on board his own ship, the Queen Charlotte, instead of weighing anchor, took to the shrouds, where they gave him three cheers, and their example was followed by every ship in the fleet. The officers were astonished, and exerted themselves, in vain, to bring back the men to a sense of their duty. Alarmed at the formidable nature of this combination, which was soon discovered to be extensively organized, the lords of the admiralty arrived on the 18th, and various proposals were immediately made to induce the men to return to their duty, but all their overtures were rejected. They were informed, indeed, that it was the determined purpose of the crews of all the ships to agree to nothing but that which should be sanctioned by parliament, and by the king's proclamation. In circumstances so alarming to the whole nation, government was compelled to make some important concessions, and a promise of his majesty's pardon to the offenders. These, after much deliberation, were accepted, and the men returned to their duty with apparent satisfaction. The ringleaders of the mutiny were still, however, secretly employed in exciting the men to fresh acts of insubordination; and, taking hold of some parliamentary discussions which had recently been published, the mutiny was, in the course of fourteen days, revived at Spithead with more than its

original violence; and, under pretence that government did not mean to fulfil its engagements, the channel fleet, on the 7th of May, refused to put to sea. Such officers as had become objects of suspicion or dislike to their crews were put on shore. Flags of defiance were hoisted in every ship; and a declaration was sent on shore, stating, that they knew the Dutch fleet was on the point of sailing, but, determined to have their grievances redressed, they would bring matters to a crisis at once, by *blocking up the Thames!* At this fearful crisis, an act was hurried through parliament, increasing their wages; but, so far from satisfying them, this conciliatory and liberal measure served only to increase their insolence, and to render them the more extravagant in their demands. Four ships of lord Duncan's fleet, from Yarmouth, were now moored across the mouth of the Thames. Trading vessels were prevented alike from entering and leaving the river, and all communication with the shore was prohibited. A regular system was adopted for the internal management of each ship, and Richard Parker, a person who had recently employed himself as a political agitator in Scotland, was placed at the head of the disaffected fleet. On the part of government, preparations were made for an attack on the mutineers. All farther concession was refused; the eight articles submitted to government by Parker were rejected; and it was intimated, that nothing but unconditional submission would be accepted by the administration. This firmness on the part of government had, at length, the desired effect. Dismayed at their own rashness and folly, the ships escaped one by one from Parker's fleet, and submitted themselves to their commanders; and the apprehension, trial, and execution of Parker and others of the mutineers, which speedily followed, closed this most disgraceful and formidable mutiny. The anxiety of the nation all this time was intense; that of Duncan, deserted as he was by the greater part of his fleet, while in the daily expectation of an enemy coming out, must have been extreme. On the 3d of June, when thus forsaken, he called together the faithful crew of his own ship, the Venerable, and gave vent to his feelings in a speech, which has been admired as one of the finest specimens of simple eloquence—"My lads," said he, "I once more call you together with a sorrowful heart, from what I have lately seen of the disaffection of the fleets: I call it disaffection, for they have no grievances. To be deserted by my fleet, in the face of an enemy, is a disgrace which I believe never before happened to a British admiral, nor could I have supposed it possible. My greatest comfort, under God, is that I have been supported by the officers and seamen of this ship, for which, with a heart overflowing with gratitude, I request you to accept my sincere thanks. I flatter myself much good may result from your example, by bringing these deluded people to a sense of the duty which they owe not only to their king and country, but to themselves. The British navy has ever been the support of that liberty which has been handed down to us by our ancestors, and which, I trust, we shall maintain to the latest posterity, and that can be done only by unanimity and obedience. The ship's company, and others who have distinguished themselves by their loyalty and good order, deserve to be, and doubtless will be, the favourites of a grateful country. They will also have, from their inward feelings, a comfort which will be lasting, and not like the fleeting and false confidence of those who have swerved from their duty. It has often been my pride to look into the Texel, and see a foe which decided on coming out to meet us. My pride is now humbled indeed! My feelings are not easily to be expressed. Our cup has overflowed, and made us wanton. The all-wise Providence has given us this check as a warning, and I hope we shall improve by it. On Him then let us trust, where our only security can be found. I find there are many good men among us; for my own part, I have had full confidence of all in this ship,

and once more beg to express my approbation of your conduct. May God, who has thus far conducted you, continue to do so; and may the British navy, the glory and support of our country, be restored to its wonted splendour, and be not only the bulwark of Britain, but the terror of the world. But this can only be effected by a spirit of adherence to our duty, and obedience; and let us pray that the Almighty God may keep us in the right way of thinking; God bless you all!" The crew of the Venerable were so affected by this simple, but impressive address, that on retiring there was not a dry eye among them.

Thus, admiral Duncan, by acts of mildness and conciliation, and by his uniform firmness, contrived, when every other British admiral, and even the government itself failed in the attempt, to keep his own ship, as well as the crew of the Adamant, free from the contagion of the dangerous evil that then almost universally prevailed.

Fortunately for Great Britain the enemy was not aware of the insubordination that existed throughout the fleet. At a time, however, when Duncan had only two line of battle ships under his control, his ingenuity supplied the place of strength, and saved this country from the disgrace of a foreign invasion; for it cannot be doubted, that had the Dutch commander known the state of helplessness in which the nation was placed, when its right arm was so effectually bound up by the demon of rebellion, they would have chosen that moment to run for our shores. It was then that the happy thought occurred to the anxious mind of Duncan, that by approaching the Texel with his puny force, and by making signals as if his fleet were in the offing, he might deceive the wary De Winter into the belief that he was blocked up by a superior squadron. This stratagem was employed with entire success, nor indeed was it known to De Winter that a deception had been practised upon him, until he had become his antagonist's prisoner. This manœuvre, so singular in its conception, so successful in its execution, and performed at a moment of such extreme national difficulty, stands unparalleled in naval history, and alone gave to him who devised it as good a claim to the honour of a coronet, and to his country's gratitude, as if he had gained a great victory.

On the termination of the mutiny, admiral Duncan was joined by the rest of his fleet, very much humbled, and anxious for an opportunity to wipe away, by some splendid achievement, the dishonour they had incurred. The two rival fleets were now placed on an equal footing; and all anxiety for the event of a collision was completely removed. Having blockaded the Dutch coast till the month of October, Duncan was under the necessity of coming to Yarmouth roads to refit, leaving only a small squadron of observation under the command of captain Trollope. But scarcely had he reached the roads, when a vessel on the back of the sands gave the spirit-stirring signal that the enemy was at sea. Not a moment was lost in getting under sail, and early on the morning of the 11th of October he was in sight of captain Trollope's squadron, with a signal flying for an enemy to leeward. He instantly bore up, made signal for a general chase, and soon came up with them, forming in line on the larboard tack, between Camperdown and Egmont, the land being about nine miles to leeward. The two fleets were of nearly equal force, consisting each of sixteen sail of the line, exclusive of frigates, brigs, &c. As they approached each other, the British admiral made signal for his fleet, which was bearing up in two divisions, to break the enemy's line, and engage to leeward; each ship her opponent. The signal was promptly obeyed; and getting between the enemy and the land, to which they were fast approaching, the actior commenced at half-past twelve, and by one it was general throughout the whole line. The Monarch was the first to break the enemy's line. The

Venerable was frustrated in her attempt to pass astern of De Winter's flag ship; but pouring a destructive broadside into the States-General, which had closed up the interval through which the Venerable intended to pass, she compelled that vessel to abandon the line. The Venerable then engaged De Winter's ship the Vryheid, and a terrible conflict ensued between the two commanders-in-chief. But it was not a single-handed fight. The enemy's Leyden, Mars, and Brutus, in conjunction with the Vryheid, successively cannonaded the Venerable, and she found it expedient to give ground a little though not forced to retreat. In the meantime the Triumph came up to her relief, and, along with the Venerable, gave a final blow to the well fought and gallantly defended Vryheid, every one of whose masts were sent overboard, and herself reduced to an unmanageable hulk. The contest throughout the other parts of the line was no less keenly maintained on both sides; but with the surrender of the admiral's ship the action ceased, and De Winter himself was brought on board the Venerable, a prisoner of war. His ship and nine other prizes were taken possession of by the English. Shortly after the States-General had received the fire of the Venerable, she escaped from the action, and, along with two others of rear-admiral Storey's division, was carried into the Texel, the admiral having afterwards claimed merit for having saved a part of the fleet. The British suffered severely in their masts and rigging, but still more so in their hulls, against which the Dutch had mainly directed their fire. The loss of lives also was great, but not in proportion to that suffered by the enemy. The carnage on board of the two admirals' ships was particularly great, amounting to not less than 250 men killed and wounded in each. The total loss of the British was 191 killed, and 560 wounded, while the loss of the Dutch was computed to have been more than double that amount. At the conclusion of the battle, the English fleet was within five miles of the shore, from whence many thousands of Dutch citizens witnessed the spectacle of the destruction and defeat of their fleet. When the conflict was over, admiral Duncan ordered the crew of his ship together, and falling down upon his knees before them, returned solemn thanks to the God of battles for the victory he had given them, and for the protection he had afforded them in the hour of danger. This impressive act of pious humility affected the Dutch admiral to tears.

Naval tacticians accord to admiral Duncan great merit for this action. It stands distinguished from every other battle fought during the war by the bold expedient of running the fleet between the enemy and a lee shore with a strong wind blowing on the land, a mode of attack which none of his predecessors had ever hazarded. The admiral also evinced great judgment in the latter part of the contest, and in extricating his fleet and prizes from a situation so perilous and difficult—while the Dutch sustained all the character of their best days. The battle of Camperdown, indeed, whether we view it as exhibiting the skill and courage of its victor, the bravery of British seamen, or as an event of great political importance, will ever stand conspicuous among the many naval victories that adorn our annals.

On the arrival of admiral Duncan at the Nore on 17th October, he was created a peer of Great Britain by the title of viscount Duncan of Camperdown, and baron Duncan of Lundie, to which estate he had succeeded by the death of his brother; and a pension of £2,000 a-year was granted his lordship for himself and the two next heirs of the peerage. The thanks of both houses of parliament were unanimously voted to the fleet—and the city of London presented lord Duncan with the freedom of the city, and a sword of 200 guineas value. Gold medals were also struck in commemoration of the victory, which were presented to the admirals and captains of the fleet. The public too, by whom the benefits

of no action during that eventful war were more highly appreciated than the one of which we have been speaking, paid Lord Duncan a flattering mark of respect by wearing, the women, gowns and ribands, and the men vests of a particular kind which were named " Camperdowns," after the victory.

Lord Duncan continued in the command of the north-sea squadron till the beginning of the year 1800, when there being no longer any probability of the enemy venturing to sea, and having now arrived at his 69th year, he finally retired from the anxieties of public, to the enjoyment of private life; which he adorned as eminently by his virtues, as he had done his public station by his energy and talents.

In 1777 his Lordship married Miss Dundas, daughter of lord president Dundas, of the court of session in Scotland, by whom he had several children. He did not long enjoy his retirement, having been cut off in the 73d year of his age by a stroke of apoplexy at Kelso, on his way from London, in the summer of 1804. He was succeeded in his estates and titles by his eldest son,—in elevating whom to an earldom, our present king not only paid an honourable tribute of respect to the memory of the father, but a just compliment to the talents, public spirit, and worth of the son.

We close this sketch in the words of a late writer: " It would perhaps be difficult to find in modern history, another man in whom with so much meekness, modesty, and unaffected dignity of mind, were united so much genuine spirit, so much of the skill and fire of professional genius; such vigorous and active wisdom; such alacrity and ability for great achievements, with such indifference for their success, except so far as they might contribute to the good of his country. Lord Duncan was tall, above the middle size, and of an athletic and firmly proportioned form. His countenance was remarkably expressive of the benevolence and ingenuous excellencies of his mind."

DUNCAN, Andrew, Senr. M. D., an esteemed physician and professor of the institutions of medicine in the university of Edinburgh, was born at St Andrews on the 17th October, 1744. His father, who was formerly a merchant and shipmaster in Crail, was descended from a younger branch of the Duncans of Ardownie, in the county of Angus; and his mother, a daughter of professor Villant, was related to the Drummonds of Hawthornden. He received his preliminary education for the profession of medicine at St Andrews, from the university of which city he obtained the degree of master of arts in May, 1762. He then transferred his residence to Edinburgh, where he pursued his medical studies under the happiest auspices, being the pupil, as he was afterwards the friend, of Dr Cullen, Dr John Gregory, Dr Monro the second, Dr John Hope, and Dr Black. The university of Edinburgh was at this period beginning to hold a prominent position in the scientific and literary world; for although the many discoveries that have since been made, lay then concealed like precious stones in their mines, unknown and unsuspected, yet the general and visible advancement of the progressive sciences which were here taught and cultivated by their respective professors, began to be duly felt and appreciated both at home and abroad. The professors, who held not their offices as sinecures, toiled incessantly and indefatigably to advance the interests and extend the known boundaries of science; and the students, emulating their examples, were likewise animated by a spirit of zeal and inquiry, which in turn reflected back honour on the university. It is not then to be expected that our young candidate for medical honours, who had already distinguished himself by his talents and acquirements at St Andrews, should be less active than his fellow students; and accordingly, we find that he soon obtained their suffrages of respect and esteem, in being elected a president of the royal medical society in the session of

1764, the second year after the commencement of his medical studies in Edinburgh. In the welfare of this society he ever afterwards took a warm interest, nor did he hesitate to declare, that he considered it an essential part of the medical school of Edinburgh. In the year 1768-9, having completed his studies, he went a voyage to China, in the capacity of surgeon to the honourable East India company's ship Asia, under the command of captain, afterwards Sir Robert Preston. So much to the satisfaction and advantage of the ship's company did he discharge his professional duties, that when the vessel returned to England on the termination of the voyage, the captain offered him the sum of 500 guineas to go out with him a second time; but this offer, however complimentary, he thought it expedient to decline, for the purpose of pursuing a different and more congenial tenor of life. In the October, therefore, of the same year (1769), he received the diploma of doctor of medicine from the university of St Andrews, and in the month of May following, was admitted a licentiate of the royal college of physicians in Edinburgh. Dr Duncan immediately sought to distinguish himself in his profession, and in 1770 came forward as a candidate for the professorship of medicine in the university of St Andrews, that chair having become vacated by the death of Dr Simpson. On this occasion he produced flattering testimonials from all the members of the medical faculty of the university of Edinburgh, and from other eminent members of the profession; but his application proved unsuccessful, the rival candidate being duly elected. In the four sessions succeeding that of 1769-70, he was annually re-elected one of the presidents of the royal medical society, and during this period exerted himself in completing the arrangements for the erection of the medical hall, now occupied by the society. About this time he became attached to, and married a lady with whom he enjoyed an uninterrupted union of upwards of fifty-seven years, and by whom he had twelve children. She was a Miss Elizabeth Knox, the daughter of Mr John Knox, surgeon in the service of the East India company, who, it may be added, was the eldest son of the Rev. William Knox, minister of Dairsie, in the county of Fife, and great-grand-nephew to the illustrious reformer.

On the death of Dr John Gregory, professor of the theory of medicine in the university of Edinburgh, which occurred in February, 1773, Dr Drummond was appointed to that chair, but being absent from the country, Dr Duncan was chosen to supply the temporary vacancy. He, accordingly, during the sessions 1774-5 and 1775-6, delivered lectures on the theory of medicine; in addition to which he revived the judicious plan adopted by Dr Rutherford, of illustrating the select cases of indigent patients labouring under chronic complaints, by clinical lectures. Dr Drummond still failing to attend to his duties, the magistrates and town council, on the 12th June, 1776, declared the chair to be again vacant, and on the 19th of the same month elected Dr James Gregory, the son of the late professor, to the professorship, the duties of which had been for two years discharged by Dr Duncan. The life of every man is more or less chequered by disappointment, and assuredly this could not be otherwise than keenly felt by Dr Duncan, who, in his concluding clinical address, after reviewing the records of the hospital, and alluding to the successful practice he there adopted, thus proceeds: "I have the satisfaction of being able to retire from this arduous task with ease in my own mind, and I hope not without some additional credit in your estimation. My academical labours have not indeed in other respects been attended with equal advantage. I was not without hopes that by my exertions here, I should still have been able to hold the office of a teacher in the university, and I had no hesitation in offering myself a candidate for the chair lately vacant. In that competition I had indeed no powerful connexion, no political interest to aid my cause; but I thought that my chance for success

stood on no infirm basis when it was rested on what I had done to deserve it. Although, however, I can no longer act in an equally conspicuous capacity, yet I hope I may hereafter be employed as a teacher in one not less useful. I am neither arrived at that age which requires ease, nor am I placed in those circumstances which will allow of it. It is therefore my present intention, still to dedicate my labours to the service of the students of medicine. * * * * I have already lived long enough to have experienced even advantages from disappointment on other occasions, and time alone can determine whether the present disappointment may not yet afford me the strongest instance of the favour of heaven."[1] The human mind often acquires additional strength and activity from the fruits of adversity; and in the present instance, Dr Duncan immediately determined on delivering an independent course of lectures on the theory and practice of physic, without the walls of the university; besides which, as his clinical lectures had been so numerously attended, he also announced his intention of continuing them. "While these lectures," said he, in announcing his intention, "are more immediately intended for the instruction of students, they will be also the means of furnishing the indigent with advice and medicines gratis, when subjected to chronical diseases." He soon found that the number of sick poor who applied to him for relief was so considerable, that he was induced to project a scheme for the establishment of a dispensary for the purpose of alleviating the sufferings of those whose diseases were not of a nature to entitle them to admission into the royal infirmary. When, in addition to the gnawing miseries of poverty, the victims of ill fortune have to writhe under the tortures of slow and lingering disease, sad indeed are the endurances of suffering humanity; and no wonder therefore is it, that when the objects of this institution, by the unwearied exertions of Dr Duncan, were brought fully and fairly before the public, a sufficient fund was raised to carry his views into effect. In Richmond Street, on the south side of the city, a commodious building for this charity was erected, and in 1818, the subscribers were incorporated by royal charter. Notwithstanding the increasing number of similar institutions, this dispensary continues to flourish; and a picture of the venerable founder is placed in its hall.

In the same year that Dr Duncan commenced lecturing (1773), he also undertook the publication of a periodical work, entitled "Medical and Philosophical Commentaries," which was avowedly on the plan of a similar publication at Leipsic;—the "Commentarii de Rebus in Scientia Naturali et Medicina gestis,"—which obviously could only be a very imperfect channel for the communication of British medical literature. The Medical and Philosophical Commentaries contained an account of the best new books in medicine, and the collateral branches of philosophy; medical cases and observations; the most recent medical intelligence, and lists of new books: it appeared in quarterly parts, forming one volume annually, and continued until the year 1795 under his sole superintendence, when it had extended to twenty volumes. It was afterwards continued by him under the title of "Annals of Medicine," until the year 1804, when it consisted of eight volumes more, after which, Dr Duncan ceased to officiate as editor, and changing its appellation, it became the "Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal," which, under the care of his son, became subsequently one of the most influential medical journals in Europe.

In the year 1790, Dr Duncan was elected president of the college of physicians in Edinburgh, and in the same year, his venerable friend Dr Cullen having resigned the professorship of the practice of medicine, Dr James Gregory

[1] Medical and Philosophical Commentaries, vol. iv. 103, 104.

was translated to that chair. The object of Dr Duncan's former ambition he now obtained, for after having lectured with increasing reputation for fourteen years without the walls of the college, he was elected successor to Dr James Gregory as the professor of the institutions of medicine.

The life of a physician, unlike that of a statesman, a soldier, or adventuring artist, whether poet or painter, is seldom diversified by any stirring or remarkable incidents; it flows equably and unobtrusively along, never coming immediately under the gaze of the public, and although in ministering to the wants of the afflicted, human nature be seen often under the most varied and touching aspects, yet over every scene that speaks to the heart of charity, a veil is drawn; the secrets of the sick chamber being always esteemed sacred and inviolable. No class of men are brought so closely and so continually into contact with human wretchedness; yet even this charity, which constitutes perhaps the most estimable feature of the human mind, can seldom be duly appreciated, for it is manifested only in secret, and seeks not the empty approbation of the multitude. Fortunately, in the instance of Dr Duncan, his actions speak for themselves, and prove him to have been always actuated by the most philanthropic, generous, and humane motives. The cast of his mind was truly benevolent. In 1792, perceiving how destitute was the condition of those unhappy beings suffering under the bereavement of reason, he brought forward a plan for the erection and endowment of a lunatic asylum, which he laid before the royal college of physicians of Edinburgh. It is said that the idea of such an institution was suggested to him by the death of the poet Ferguson, who in 1774, a few years after Dr Duncan had settled in Edinburgh, expired in the cells of the common charity work-house, in a state of the most abject and appalling wretchedness. After much time had elapsed, and many difficulties been surmounted, a petition was presented to the king, who granted a royal charter, dated the 11th April, 1807, under which, a lunatic asylum was erected and opened at Morningside. In September, 1808, the magistrates and town council of Edinburgh presented Dr Duncan with the freedom of the city, as a public acknowledgment of the sense they entertained of the services he had rendered the community by the establishment of the public dispensary and lunatic asylum; and assuredly this honour was never more deservedly conferred.

In 1809, Dr Duncan brought forward a scheme for another public association for the purpose of contributing to the interests and happiness of society. He observed that the study of horticulture had been too much neglected in Scotland, and proposed therefore the institution of a society which should receive communications and award prizes to those who distinguished themselves by making discoveries, or promoting the interests of this science. His proposal, and exertions in accomplishing this favourite object, he lived to see amply rewarded; for the horticultural society soon attaining considerable importance in the estimation of the public, was incorporated by royal charter, and among the number of its members will be found the names of many who are an ornament and an honour to their country. "The latest public object undertaken by Dr Duncan," says his friend Dr Huie, "was connected with this society, in the success of which he ever took the warmest interest. This was the establishment of a public experimental garden, for the purpose of putting to the test various modes of horticulture, and also for collecting specimens and improving the method of cultivating every vegetable production, from every quarter of the globe, which could either be agreeable to the palate, or pleasing to the eye. By means of private subscriptions, assisted by a loan from government, this object was at last attained; and the venerable promoter of the scheme had the satisfaction, before

his death, of seeing his views on the subject in a fair way of being realized."[2] On the death of Dr James Gregory, which happened in 1821, Dr Duncan, who had long served his majesty when prince of Wales in that capacity, was appointed first physician to the king for Scotland.

The royal college of physicians in 1824, as a signal mark of respect and favour, re-elected Dr Duncan president; but he had now attained that advanced age when men find it necessary to retire from the more active cares and anxieties of the world. He, however, continued so long as he could command bodily strength to participate in the business of those institutions which had been his pride in earlier life. More especially it was his pride to continue his physiological lectures in the university; and to pay that attention to his pupils which always showed the natural kindness of his heart. He made a point, like his venerable preceptor Dr Cullen, of inviting them to his house, and cultivating a friendly and confidential intercourse with them. It was his custom to invite a certain number to be with him every Sunday evening, which he intimated by little printed circulars, twenty or thirty of which he would issue at a time, taking his pupils in the order they entered to his class, until every one had been invited. On these occasions he conversed cheerfully and freely with them on all subjects; a practice which is surely encouraging to the pupil, and calculated to increase rather than diminish his respect and attachment towards the professor. His kindness of heart was indeed unbounded. He never heard of a pupil having to struggle against the ills of poverty, or being in any kind of distress, that he did not exert himself to emancipate him from such difficulty; and many now live whose feelings of silent gratitude are the most appropriate homage to his memory. "While his benevolence fell with the warmth of a sunbeam on all who came within the sphere of its influence, it was more especially experienced," says Dr Huie, "by those students of medicine who came from a distance, and had the good fortune to attract, or be recommended to his notice. Over them he watched with paternal solicitude. He invited them when in health to his house and his table. He attended them when in sickness with assiduity and tenderness, and when they sunk the victims of premature disease, the sepulchre of his family was thrown open for their remains."[3]

He was in some respects eccentric; but there was not an eccentricity or custom he adopted which did not indicate that some generous or good feeling was the ruling principle of his actions. In addition to the institutions to which we have alluded, of a grave character, Dr Duncan established the Esculapian and Gymnastic clubs, at which, by assembling round the social and convivial board, it was intended to soften down those asperities and inimical feelings which, proverbially and from the most ancient time, have been imputed to medical men. With the same object in view, and to encourage a taste for experimental research, in the year 1782 he founded the Harveian Society, to which, for a period of forty-seven years, he discharged the duties of secretary. This society, which still flourishes, proposes annually a question, or the subject for an essay; and an honorary reward, consisting of a gold medal and a copy of the works of the great exemplar, is awarded to the successful candidate. The adjudication takes place publicly on the anniversary of Harvey's birth day, which is afterwards commemorated by an elegant convivial entertainment. Before adjudging the prize, the secretary is appointed to pronounce an *eloge* on some deceased ornament of the profession; and among others, those read by Dr Duncan on the lives of Alexander Munro *primus*, Alexander Munro *secundus*, and Sir Joseph Banks, merit particular notice. Dr Duncan occasionally stepped

[2] Harveian Oration for 1829, by R. Huie, M. D., who succeeded Dr Duncan as secretary to the Harveian Society. [3] Ibid. p. 24.

aside from the ordinary avocations of his profession to indulge in effusions—both prose and verse—little consonant with the more general tenor of his occupations. Among these we may notice, a work he published, entitled, "Elogiorum Sepulchralium Edinensium delectus—Monumental inscriptions selected from burial grounds near Edinburgh;" in the preface of which, speaking as the editor, he observes: "Since the death of an amiable son, the editor has made it a religious duty to pay a visit to his grave every Christmas-day, the period of his death. This visit he has also extended to other church-yards, where the dust of several of his best friends is now deposited. His meditations, during these mournful visits, have led him to imagine that he was invited by the calls of gratitude, to take this method of promulgating commemorations of departed worth." He then adds, that he has selected the inscriptions and printed them in that form, for the benefit of "an able scholar, who, depressed by accidental misfortunes in the mercantile line, now supports a young family by his knowledge of ancient and modern languages." This is peculiarly characteristic both of the affectionate and charitable disposition of his nature. He always, even to the very latest period of his life, looked back with satisfaction and pride at the period when he participated in the proceedings of the royal medical society; and it was his custom to go down to the medical hall one night or more every season, for the purpose of hearing the discussions, in which he always expressed great interest. In the winter of 1827, he visited it for the last time, being then in the eighty-third year of his age. The members of that society had two years previously testified the high esteem in which they held his memory, by subscribing for a full length portrait of him, which was admirably executed by Mr Watson Gordon, and now adorns the hall of the institution. It had been Dr Duncan's custom for more than half a century to pay an annual visit to the summit of Arthur's Seat every May-day morning. This feat of pedestrianism he accomplished as usual on the 1st of May, 1827; but he was obliged from a feeling of physical infirmity to relinquish the attempt in May, 1828, on which day he had invited some friends to dine with him; finding himself rather unwell in the morning, he was under the necessity of retiring and confining himself to his chamber. From this period he was never able to go abroad. His appetite and flesh failed him, and without having suffered any acute distress, he expired on the 5th of July, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

His funeral was attended by the magistrates and town council of Edinburgh; the principal and professors of the university, the royal college of physicians, the managers and medical officers of the royal public dispensary, the royal medical society, the royal physical society, the Caledonian horticultural society, and a large assemblage of private gentlemen, and friends of the venerable deceased.

He published numerous works during the course of his life; among which, Elements of Therapeutics—Medical Commentaries—Heads of lectures on the Theory and Practice of Physic—Annals of Medicine—Essay on Consumption—Medical Cases and Observations, may be regarded as important additions to the medical literature of that period. To the royal college of physicians he bequeathed seventy volumes of MS. notes from the lectures of the founders of the Edinburgh school of medicine, Drs Munro *primus*, Rutherford, Alston, St Clair, and Plummer, together with one hundred volumes of practical observations in his own hand writing, which he had employed as notes for his clinical lectures. His exertions in his profession, and in the general cause of humanity, obtained for him the highest respect of his contemporaries, both at home and abroad. He was elected a corresponding member of the medical society of Denmark in 1776, and of the royal medical society of Paris in 1778; he was

chosen a member of the American philosophical society of Philadelphia in 1786, and of the medical society of London in 1787; he was appointed an honorary member of the Cesarian university of Moscow in 1805, and first president of the medico-chirurgical society of Edinburgh at its institution in 1821. As a professor in the university of Edinburgh, he was deserved and esteemed. His lectures were written in a perspicuous and unadorned style, and the physiological doctrines he promulgated, were those which were considered the best established at that period; and these he explained in so clear a manner that his course of lectures may even yet be regarded as valuable, notwithstanding the additions that have been since made to our knowledge in this department of medical science. His style of lecturing was simple and unaffected, and no man could discharge more conscientiously the duties of his office. Both as a professor and a man, in his public and private career, his many estimable qualities endeared him to society, where all who had the good fortune to know him, yet justly venerate his memory.

DUNCAN, Andrew, Junior, M. D., the son of the excellent physician whose memoir we have given above, is entitled to a prominent rank among those who have distinguished themselves in the history of medicine. He was born in Edinburgh on the 10th August, 1773. At an early age he showed a predilection for medical science, being, when yet very young, often found in his father's library poring over medical books; to gratify which inclination he would often rise at an early hour before the rest of the family. His father naturally, therefore, destined him for the profession, and after going through the preliminary course of education prescribed for youth, he commenced its study in 1787. That he might become acquainted with the science in all its practical details, he served a regular apprenticeship for five years with Messrs Alexander and George Wood, fellows of the royal college of surgeons; during which probation he toiled assiduously in laying the foundation of his future reputation. He then went through a complete course of literature and philosophy at the university, where, in 1793, he was admitted master of arts, and in 1794, received the degree of doctor of medicine.

With the view of acquiring a still more competent knowledge of his profession, he spent the ensuing winter, 1794–95, in London, where he attended the lectures on anatomy and surgery, then delivered in Windmill Street, by Dr Baillie and Mr Cruickshank; and dissected under the superintendence of Mr Wilson. He there also became a pupil of Dr George Pearson in chemistry, materia medica, and medicine, and received unusual advantages and opportunities of improvement from the attention and kindness of his father's numerous friends. He then proceeded to the continent. After spending some time in Hamburg, Brunswick, and Hanover, for the purpose of acquiring the German language, seeing the hospitals of those cities, and becoming personally acquainted with the distinguished individuals at the head of the profession there, he entered himself a student in the university of Gottingen. There he attended the hospital under Richiter, and resided with professor Grellman, and had the good fortune to enjoy the intimate acquaintance of Blumenbach, Torisberg, Gmelin, Arnemann, Stromeyer, and Heine, gaining besides the friendship of many of the most distinguished students, who now fill chairs in the universities of Germany.

From Gottingen he went to Vienna, visiting the hospitals and most of the celebrated men in the various universities and capitals through which he passed; after which he proceeded to Italy through the Tyrole, and having seen the hospitals at Milan, resided during the winter at Pisa, in the house of Brugnatelli, the professor of chemistry. He there attended the lectures and hospital prac-

tice of Scarpa, whose friendship and correspondence he had ever afterwards the honour of retaining; and also clinical medicine under Joseph Frank, and natural history under Spallanzani. He then made the tour of Italy as far as Naples, remained some time at Rome, and returned by Padua, Venice, and Trieste, to Vienna, where he attended the clinical lectures of John Peter Frank, then at the head of the profession in Germany. From Vienna he returned home, through Prague, Leipsic, Halle, Dresden, and Berlin, remaining in each long enough to see the public institutions and become acquainted with the most celebrated men. During this tour, not only did he acquire a more accurate and more extensive knowledge concerning the medical institutions and the state of medical science abroad than was at that time possessed by other medical men in this country; but he attained a proficiency in foreign languages, and an erudition in literature, which added all the accomplishments of a scholar to his qualifications as a physician. Here, too, in leisure hours snatched from severer studies, he cultivated his taste for the fine arts, more especially for painting and music, in which he ever afterwards found a charm to relieve him from the fatigues he had to encounter in the laborious and anxious discharge of his professional and professorial duties.

On his return to Edinburgh, he assisted his father in editing the Medical Commentaries, which, as we have already stated, extended to twenty volumes, and was succeeded by the Annals of Medicine, on the title page of which the name of Dr Duncan junior, first appeared along with that of his father as joint editors. But at the request of lord Selkirk he was again induced to leave his native city to visit the continent, for the purpose of attending that nobleman's son, who was suffering under ill health. On his arrival, however, he found that lord had expired; but the superior attainments of Dr Duncan having attracted considerable notice on the continent, and being already signalized by a portion of the fame he afterwards enjoyed, he was solicited to prolong his stay in Italy, where he was by many invalids professionally consulted, and again enjoyed the opportunity of prosecuting his favourite pursuits. No man, perhaps, was ever more thoroughly imbued with the love of knowledge. It was in him an innate desire, urging him on with increasing restlessness to constant mental activity. He now remained chiefly in Florence and Pisa nine months, where he lived on habits of intimacy with the celebrated Fontana and Fabroni; after which, having visited many places in Switzerland and Germany, which he had not passed through during his former tour, he again returned to Edinburgh. He there settled as a medical practitioner, and was elected a fellow of the royal college of physicians, and shortly afterwards one of the physicians of the royal public dispensary, founded by the exertions of his father, in 1773.

While actively engaged in the practical department of his profession, he did not neglect the application of his erudition and talents to the diffusion and advancement of medical science among his professional brethren. In 1805, he undertook the chief editorship of the Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal, which has for twenty-seven years sustained the high reputation of being one of the most valuable and influential medical journals in Europe. He acted from the commencement as the chief editor, although for some time he was assisted by Dr Kellie of Leith, Dr Balteman of London, Dr Reeve of Norwich, and afterwards by Dr Craigie. But his chief and most valuable contribution to medical science was the Edinburgh Dispensatory, the first edition of which appeared in 1803. A similar work had been published by Dr Lewis in London, in 1753, under the title of the New Dispensatory, but the advancement of chemistry and pharmacy since that period, had rendered a complete revision of it absolutely necessary. This task, which required no ordinary extent and variety of know-

ledge, and no slight assiduity, he executed with so much skill, judgment, and fidelity, that his work, immediately on publication, commanded the most extensive popularity, and became a standard authority in every medical school in Europe. Notwithstanding, indeed, that it has had to encounter the rivalship of other meritorious works on pharmaceutic chemistry and materia medica, it still maintains its pre-eminence. By Sir James Wylie it was made great use of in his Pharmacopœia Castrensis Russica, published at Petersburg in 1808, for the use of the Russian army. It has been since translated into German by Eschenbach, with a preface by professor Kuhn; into French by Couverchel, and has been several times republished by different editors in America.

He next conferred an essential service not only on the university, but on the general interests of the community, by calling, in a strong and emphatic manner, attention to that branch of science, denominated by the Germans, state medicine, which comprehends the principles of the evidence afforded by the different branches of medicine, in elucidating and determining questions in courts of law. This study, to which the more appropriate term of medical jurisprudence was applied, had been chiefly confined to the Germans, nor had the advantages resulting from their labours been sufficiently communicated to other countries. This Dr Duncan fully perceived; he laid before the profession the substance of the few medico-legal works which had then been published on the continent; he pointed out, and advocated ably, the necessity of this department of medical science being systematically studied in this country; and, after combating many prejudices and overcoming many difficulties, succeeded in the cause he defended, and was rewarded by seeing the chair of medical jurisprudence instituted in the university. To his exertions, the profession—we should rather say the public—is indebted for the institution of this important professorship, and when we look at the current of public events, and the numerous complex and momentous cases that are continually agitated in our justiciary and civil courts, often implicating the liberty, fortunes, and even lives of our fellow-creatures, we cannot remain insensible of the great good he has achieved. The chair of medical jurisprudence and police was instituted in the Edinburgh university in 1807, and Dr Duncan was considered the most proper person to discharge its duties. He was therefore appointed the professor, and commenced his lectures the following session. He soon, by the lectures he delivered, and the numerous papers he published in his journal, impressed on the public mind the importance of the science he taught; and the interest he excited in its cultivation, both among his pupils, and medical practitioners generally, gave, in this country, the first impetus to the progress of medical jurisprudence.

He repeatedly, during this time, was called upon to assist his father in officiating as physician in the clinical wards, and occasionally delivered clinical lectures. He also had at times the charge of the fever hospital at Queensberry house; to which, on the resignation of Dr Spens, he was elected physician. But his introduction into the university, brought on him an accumulation of labours, for he was shortly afterwards appointed secretary and also librarian; offices, the duties of which required at that period no ordinary exertions to discharge. Already it may have been gathered from the lives of Drs Cullen and Duncan, senior, that the Edinburgh university was at this time only just emerging from that original infantine state which must precede the maturer glory of all institutions, on however grand a scale; and although Pitcairn, M'Laurin, the Monroes, Plummer, St Clair, Alston, and Cullen, had thrown over it a lustre which was recognized by men of science throughout Europe, yet its internal state and economy required the most assiduous attention and careful management. The library, which, from the charter of the college, was entitled to every published work,

was at this time, as may readily be supposed, a mass of confusion, which to reduce to any thing like order was little less than an Herculean task. Added to this, the building of the university was yet unfinished, and every possible inconvenience opposed the duties of the librarian. Still the labours of Dr Duncan were incessant. He was then appointed one of the commissioners for superintending the completion of the building of the college; and the services which in both capacities he rendered to the public, cannot be too highly estimated.

Having officiated for his father and Dr Rutherford in the clinical wards of the royal infirmary during the winter of 1817-18 and the summer of 1818, he published at the end of that year reports of his practice, for the purpose of preserving a faithful record of the epidemic, which at that time spread its ravages through Edinburgh. His labours did not go unrewarded. In 1819, the patrons of the university appointed him joint professor with his father in the chair of the theory of medicine. His skill as a lecturer on physiology was duly estimated by his pupils; but he did not retain this office long, for in 1821, Dr Home being translated to the chair of the practice of physic, he was elected in his place professor of materia medica and pharmacy. It is worthy of observation, that so highly were the qualifications of Dr Duncan appreciated, and so obviously did they entitle him to this honour, that when it was understood that he had come forward as a candidate, no person ventured to compete with him for the vacated chair. He commenced his lectures to considerable disadvantage, being at the time in ill health, owing to an accident he had recently met with; but his abilities as a lecturer, and his profound knowledge of materia medica, with all its collateral branches being well known, attracted crowds to his class, among whom no individual can fail to remember how amply his expectations were redeemed. In the discharge of his duties as a professor, he laboured most conscientiously, sacrificing his own comforts and health for the instruction of his pupils. During this season and indeed ever after, says one who had every opportunity of knowing his domestic habits, "he was often seated at his desk at three in the morning, for his lectures underwent a continual course of additions and improvements." When, by the tender solicitude of his own relatives, he was often entreated to relax his incessant toils, and told that surely his task must be finished, he would reply, that to medical knowledge there was no end, and that his labours must be therefore infinite; and so truly they were, for it was one of the peculiar traits of his character to be ever investigating, which he did with unwearied patience, every new improvement and every new discovery that was announced in this country or on the continent. His lectures on materia medica were most comprehensive and profound, and attracted so great a number of students to his class that the expectations which had been formed of the good which the university would derive from his promotion were amply fulfilled. He discharged the duties of this professorship with unwearied zeal and assiduity for eleven years. We have now arrived at the saddest period of his life. His constitution was never strong. It was constantly preyed upon by the exertions of an over-active mind, which allowed itself no repose. Had he been less solicitous about the discharge of his duties and less zealous in the pursuit of science, his health might have been invigorated and his life prolonged. But there was that disparity between the powers and energies of his mind, and the limited vigour of his body, which generally proves fatal to men of superior attainments. He had for years toiled incessantly, bearing up against the consciousness of ill health and physical suffering. His anxiety to discharge his duties, indeed, absorbed every other consideration, and prompted him to endure until endurance itself could no longer obey its own high resolves. His strength, which had been severely impaired by an attack of fever in 1827,

which was contracted in the discharge of his hospital duties, gradually declined. After persevering in delivering his lectures until nearly the end of the session, he took to his bed in April 1832, and having endured a lingering illness, during which he displayed all that patience and moral courage which are characteristic of a highly-gifted mind; he died on the 13th of the following May, in the 58th year of his age. His funeral, according to his own directions, was intended to be strictly private; but the members of numerous institutions, anxious to show their affection for his memory, met in the burial ground to attend the obsequies of their lamented friend.

Great energy and activity of mind, a universality of genius that made every subject, from the most abstruse to the most trivial, alike familiar to him, and a devoted love of science, which often led him to prefer its advancement to the establishment of his own fame, were his distinguishing traits. So well was he known and appreciated on the continent, that he received, unsolicited on his part, honorary degrees and other distinctions from the most famous universities; and few foreigners of distinction visited Edinburgh without bringing introductions to him. He had the honour of being in the habit of correspondence with many of the most distinguished persons in Europe, whether celebrated for high rank, or superior mental endowments. He had a great taste for the fine arts in general, and for music in particular; and from his extensive knowledge of languages, was well versed in the literature of many nations. His manners were free from pedantry or affectation, and were remarkable for that unobtrusiveness which is often the peculiar characteristic of superior genius. He possessed a delicacy of feeling and a sense of honour and integrity amounting, in the estimation of many, to fastidiousness, but which were the elements of his moral character. He was indeed as much an ornament to private as to public life.

Among his contributions to medical science deserving especial notice may be enumerated his experiments on Peruvian bark, whereby he discovered cinchonin, and paved the way for the discovery of the vegetable altsaloids, which has so essentially contributed to the advancement of pharmaceutic science; his examination of the structure of the heart and the complicated course of its fibres; his paper on diffuse inflammation of the cellular tissue; and more recently his Experiments on Medicine, communicated to the royal society of Edinburgh so late as December 1830. In addition to these, and besides the numerous essays written in his own journal, he contributed to the Edinburgh Review the articles on the pharmacopœia of the royal college of physicians—on vaccination —and on Dr Thomson's System of Chemistry; and to the Supplement of the Encyclopedia Britannica those on aqua tofana, digestion, and food.

DUNCAN, William, a learned writer, was born at Aberdeen, in July, 1717. He was the son of William Duncan, a tradesman in that city, and of Euphemia Kirkwood, the daughter of a farmer in Haddingtonshire. He received the rudiments of his education partly at the grammar school of Aberdeen, and partly at a boarding school at Foveran, kept by a Mr George Forbes. In 1733 Mr Duncan entered the Marischal college at Aberdeen, and applied himself particularly to the study of Greek, under Dr Blackwell. At the end of the usual course, he took the degree of M.A. His first design was to become a clergyman; but, after studying divinity for two years, he abandoned the intention, and, removing to London, became a writer for the press. The greater part of his literary career was of that obscure kind which rather supplies the wants of the day, than stores up fame for futurity. Translations from the French were among his mental exertions, and he was much beloved and respected by the other literary men of his day, especially those who were of the same nation with himself, such as George Lewis Scott and Dr Armstrong.

The principal work of Mr Duncan was his translation of select orations of Cicero, which is still a book of standard excellence, and constantly used in our schools. He contributed the department of Logic to "Mr Dodsley's Modern Preceptor," which appeared in 1748, and was one of the most useful and popular books published during the eighteenth century. In 1752 appeared his last work, the translation of Cæsar's Commentaries, which is decidedly the best in our language. Duncan has in a great measure caught the spirit of the Roman writer, and has preserved his turn of phrase and expression as far as the nature of our language would permit. In this year, Mr Duncan received a royal appointment to a philosophical chair in the Marischal college; and in 1753, commenced lecturing on natural and experimental philosophy. Before leaving London, he had engaged to furnish a bookseller with a new translation of Plutarch; but his health proved inadequate to the task. His constitution had been considerably injured by the sedentary nature of his employments in London, and he was now content to discharge the ordinary duties of his chair. After a blameless life, he died (unmarried) May 1, 1760, in the forty-third year of his age. Mr Duncan cannot so much be said to have possessed genius, as good sense and taste; and his parts were rather solid than shining. His temper was social, his manners easy and agreeable, and his conversation entertaining and often lively. In his instructions as a professor, he was diligent and very accurate. His conduct was irreproachable, and he was regular in his attendance on the various institutions of public worship. Soon after his settlement in the Marischal college, he was admitted an elder in the church session of Aberdeen, and continued to officiate as such till his death.

DUNDASSES OF ARNISTON. This family holds a very conspicuous place in the legal and political history of Scotland for a period extending almost to a century and a half; and to the biographical student, nothing can be more interesting than to trace the merited elevation of the successive heads of the family to the highest judicial appointments in the country. The Arniston family is sprung from that of Dundas of Dundas, one of the most ancient in Scotland. Sir James Dundas, the first of Arniston, who received the honour of knighthood from James VI., and was governor of Berwick, was the third son of George Dundas of Dundas, the sixteenth in descent from the Dunbars, earls of March, a family which, according to Sir James Dalrymple, can trace its origin from the Saxon kings of England. The mother of Sir James Dundas was Catherine, daughter of Lawrence, lord Oliphant. Having premised this much of the origin of the family, we proceed to give short biographical notices of its most distinguished members.

DUNDAS, SIR JAMES, of Arniston, eldest son of the first Sir James, by Mary, daughter of George Hume of Wedderburn, had the honour of knighthood conferred on him by Charles I. After receiving a liberal education, he spent a considerable time abroad, visiting the principal courts of Europe. On his return, he was chosen one of the representatives of the county of Mid-Lothian, in the Scottish parliament, and during a period of great danger and difficulty he maintained the character of a steady patriot, and a loyal subject,—an enemy alike to slavish subserviency, and to treasonable turbulence. He greatly disapproved of the measures proposed by Charles I. at the instigation of Laud, for establishing episcopacy in Scotland, and did not think it inconsistent with a sincere principle of loyalty to subscribe the national covenant, entered into for the purpose of resisting that innovation.

After the restoration, when the English judges who had officiated in Scotland during the usurpation, were expelled, and the court of session re-established, Sir James Dundas was, in 1662, appointed one of the judges, and took his seat

on the bench under the title of lord Arniston. His high character and great natural abilities, were thought sufficient to counterbalance the disadvantage arising from the want of a professional education. But he held this appointment only for a short time. For Charles II. having been induced by the unsettled state of Scotland, to require that all persons holding office, should subscribe a declaration, importing that they held it unlawful to enter into leagues or covenants, and abjuring the "national and solemn league and covenant," the judges of the court of session were required to subscribe this *test* under pain of deprivation of office. The majority of them complied; but Sir James Dundas refused, unless he should be allowed to add, "in so far as such leagues might lead to deeds of actual rebellion." Government, however, would consent to no such qualification; and lord Arniston was consequently deprived of his gown. The king himself had proposed as an expedient for obviating the scruples of the recusant judges, that they should subscribe the test publicly, but should be permitted to make a *private* declaration of the sense in which they understood it. Most of them availed themselves of this device, but lord Arniston rejected it, making the following manly answer to those of his friends who urged him to comply—"I have repeatedly told you, that in this affair I have acted from conscience: I will never subscribe that declaration unless I am allowed to qualify it; and if my *subscription* is to be public, I cannot be satisfied that the *salvo* should be *latent*." His seat on the bench was kept vacant for three years, in the hope, apparently, that he might be prevailed on to yield to the solicitations which, during that interval, were unceasingly, but in vain addressed to him, not only by his friends and brother judges, but by the king's ministers. He had retired to his family seat of Arniston, where he spent the remainder of his life in the tranquil enjoyment of the country, and in the cultivation of literature, and the society of his friends. He died in the year 1679, and was succeeded in his estates by his eldest son Robert, the subject of the immediately succeeding notice.

Dundas, Robert, of Arniston, son of Sir James, by Marion, daughter of lord Boyd, was bred to the profession of the law, and for many years represented the county of Edinburgh in the Scottish parliament. In the year 1689, immediately after the revolution, he was raised to the bench of the court of session by king William, and took the title of lord Arniston. He continued to fill that station with great honour and integrity during the long period of thirty-seven years; and died in the year 1727, leaving his son Robert, by Margaret, daughter of Robert Sinclair of Stevenston,[1] to succeed him in his estates, and to follow his footsteps in the legal profession.

Dundas, Robert, of Arniston, F. R. S. Edinburgh, third lord of session of the family, and first lord president, was born on the 9th December, 1685. Although at no time distinguished for laborious application to study, yet he had obtained a general acquaintance with literature, while his remarkable acuteness, and very extensive practice, rendered him a profound lawyer. He became a member of the faculty of advocates in 1709, and in 1717, while the country was recovering from the confusion occasioned by the rebellion of 1715, he was selected, on account of his firmness and moderation, to fill the responsible office of solicitor-general for Scotland, which he did with much ability and forbearance. In 1720, he was presented to the situation of lord advocate; and in 1722, was returned member to the British parliament for the county of Edinburgh. In parliament he was distinguished by a vigilant attention to Scottish affairs, and by that steady and patriotic regard to the peculiar interests of his native country, which has been all along one of the most remarkable character-

[1] It is from this lady, familiarly termed Meg Sinclair, that the peculiar talent of the family is said to have been derived.

istics of his family. When Sir Robert Walpole and the Argyle party came into power in the year 1725, Mr Dundas resigned his office, and resumed his place as an ordinary barrister; soon after which, he was elected by his brethren dean of the faculty of advocates; a dignity which confers the highest rank at the bar, it being even at this day a question, whether, according to the etiquette of the profession, the dean is not entitled to take precedence of the lord advocate and the solicitor-general. In 1737, Mr Dundas was raised to the bench; when, like his father, and grandfather, he took the title of lord Arniston. He held the place of an ordinary, or puisne judge, until the year 1748, when, on the death of lord president Forbes of Culloden, he was raised to the president's chair, and continued to hold that high office until his death. He died in 1753, in the 68th year of his age.

As a barrister Mr Dundas was a powerful and ingenious reasoner. To great quickness of apprehension he added uncommon solidity of judgment; while, as a public speaker, he was ready, and occasionally impressive; without being declamatory. His most celebrated display was made in 1728, at the trial of Carnegie of Finhaven, indicted for the murder of the earl of Strathmore. Mr Dundas, who was opposed on that occasion to Duncan Forbes of Culloden, then lord advocate, conducted the defence with great ability, and had the merit, not only of saving the life of his client, but of establishing, or rather *restoring*, the right of a jury in Scotland to return a general verdict on the guilt or innocence of the accused. An abuse, originating in bad times, had crept in, whereby the province of the jury was limited to a verdict of finding the facts charged *proven*, or *not proven*, leaving it to the court to determine by a preliminary judgment on the relevancy, whether those facts, if proved, constituted the crime laid in the indictment. In this particular case, the fact was, that the earl of Strathmore had been accidentally run through the body, and killed, in a drunken squabble; the blow having been aimed at another of the party, who had given great provocation. The court, in their preliminary judgment on the relevancy, found that the facts, as set forth in the indictment, if proved, were sufficient to infer the "*pains of law*,"—or, in other words, that they amounted to *murder*; —and therefore they allowed the public prosecutor to prove his case before the jury, and the accused to adduce a proof in exculpation. Had the jury confined themselves to the mere question whether or not the facts stated in the indictment were *proved*, the life of Mr Carnegie would have been forfeited. But Mr Dundas, with great acuteness and intrepidity, exposed and denounced this encroachment on the privileges of the jury, which he traced to the despotic reigns of Charles II., and his brother James II.; and succeeded in obtaining a verdict of not guilty. Since that trial, no similar attempt has been made to interfere with juries. The trial, which is in other respects interesting, will be found reported in Arnot's Collection of celebrated Criminal Trials; and in preparing that report, it appears, that Mr Arnot was favoured, by the second lord president Dundas, with his recollections, from memory, of what his father had said, together with the short notes from which Mr Dundas himself spoke. These notes prove, that, in preparing himself, he merely jotted down, in a few sentences, the heads of his argument, trusting to his extemporaneous eloquence for the illustrations.

In his judicial capacity, lord Arniston was distinguished no less by the vigour of his mind and his knowledge of the law, than by his strict honour and inflexible integrity. It has been said of him, that his deportment on the bench was forbidding and disagreeable; but although far from being affable or prepossessing in his manners, he was much liked by those who enjoyed his friendship; and was remarkable throughout his life, for a convivial turn approaching occa-

sionally to dissipation. Some allowance, however, must be made for the manners of the time, and for the great latitude in their social enjoyments, which it was the fashion of the Edinburgh lawyers of the last century, to allow themselves. It is to be regretted that lord Arniston was not raised to the president's chair earlier in life. He succeeded lord president Forbes, one of the most illustrious and eminent men who ever held that place; and it is not therefore very wonderful, that, far advanced in life as president Dundas was, he should not have been able to discharge the duties of his important office, with all the dignity and energy of his highly-gifted predecessor.

Lord Arniston was twice married; first, to Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Watson of Muirhouse, by whom he left Robert, afterwards lord president of the court of session, and two daughters; and secondly, to Anne, daughter of Sir ——— Gordon, of Invergordon, bart., by whom he left four sons, and one daughter. One of the sons of this second marriage was Henry, afterwards raised to the peerage under the title of lord viscount Melville.

Dundas, Robert, of Arniston, lord president of the court of session, the eldest son of the first lord president Dundas, by Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Watson of Muirhouse, was born on the 18th of July, 1713. When at school and at college he was a good scholar; but afterwards was never known to read through a book, and seldom even to look into one, unless from curiosity, when he happened to be acquainted with the author. It was the custom at the period when the subject of this memoir received his education, for Scottish gentlemen, intended for the higher walks of the legal profession, to study the Roman law at the schools on the continent, where that law was then taught with much celebrity. Young Dundas, therefore, after acquiring the elementary branches of his education, under the care of a domestic tutor, and at the schools and university of Edinburgh, proceeded to Utrecht, towards the close of the year 1733, in order to prosecute his legal studies at that famous university. He remained abroad during four years; spending his academical vacations in visiting Paris, and several of the principal towns and cities in France, and the Low Countries.

He returned to Scotland in the year 1737, and in the year following, became a member of the faculty of advocates. His first public appearances sufficiently proved that he had inherited the genius and abilities of his family; his eloquence was copious and animated; his arguments convincing and ingenious; while even his most unpremeditated pleadings were distinguished by their methodical arrangement. In consultation his opinions were marked by sound judgment and great acuteness; while his tenacious memory enabled him with facility and readiness to cite precedents and authorities. Although endowed by nature with very considerable talents for public speaking, yet he not only neglected the study of composition, but contemned the art of elocution. In his pleadings, however, as well as in his conversation, he displayed a great deal of fancy and invention, which the strength and soundness of his judgment enabled him to restrain within due bounds. In spite of his want of application, and a strong propensity to pleasure and dissipation, he rose rapidly into practice at the bar. But from the course which he adopted, it seems to have been his intention, without rendering himself a slave to business, to attain such a high place in his profession, as should entitle him to early promotion. Acting on this principle, he usually declined, except in very important cases, to prepare those written pleadings and arguments which at that time, and until lately, were so well known in the court of session. The labour attending this part of his professional duty he felt to be irksome. For the same reason he was accustomed to return many of the briefs which were sent to him; confining his practice to noted cases, or such as excited general interest. In this manner, with-

out undergoing the usual drudgery of the bar, he acquired a degree of celebrity and distinction, which opened to him, at a period remarkably early in his career, the highest honours of his profession. In September 1742, when he had just entered his twenty-ninth year, he was appointed solicitor-general for Scotland. He had obtained this appointment under the Carteret administration, and therefore, in 1746, when the Pelham party gained the ascendancy, he resigned this office along with the ministry; but in the same year, (as had happened to his father under similar circumstances,) he was honoured by one of the strongest marks of admiration which his brethren at the bar could confer; having been, at the early age of thirty-three, elected dean of the faculty of advocates; which office he continued to hold until the year 1760, when he was elevated to the bench.

In the beginning of the year 1754, Mr Dundas was returned to parliament as member for the county of Edinburgh, and in the following summer he was appointed lord advocate for Scotland. During the rancorous contention of parties which at that time divided the country, it was scarcely possible to escape obloquy, and Mr Dundas shared in the odium cast upon the rest of his party by the opposition; but it may be truly affirmed of him, that in no instance did he swerve from his principles, or countenance a measure which he did not believe to be conducive to the general welfare of the country. He suffered much in the opinion of a numerous party in Scotland on account of his strenuous opposition to the embodying of the militia in that part of the kingdom. The alarm of invasion from France, occasioned by the small expeditions which sometimes threatened our coasts, had led to numerous meetings throughout the country to petition parliament in favour of the establishment of a militia force for the defence of Scotland. There were cogent reasons, however, why these petitions should not be acceded to. The country was still in a very unimproved condition; agriculture neglected, and manufactures in their infancy; while the inhabitants were as yet but little accustomed to the trammels of patient industry. In such circumstances, to put arms into their hands had a tendency to revive that martial spirit which it was the great object of government to repress. The embodying of the militia was farther objectionable, inasmuch as the disaffected partisans of the Stuart family, although subdued were by no means reconciled to the family of Hanover; and, therefore, to arm the militia, would have been in effect so far to counteract the wise measure of disarming the Highlanders, which had proved so efficacious in tranquilizing the northern districts of the kingdom. Mr Dundas's opposition to the proposal for embodying a militia in Scotland was thus founded on grounds of obvious expediency; any risk of foreign invasion being more than counterbalanced by the still greater evil of a domestic force on which government could not implicitly rely, and which might by possibility have joined rather than opposed the invaders. The lesson taught by the rebellion in Ireland, in 1797, has since illustrated the danger of trusting arms in the hands of the turbulent and disaffected, and has fully established the wisdom of Mr Dundas's opposition to a similar measure in Scotland.

On the 14th of June, 1760, Mr Dundas was appointed lord president of the court of session, the highest judicial office in Scotland. When he received this appointment, some doubts were entertained how far, notwithstanding his acknowledged and great abilities, he possessed that power of application, and that measure of assiduity which are the first requisites for the due discharge of the duties of the high office he filled. Fond of social intercourse, and having risen to eminence as a lawyer by the almost unassisted strength of his natural talents, he had hitherto submitted with reluctance to the labour of his profession. But it speedily became evident, that one striking feature in his character

had remained undeveloped; for he had no sooner taken his seat as president, than he devoted himself to the duties of his office with an ardour which had been rarely exhibited by the ablest and most diligent of his predecessors; and with a perseverance which continued unabated until his death. So unwearied and anxious was his application to the business of the court, that he succeeded in disposing of an arrear of causes which had accumulated during a period of five sessions. This task he accomplished in the course of the summer session of 1760, and that without interrupting or impeding the current business of the court; and while he presided, no similar arrear ever occurred.

President Dundas was distinguished by great dignity and urbanity. In delivering his opinions on the bench, he was calm and senatorial; avoiding the error into which the judges in Scotland are too apt to fall, namely, that of expressing themselves with the impatience and vehemence of debaters eager to support a particular side, or to convince or refute their opponents in an argument. Impressed with a conviction that such a style is ill suited for the bench, president Dundas confined himself to a calm and dispassionate summary of the leading facts of the case, followed by an announcement, in forcible, but unadorned language, of the legal principle which ought, in his apprehension, to rule the decision. To the bar, he conducted himself with uniform attention and respect; a demeanour, on the part of the bench, to which, in former times, the Scottish bar was but little accustomed; and even at this day, the deportment of the Scottish judges to the counsel practising before them, is apt to surprise those who have had opportunities of observing the courtesy uniformly displayed by the English judges in their intercourse with the bar. President Dundas listened with patience to the reasonings of counsel; he neither anticipated the arguments of the pleader, nor interrupted him with questions; but left him to state his case without interference, unless when matter evidently irrelevant was introduced, or any offence committed against the dignity of the court. In this last particular, he was sufficiently punctilious, visiting the slightest symptom of disrespect to the bench, with the severest animadversion. While he was thus constant in his anxiety to improve the administration of justice, and to insure due respect for his own court, he was scrupulously attentive in reviewing the decisions, and watchful in the superintendance of the conduct of the inferior judges. He also treated with the greatest rigour every instance of malversation or chicanery in the officers or inferior practitioners in the courts. No calumnious or iniquitous prosecution, and no attempt to pervert the forms of law, to the purposes of oppression, eluded his penetration, or escaped his marked reprehension.

A disregard or contempt for literary attainments has been brought as a charge against president Dundas; and a similar charge was, with less justice, afterwards made against his celebrated brother, lord Melville. This peculiarity was the more remarkable in the president, because in early life he had prosecuted those studies which are usually termed literary, with advantage and success. In his youth he had made great proficiency in classical learning; and as his memory retained faithfully whatever he had once acquired, it was not unusual with him, even towards the close of his life, in his speeches from the bench to cite and apply, with much propriety, the most striking passages of the ancient authors.

Having attained the advanced age of 75 years, president Dundas was seized with a severe and mortal illness, which, although of short continuance, was violent in its nature; and he died at his house in Adam Square, Edinburgh, on the 13th of December, 1787; having borne his sufferings with great magnanimity. He retained the perfect enjoyment of his faculties until his death, and was in the active discharge of his official duties down till the date of his last illness. He was interred in the family burial-place at Borthwick. The body was

attended to the outskirts of the city by a procession consisting of all the public bodies in their robes and insignia.

We cannot more appropriately close this imperfect sketch, than by subjoining the testimony borne to the high talents and many virtues of president Dundas, in the funeral sermon preached on the Sunday following his interment. "But by us, my brethren," the preacher observed, "he was known for other virtues. The public have lost a father and friend. We saw him in the more private walks of life, and experienced the warmth of his attachment, or the blessings of his protection. The same ardour of mind that marked his public character, descended with him to his retirement, to enliven his devotion, and prompt his benevolence. Attached to the ordinances of religion, and active in his duties as a member of the church, he was studious to give you, in this holy place, an example of that public reverence which is due from all to the Father of their spirits. Hospitable in his disposition, attentive in his manner, lively in his conversation, and steady in his friendships, he was peculiarly formed to secure the esteem of his acquaintance, and to promote the intercourse of social life. The poor, who mourn for his loss, and his domestics, who have grown old in his service, testify the general humanity of his mind. But his family alone, and those who have seen him mingling with them in the tenderness of domestic endearment, knew the warmth of his paternal affections."—"Such were the qualities that adorned the illustrious judge whose death we now deplore. If he had his failings, (and the lot of humanity, alas! was also his,) they were the failings of a great mind, and sprang from the same impetuosity of temper which was the source of his noblest virtues. But they are now gone to the drear abode of forgetfulness; while his better qualities live in the hearts of the good, and will descend in the records of fame, to rouse the emulation of distant ages."

President Dundas was twice married, first to Henrietta, daughter of Sir James Carmichael Baillie, of Lamington, Bart., by whom he left four daughters; and secondly, 7th September, 1756, at Prestongrange, to Jane, daughter of William Grant of Prestongrange, an excellent man, and good lawyer, who rose to the bench under the title of lord Prestongrange. By his second lady he left four sons and two daughters, of whom Robert, the eldest son, was successively lord advocate and lord chief baron of the court of exchequer in Scotland.

Dundas, Robert, of Arniston, lord chief baron of the court of exchequer, eldest son of the second lord president Dundas, by Miss Grant, youngest daughter of William Grant, lord Prestongrange, was born on the 6th of June, 1758. Like his distinguished predecessors, he was educated for the legal profession, and became a member of the faculty of advocates in the year 1779. When Mr (afterwards Sir Ilay) Campbell was promoted to the office of lord advocate, Mr Dundas, at a very early age, succeeded him as solicitor general; and afterwards in 1789, on Sir Ilay's elevation to the president's chair, Mr Dundas, at the age of 31, was appointed lord advocate. This office he held for twelve years, during which time he sat in parliament as member for the county of Edinburgh; and on the resignation of chief baron Montgomery in the year 1801, he was appointed his successor. Mr Dundas sat as chief baron until within a short time of his death, which happened at Arniston, on the 17th of June, 1819, in the 62nd year of his age. He had previously resigned his office, and it happened that Sir Samuel Shepherd, who succeeded him, took his seat on the bench on the day on which Mr Dundas died.

Without those striking and more brilliant talents for which his father and grandfather were distinguished, chief baron Dundas, in addition to excellent abilities, possessed, in an eminent degree, the graces of mildness, moderation, and affability; and descended to the grave, it is believed, more universally

loved and lamented, than any preceding member of his family. This is the more remarkable, when it is borne in mind that he held the responsible office of lord advocate during a period of unexampled difficulty, and of great political excitement and asperity. His popularity, however, was not attributable to any want of firmness and resolution in the discharge of his public duties; but arose in a great measure, from his liberal toleration for difference in political opinion, at a time when that virtue was rare in Scotland; and from his mild and gentlemanlike deportment, which was calculated no less to disarm his political opponents, than to endear him to his friends. It would have been impossible, perhaps, for any one of his professional contemporaries to have been the immediate agent of government in the trials of Muir, Skirving, and Palmer, without creating infinite public odium.

As chief baron, Mr Dundas was no less estimable. The Scottish court of exchequer never opened a very extensive field for the display of judicial talent; but wherever, in the administration of the business of that court, it appeared that the offender had erred from ignorance, or from misapprehension of the revenue statutes, we found the chief baron disposed to mitigate the rigour of the law, and to interpose his good offices on behalf of the sufferer. It was in private life, however, and within the circle of his own family and friends, that the virtues of this excellent man were chiefly conspicuous, and that his loss was most severely felt. Of him it may be said, as was emphatically said of one of his brethren on the bench—"he died, leaving no good man his enemy, and attended with that sincere regret, which only those can hope for, who have occupied the like important stations, and acquitted themselves so well."

Chief baron Dundas married his cousin-german, the honourable Miss Dundas, daughter of Henry, the first lord viscount Melville, by whom he left three sons, and two daughters; Robert, an advocate, and his successor in the estate of Arniston; Henry, an officer in the navy; and William Pitt. His eldest daughter is the wife of John Borthwick, esq. of Crookston.

Dundas, David, general Sir, was born near Edinburgh, about the year 1735. His father, who was a respectable merchant in Edinburgh, was of the family of Dundas of Dundas, the head of the name in Scotland; by the mother's side he was related to the first lord Melville. This distinguished member of a great family had commenced the study of medicine, but changing his intentions, he entered the army in the year 1752, under the auspices of his uncle, general David Watson. This able officer had been appointed to make a survey of the Highlands of Scotland, and he was engaged in planning and inspecting the military roads through that part of the country. While engaged in this arduous undertaking, he chose young Dundas, and the celebrated general Roy, afterwards quarter-master-general in Great Britain, to be his assistants. To this appointment was added that of a lieutenancy in the engineers, of which his uncle was at that time senior captain, holding the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army.

In the year 1759, Dundas obtained a troop in the regiment of light horse raised by colonel Elliot, and with that gallant corps, he embarked for Germany, where he acted as aid-de-camp to colonel Elliot. In that capacity he afterwards accompanied general Elliot in the expedition sent out in the year 1762, under the command of the earl of Albemarle, against the Spanish colonies in the West Indies. On the 28th May, 1770, he was promoted to the majority of the 15th dragoons, and from that corps he was removed to the 2nd regiment of horse on the Irish establishment, of which he obtained the lieutenant-colonelcy.

It was to the ministerial influence of general Watson that colonel Dundas owed his rapid promotion; and he now obtained, through the same interest, a staff appointment as quarter-master-general in Ireland. He was also allowed to

sell his commission in the dragoons, and at the same time to retain his rank in the army. He afterwards exchanged his appointment for that of adjutant-general, and in 1781, he was promoted to the rank of colonel.

Shortly after the peace of 1783, Frederick king of Prussia having ordered a grand review of the whole forces of his kingdom, the attention of military men throughout Europe was attracted to a scene so splendid. Amongst others, colonel Dundas, having obtained leave of absence, repaired to the plains of Potsdam, and by observation and reflection on what he there saw, he laid the foundation of that perfect knowledge of military tactics, which he afterwards published under the title of "Principles of Military Movements, chiefly applicable to Infantry."

In the year 1790, colonel Dundas was promoted to the rank of major-general, and in the following year, he was appointed colonel of the 22nd regiment of infantry, on which he resigned the adjutant-generalship of Ireland.

Previous to the publication of general Dundas' work on military tactics, the military manœuvres of the army were regulated by each succeeding commander-in-chief; while even the manual exercise of the soldier varied with the fancy of the commanding officer of the regiment. The disadvantages attending so irregular a system is obvious; for when two regiments were brought into the same garrison or camp, they could not act together until a temporary uniformity of exercise had been established. To remedy these defects in our tactics, his majesty, George III., to whom general Dundas' work was dedicated, ordered regulations to be drawn up from his book, for the use of the army; and accordingly in June, 1792, a system was promulgated, under the title of "Rules and Regulations for the formations, field-exercises, and movements of his Majesty's forces; with an injunction that the system should be strictly followed and adhered to, without any deviation whatsoever: and such orders as are formed to interfere with, or counteract their effects or operation, are considered hereby cancelled and annulled." "The Rules and Regulations for the Cavalry" were also planned by general Dundas. It is therefore to him that we are indebted for the first and most important steps which were taken to bring the British army to that high state of discipline which now renders it the most efficient army in Europe.

At the commencement of the late war, general Dundas was put on the staff, and in autumn 1793, he was sent out to command a body of troops at Toulon. While on this service, he was selected to lead a force ordered to dislodge the French from the heights of Arenes, which commanded the town; and although he succeeded in driving the enemy from their batteries, still the French were too strong for the number of British employed in the service, and he was ultimately driven back; and Toulon being consequently deemed untenable, lord Hood judged it prudent to embark the troops and sail for Corsica. Soon after the expedition had effected a landing in that island, some misunderstanding having arisen between general Dundas and admiral Hood, the former returned home.

General Dundas immediately returned to the continent, and served under the duke of York in Holland; and in the brilliant action of the 10th of May, 1794, at Tournay, he greatly distinguished himself. During the unfortunate retreat of the British army, which ended in the evacuation of the Dutch territory, general Dundas acted with much skill and great gallantry, and on the return of general Harcourt to England, the command of the British army devolved upon him. Having wintered in the neighbourhood of Bremen, he embarked the remnant of the British forces on board the fleet on the 14th of April, 1795, and returned home.

In December, 1795, general Dundas was removed from the command of the 22d foot, to that of the 7th dragoons. He was also appointed governor of Languard-fort, and on the resignation of general Morrison, he was nominated quarter-master-general of the British army.

In the expedition to Holland in the year 1799, general Dundas was one of the general officers selected by the commander-in-chief; and he had his full share in the actions of that unfortunate campaign. On the death of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, general Dundas succeeded him in the command of the 2d North British dragoons, and also in the government of Forts George and Augustus. In the summer of 1801, he was second in command of the fine army of 25,000 men, which assembled in Bagshot heath; and made uncommon exertions to bring it to the high state of discipline which it displayed on the day it was reviewed before his majesty, George III., and the royal family.

On the 12th of March, 1803, he resigned the quarter-master-generalship, and was put on the staff as second in command under the duke of York, when his majesty invested him with the riband of the order of the Bath. In the year 1804, he was appointed governor of Chelsea Hospital, and on the 1st June of that year, he, along with many others, was installed as a knight of the Bath in Henry VII.'s chapel. On the 18th of March, 1809, he succeeded the duke of York as commander-in-chief of the forces, which high appointment he held for two years. He was made a member of the privy council and colonel of the 95th regiment. The last of the many marks of royal favour conferred on him, was the colonelcy of the 1st dragoon guards.

General Dundas died on the 18th of February, 1820, and was succeeded in his estates by his nephew, Sir Robert Dundas of Beechwood, Bart.

Dundas, the right honourable Henry, viscount Melville and baron Dunira, was born in the year 1741. He was the son of the first, and brother to the second, Robert Dundas of Arniston, each of whom held the high office of lord president of the court of session. His father's family, as has been mentioned in the notice of Sir James Dundas of Arniston, derived their origin from the very ancient family of Dundas of Dundas; his mother was the daughter of Sir ——— Gordon of Invergordon, Bart. After receiving the preliminary branches of education at the high school and university of Edinburgh, and having gone through the usual course of legal study, Mr Dundas was admitted a member of the faculty of advocates in the year 1763. It is related of him that after paying the expenses of his education and his admission to the faculty, he had just sixty pounds of his patrimony remaining. He commenced his professional career in chambers situated at the head of the Flesh-market close of Edinburgh; and such was the moderate accommodation of Scottish lawyers in those days, that his rooms did not even front the High street. The meanness of his apartments, however, is to be attributed rather to the habits of the times, and the state of Edinburgh, than to pecuniary obstacles, or to any distrust of success; for the member of a family so well connected in the country, and so highly distinguished in the courts before which Mr Dundas proposed to practise, enjoyed every advantage which a young lawyer could have desired as an introduction to his profession. In Mr Dundas these recommendations were happily combined with great talents and persevering application to business; so that, although he did not resist the temptations to gayety and dissipation which beset him, he on no occasion allowed the pursuit of pleasure or amusement, to interfere with the due discharge of his professional duties. Nor did he lose any opportunity which presented itself of cultivating his oratorical powers. With that view he early availed himself of the opening afforded for that species of display, in the annual sittings of the general assembly of the church of Scotland. As a

lay member of that venerable body, Mr Dundas gave a foretaste of that manly eloquence and address, which in after life rendered him the able coadjutor of Mr Pitt in the management of the house of commons during a period of unexampled difficulty.

The first official appointment which Mr Dundas held, was that of one of the assessors to the magistrates of the city of Edinburgh. He was afterwards depute-advocate, that is, one of the three or four barristers who, by delegation from the lord advocate, prepare indictments, attend criminal trials, both in Edinburgh and on the circuits of the high court of justiciary; and in general, discharge, under the lord advocate, his function of public prosecutor. The office of solicitor general for Scotland, was the next step in Mr Dundas' promotion; and with regard to this part of his career it is sufficient to observe, that his sound judgment, sagacity, and prompt discernment as a lawyer, obtained for his pleadings the respect and attention of the ablest judges on the bench, (no small praise, considering the manner in which the bench of the court of session was at that time occupied,) and held out to him the certainty of the highest honours of the profession in Scotland, had he limited his ambition to that object.

To the high estimation in which Mr Dundas was held, at a period comparatively early in life, lord Kames bears flattering testimony in the dedication to his "Elucidations of the common and statute law of Scotland." That dedication is dated in 1777, and the following are the terms in which this distinguished lawyer and philosopher addresses Mr Dundas:—"Though law has been my chief employment in a long and laborious life, I can, however, address my young friend without even a blush, requesting his patronage to this little work. As in some instances it pretends to dissent from established practice, I know few men, young or old, who have your candour to make truth welcome against their own prepossessions; still fewer who have your talents to make it triumph over the prepossession of others." Mr Boswell, the biographer of Johnson, furnishes another contemporary account of Mr Dundas as a Scottish barrister, which is equally laudatory. In reference to the celebrated case of Knight, the negro, who claimed his freedom as a consequence of setting his foot on the soil of Scotland, Mr Boswell, writing also under the date of 1777, mentions that Mr Dundas had volunteered his aid to Knight. The leading lawyers were retained on both sides, and exerted themselves to the uttermost, and the following is Mr Boswell's account of the impression made on him by Mr Dundas' eloquence: "Mr Dundas' Scottish accent, which has been so often in vain obtruded as an objection to his powerful abilities in parliament, was no disadvantage to him in his own country. And I do declare, that upon this memorable question, he impressed me, and I believe all his audience, with such feelings as were produced by some of the most eminent orations of antiquity. This testimony I liberally give to the excellence of an old friend, with whom it has been my lot to differ very widely upon many political topics; yet I persuade myself, without malice, a great majority of the lords of session decided for the negro"—*Boswell's Johnson*, vol. iii. p. 206.

We have now reached a stage of Mr Dundas' life, at which he may be almost said to have taken leave of the Scottish bar, and of law as a profession, and to have entered on a scene where objects of still higher ambition presented themselves. In 1774, he stood candidate for the county of Edinburgh in the general election of that year, and was returned in opposition to the ministerial influence. But he soon joined the party then in power, and became a strenuous supporter of lord North's administration. He frequently spoke in the house of commons, and notwithstanding the disadvantages of an ungraceful manner, and

a provincial accent, he was always listened to with attention, on account of the clearness of his statements and the weight of his arguments. As a reward for his services, he was, in 1775, appointed lord advocate of Scotland, on the elevation of Sir James Montgomery to the office of lord chief baron; and in 1777, he obtained the sinecure appointment of keeper of the king's signet for Scotland.

The lord advocate holds the highest political office in Scotland, and is always expected to have a seat in parliament, where he discharges something resembling the duties of secretary of state for that quarter of the kingdom. And Mr Dundas, from the time of his obtaining this appointment, appears to have devoted his chief attention to public business and party politics. The contentions among political parties ran very high towards the close of lords North's administration; but supported by the king, that nobleman was long enabled to hold out against the unpopularity occasioned by the disastrous progress of the American war, aggravated by the eloquent invectives of an opposition, perhaps the most talented which any British ministry ever encountered. The result of the unfortunate campaign of 1781, however, compelled lord North to resign. Mr Dundas had supported his administration; but at the same time, by maintaining a cautious forbearance during this arduous struggle for power, he ingratiated himself with all parties. Nor is it uninteresting to observe the manner in which at this period he met the opposition of Mr Pitt, then a young man, in his twenty-first year; but who, even at that early age, was so remarkably gifted, that a man of Mr Dundas' penetration was at no loss to foresee and to predict his speedy rise to the highest political distinction. We quote from Tomline's life of that great statesman. "The lord advocate, (Mr Dundas) who had been a uniform supporter of the American war, and was one of the ablest debaters in favour of the administration, replied to Mr Pitt. After adverting, in general terms, to several persons who had taken part in the debate, he proceeded thus, with a sort of prophetic eulogy—'The honourable gentleman who spoke last, claims my particular approbation. I am unwilling to say to that honourable gentleman's face, what truth would exact from me were he absent; but even now, however unusual it may be, I must declare, that I find myself impelled to rejoice in the good fortune of my country, and my fellow subjects, who are destined, at some future day, to derive the most important services from so happy a union of first-rate abilities, high integrity, bold and honest independency of conduct, and the most persuasive eloquence.'"

When the fall of lord North's administration became certain, Mr Dundas' knowledge of public business, and his intimate acquaintance with the state of the nation, rendered him a most valuable accession to the new administration. He held no office, however, except that of lord advocate under the Rockingham ministry; but the dissensions in the cabinet which followed the death of lord Rockingham, and the promotion of lord Shelburne to the premiership, made way for Mr Dundas, who, in 1782, was appointed treasurer of the Navy. The administration under which he thus accepted office was however speedily displaced by the celebrated coalition administration; on the formation of which Mr Dundas resigned, and became the able coadjutor of Mr Pitt, in his opposition to the measures proposed by Mr Fox and lord North. At that time public attention was turned very much to India, in the hope apparently, that in that quarter of the globe the country might find something to counterbalance the loss of our American colonies. The complaints of misgovernment in India were very loud. The British conquests in that country were at the same time rapidly extending; and, at last, the dissensions in the supreme council of Bengal rendered it necessary to bring the subject before parliament. In April,

1782, on the motion of lord North, a secret committee was appointed to inquire into the causes of the war in India, and the unfavourable state of the company's affairs. Of this committee Mr Dundas (who had previously rendered himself remarkable in parliament for his intimate acquaintance with the affairs of India) was appointed chairman. His reports, extending to several folio volumes, were drawn up with great ability and precision, and contained a mass of authentic and important information concerning the transactions of the company and their servants, both at home and abroad, of the very highest value. These reports Mr Dundas followed up by a "Bill for the better regulation and government of the British possessions in India, and for the preservation and security thereof." But the ministry having intimated their intention to oppose this measure, and to introduce one of their own, Mr Dundas did not attempt to carry it through the House; and in November, 1783, the ministerial pledge was redeemed by the introduction of Mr Fox's famous East India bill.

It is foreign to the purpose of the present memoir to inquire into the merits or demerits of this celebrated bill. It met, as is well known, the uncompromising opposition of Mr Pitt and Mr Dundas. Nevertheless it passed the house of commons, by large majorities, and would also have been carried through the house of lords, but for the firmness of the king, which led, of course, to the resignation of lord North and Mr Fox; when Mr Pitt was called to the helm of affairs. On first taking office this great statesman had to contend against a majority of the house of commons, and in this arduous struggle he was most powerfully aided by Mr Dundas, who led the ministerial party in the house of commons during the temporary absence of Mr Pitt prior to his re-election, after his acceptance of the chancellorship of the exchequer. This extraordinary contest between the ministers and parliament was terminated by the general election of 1784. In the new parliament Mr Pitt had a decided majority; and very soon after its meeting he introduced his India bill. The introduction of that measure was also preceded by a select committee, of which Mr Dundas was chairman; and although the new bill was not liable to the strong objections which had been urged against that of Mr Fox, it nevertheless encountered a very serious opposition, and might have been greatly obstructed or mutilated in its progress, but for the assistance of Mr Dundas. His intimate acquaintance with Indian affairs, and his skill and dexterity as a debater, were invaluable to government, and contributed, in no inconsiderable degree, to neutralize, or overcome, the opposition of the East India Company, and ultimately to carry the bill triumphantly through parliament.

We have Dr Tomline's testimony to the valuable assistance rendered by Mr Dundas at that time. "Though the whole business of the nation," (says he, talking of Mr Pitt), "rested upon him, as the sole minister in the house of commons, it would be injustice not to mention, that he had a most able adviser and supporter in Mr Dundas, who had been accustomed to take an active part in parliament during lord North's administration, and who now exerted his vigorous understanding and manly powers of debate, in a manner highly useful to Mr Pitt. On him he could always rely as ready to argue judiciously, and with effect, any point which might be brought into discussion; and the particular attention which Mr Dundas had for many years given to the affairs of India, enabled him to render Mr Pitt the most essential service, in arranging and carrying through parliament his plan for the future government of that important part of the British empire."—*Life of Mr Pitt*, vol. i. p. 567.

Mr Dundas had been restored to his office of treaurer of the navy, immediately on the formation of Mr Pitt's administration; and on the passing of the East India bill he was also appointed president of the board of control. As

treasurer of the navy Mr Dundas' services were in the highest degree beneficial. His arrangements for the disbursement of the money appropriated to this branch of the public service, substituted order and economy in the place of perplexity and profusion. He, at the same time, provided for greater promptitude in the payment of the seamen's wages; and, in order to render the service still more attractive, he introduced and carried through parliament, various measures calculated to improve the condition and increase the comforts of the seamen in the royal navy. In particular, he got an act passed for preventing the passing of forged instruments. By this act, the wills and powers of attorney, executed by seamen, were required to be counter-signed by the officers of the port at which they were dated, and thus a check was given to numerous frauds against the families of sailors who were either absent or who had fallen in the service of their country. He also introduced a bill which was afterwards passed, empowering seamen, to make over half their pay to their wives and families. By these and other reforms which he effected in the naval department, Mr Dundas, while he greatly increased the efficacy of the navy, showed a humane consideration for those engaged in the service, which is at this day gratefully remembered by many members of that profession, who can speak from their own experience of their obligations to one who was most justly called "the sailor's friend." Among the measures introduced by Mr Dundas while he held the treasurership of the navy, was the act for the regulation of the money destined for the service of the navy. Previously the salary of the treasurer of the navy was £2000 per annum; but the perquisites attached to the office, and particularly the command of the public money, added greatly to the emoluments. In order to prevent the risk, profusion, and irregularity inseparable from such a system, Mr Dundas' bill fixed the salary at £4000, and prohibited the treasurer from making any private or individual use of the public money. It was in consequence of a supposed violation of this statute, that Mr Dundas, at a later period of his life, was exposed to much unmerited obloquy, and made the subject of a public inquiry, to which we shall have occasion more particularly to advert in the sequel.

In the session of 1784, Mr Dundas introduced his bill for restoring the estates in Scotland, forfeited on account of the rebellion of 1745. The expediency of this measure as a means of conciliating the inhabitants of the northern part of the island, and reconciling them to the reigning family was manifest; still it was necessary, for obvious reasons, so far to cover the true motive, and to represent the boon as a reward to the people of Scotland for the services which they had rendered in the armies of the country, during the recent wars. And such accordingly was the tone taken by the supporters of the measure.[1]

As president of the board of control, Mr Dundas' services were no less beneficial to the country. His sound judgment and remarkable business talents, combined with his intimate acquaintance with the complicated and multifarious details of the East India company's affairs, enabled him to simplify and reduce to order what had been previously an absolute chaos. Hence, also, in parlia-

[1] It was in the course of the debates on this bill that Mr Dundas introduced a passage from a speech of the great lord Chatham, which may not seem altogether out of place here, not only on account of its intrinsic merit and pertinency, but also as indicative of the superiority of that great man's mind to those national prejudices which are happily now wearing out, but which, in those days, were openly avowed in very high quarters. "I am," said lord Chatham, "above all local prejudices, and care not whether a man has been rocked in a cradle in this, or on the other side of the Tweed: I sought only for merit, and I found it in the mountains of the north. I there found a hardy race of men, able to do their country service; but labouring under a proscription. I called them forth to her aid, and sent them to fight her battles. They did not disappoint my expectations: for their fidelity could only be equalled by their valour, which signalized their own and their country's renown, all over the world."

ment, he was at all times prepared to give the requisite explanations, and to furnish full information concerning Indian matters; while it was his constant endeavour to collect, and to avail himself of the information and suggestions which his situation placed at his command, in order to introduce those reforms in the company's administration which the rapid extension of their possessions in that quarter of the world rendered necessary. It was with this view, that, in the session of 1786, Mr Dundas carried a bill through parliament for effecting certain modifications and improvements in Mr Pitt's India bill. In the same session Mr Burke originated those discussions which terminated in the impeachment of Mr Hastings. It is now well known that, on that occasion, the exuberant and inexhaustible eloquence of Mr Burke, was, without his being aware of it, to a certain extent made subservient, not only to party purposes, but to the gratification of the private animosity of Mr Francis. We can now look back dispassionately and with sympathy to the unmerited and protracted sufferings to which Mr Hastings was subjected; but, during the progress of the investigation, truth as well as justice were lost sight of, amidst the splendid declamation of some of the greatest orators who ever appeared in parliament. Even Mr Dundas seems to have yielded to the prevailing delusion; for although he uniformly opposed himself to the spirit of persecution which characterized the proceedings of the accusers, and ultimately defeated their object, he made no attempt to vindicate Mr Hastings from those charges, which, when stript of rhetorical and oriental embellishments, were found to be either entirely groundless, or such as admitted of explanations not only reconcileable with Mr Hastings' innocence, but which actually exhibited him as at once the benefactor of the natives, and as one who, by the vigour and wisdom of his administration, had contributed more than any of his predecessors to the extension and consolidation of the company's possessions in India.

After taking part with Mr Pitt in the debates on the regency question, during the king's illness in 1788, the next prominent feature in Mr Dundas' public life, was his steady and determined opposition to the pernicious principles of the French revolution. In that memorable struggle in which the salvation of this country was attributable chiefly to the energy and firmness of Mr Pitt, the minister, as usual, found in Mr Dundas his most able and cordial coadjutor. In 1791, he was appointed principal secretary of state for the home department, and thus became a member of the cabinet. He, at the same time, retained his other appointments; and yet, such was his aptitude for business, and his unwearied application to his official duties, that the three important departments committed to him, never were in a state of greater efficiency. Many of the most approved public measures originated with, or were directly promoted by him. Among those were the formation of the fencible regiments, the supplementary militia, the volunteer corps, and the provisional cavalry. The whole, in short, of that domestic military force which, during the war, consequent on the French revolution, was raised and kept in readiness as a defence at once against foreign invasion and internal disturbance, was projected and organized under the direction of Mr Dundas. To him also we owe the improved system of distributing the army throughout the country in barracks and garrisons, by which, in times of commercial distress and political agitation, the most prompt protection to the lives and property of the inhabitants might be afforded. On the accession of the duke of Portland and his party to the ministry, in 1793, it was thought advisable to appoint a third secretary of state, rather than remove Mr Dundas from the superintendence of the military system which he had brought into operation. Accordingly, while the duke of Portland took the home secretaryship, Mr Dundas, in 1794, was nominated secretary of state for the war department.

At this time he also held the office of keeper of the privy seal of Scotland, and governor of the bank of Scotland; still retaining the presidency of the board of control and the treasurership of the navy,—which last office he continued to hold until May, 1800; his other political offices he held until his resignation along with Mr Pitt, in 1801.

While in the house of commons, Mr Dundas represented first the county, and afterwards the city of Edinburgh. He sat for the county from 1774, to 1787, and for the city, from the latter year, until 1802, when he was raised to the peerage. And during the whole course of his official life he was considered as virtually the minister of Scotland. He had what is called the political patronage of that quarter of the kingdom; and so acted, as well in the discharge of his various public duties, as in the distribution of the favours of government, that he attached to himself, and to the administration of which he formed a part, the great majority of the men of rank, property, and influence in that country. It has been objected to him, that in the exercise of this patronage he looked too exclusively to his own political partisans; but in justice to him, it must never be forgotten, that he held office in times when the acrimony of his opponents (to say nothing of the dangerous principles avowed by some of them) put conciliation entirely out of the question; and besides, the charge is to a great extent unjust; for on his trial it was admitted, even by his bitterest enemies, that in disposing of appointments in the navy and army he was remarkable for his impartiality and indifference to party distinctions. Nor is it possible to overlook the fact, that the political party by whom this charge has been brought against Mr Dundas, have always been proverbial for their own adherence to the practice they are so ready to condemn in him.

When Mr Pitt retired from office in 1801, previous to the peace of Amiens, Mr Dundas followed his example. On that occasion he laid before parliament a very favourable statement of the condition in which the East India company's affairs then were; and although his opponents did not fail to cavil at his views, yet all parties concurred in expressing the highest approbation of the manner in which Mr Dundas had discharged his duty as president of the board of control. The court of directors were disposed to award him more substantial marks of their gratitude; but finding that he had resolved to decline any pecuniary remuneration, they conferred a pension of £2000 per annum, on Mrs Dundas. About the same time the town council of Edinburgh testified their sense of his merit, by resolving, at an extraordinary meeting called for the purpose, that a subscription should be opened for the erection of a statue of him as a tribute of gratitude for his lengthened and eminent public services.

In the year 1802, the Addington administration raised Mr Dundas to the peerage by the titles of viscount of Melville, in the county of Edinburgh, and baron of Dunira, in the county of Perth. On this event, the town council of Edinburgh again came forward, and in a letter addressed to him by the lord provost, in the name of the council, expressed their attachment to him and his family; their admiration of his talents; and their gratitude for the many services which he had rendered to his country, and particularly to the city of Edinburgh. This address lord Melville answered in person, taking occasion, in a speech delivered at a meeting of the town council, to touch on various interesting topics, and, in particular, to bring under their notice one of the practical blessings of the British constitution, of which his own life afforded a very striking example. "Having mentioned the constitution under which we have the happiness to live," said his lordship, "I trust I shall not be thought to deviate very far from the object of my present address, if I presume to trouble you with one observation, re-

sulting from the situation in which I am now placed. I will not trouble you with any of the particulars of the outset of my life; they are too well known to need any detail from me. I content myself with barely alluding to them. It has pleased Providence to bless my family with success beyond my most sanguine expectations: while we, therefore, continue to resist the pernicious effects of these frantic principles of ideal equality, incompatible with the government of the world, and the just order of human society, let us rejoice in those substantial blessings, the result of real freedom and of equal laws, which open to the fair ambition of every British subject the means of pursuing with success those objects of honour, and those situations of power, the attainment of which, in other countries, rest solely upon a partial participation of personal favour, and the enjoyment of which rests upon the precarious tenure of arbitrary power. It is impossible to look round to any quarter without seeing splendid examples of the truth of this remark."

On Mr Pitt resuming the premiership in 1804, lord Melville was appointed first lord of the admiralty; but this important office he did not long enjoy. The earl of St Vincent, his predecessor at the head of the admiralty, had obtained the appointment of a commission of inquiry to investigate certain suspected abuses in the naval department of the public service. That commission, in their tenth report, implicated lord Melville, while he held the treasurership of the navy, in a breach of the statute which he had himself introduced in 1785; whereby the treasurer of the navy was prohibited from converting to his own use or emolument, any part of the public money voted for the service of the navy. This report led to an unsatisfactory correspondence between lord Melville and the commissioners; and on the 8th of April, 1805, Mr Whitbread brought the matter under the notice of the house of commons. After a speech full of violent invective, that gentleman moved thirteen resolutions, to the effect generally, that lord Melville had been guilty of gross malversation, and breach of duty, in so far as he had misapplied or misdirected certain sums of public money, and had also in violation of the act of parliament, retained in his possession, or authorized his confidential agent, Mr Alexander Trotter, who held the office of paymaster of the navy, to retain, and to speculate in the funds, and discount private bills with the balances of the public money, voted for the service of the navy, in the profits of which transactions lord Melville had participated. Mr Pitt, after an eloquent and able defence of lord Melville, concluded by moving as an amendment, that the tenth report be referred to a select committee of the house. He was replied to by lord Henry Petty, now lord Lansdowne, Mr Fox, and other leading members of the whig party; and the result was, that in a very full house (433), the original resolutions were carried by the speaker's casting vote.

The debate was then adjourned to the 10th of April, 1805, on which day Mr Pitt announced to the house on its meeting, that in consequence of the vote of the former evening, lord Melville had resigned the office of first lord of the admiralty. Mr Whitbread then delivered another vituperative speech, and concluded by moving that an address should be presented to the king, praying that lord Melville might be dismissed "from all offices held by him during pleasure, and from his majesty's council and presence for ever." Mr Canning, who at that time held the office of treasurer of the navy, deprecated the rancour with which the whig party were proceeding.—He contrasted their conduct with that of lord Melville himself, when lord Grey and the earl of St Vincent were on their trial before the house, under similar circumstances, upon which occasion, lord Melville, although the political opponent of these noblemen, had strenuously defended them; while he, "so far from experiencing equal generosity,

was now persecuted and hunted down; and by whom? by the friends of lord Grey and earl St Vincent! He congratulated the gentlemen on their sense, true spirit, and virtue; and prayed God Almighty to forbid that he should ever imitate their example." The debate concluded by a vote that a copy of the resolutions of the 8th of April should be laid before his majesty by the whole house. Some discussion afterwards took place as to the ulterior measures to be adopted against lord Melville and Mr Trotter, in the course of which, the same extraordinary acrimony was displayed; and on the 6th of May, Mr Pitt intimated that his majesty had been advised, in deference to the prevailing sense of the house, to strike the name of lord Melville out of the list of the privy council, and that accordingly, it would be erased, on the first day on which a council should be held. In making this communication, Mr Pitt appeared to be deeply affected; but no sympathy was shown on the opposition benches. On the contrary, it is impossible to deny, that relentless exultation over the expected downfall of an illustrious public servant, and a total disregard for the feelings of his friend the premier, were too prominently manifested by the whig party, on that, as on every other occasion on which this painful subject was before the house.

On the 11th of June, the speaker stated that he had received a letter from lord Melville, announcing his readiness to attend and be examined relative to the tenth report. He was thereupon admitted, and a chair placed for him within the bar; when he entered upon a concise vindication of his conduct; declaring his entire ignorance of Mr Trotter's speculations with the public money, either in the funds, or as a private banker; denied all connivance at the violation of the statute 25th George III., relative to the money voted to the navy; and solemnly asserted, that on no occasion whatever, had he authorized Mr Trotter to draw money from the bank for his own private emolument;—the only object in allowing him to lodge money with private bankers having been to facilitate the public payments. In short, lord Melville gave those explanations of his conduct which were afterwards triumphantly established on his trial, by evidence. But, as may be easily believed, they did not, at this time, satisfy his opponents; and after a protracted debate, and more than one division adverse to the whig party, it was at last resolved, that the mode of procedure should be by impeaching his lordship at the bar of the house of lords, of high crimes and misdemeanours. On the 26th of June, a committee of twenty-one members was appointed to prepare articles of impeachment:—Mr Whitbread's name being placed at the head. Among the members of this committee were Mr Fox, Mr Grey (now earl Grey), Mr Sheridan, lord Archibald Hamilton, and other leaders of the party. The committee on the 4th of March, 1806, made a report to the house, of certain new information which had come to their knowledge; and the result of the debate which ensued, was an additional article of impeachment. To this new article lord Melville was of course allowed to put in a replication; and the preliminaries being at length adjusted, the house of lords fixed the 29th of April, 1806, for the trial.

This imposing exhibition was conducted with the customary pomp and solemnity. Westminster hall was, as usual, fitted up for the occasion; and the nobility, including the princes of the blood, having taken their places in the full robes of their respective ranks, this tribunal, the most august and venerable in the world, proceeded to the discharge of their high duty. The articles of impeachment resolved into ten charges, of which the following is the substance.—1. That lord Melville, while treasurer of the navy, prior to January, 1786, fraudulently applied to his own use, or at least mis-directed, and would not explain how, £10,000, of the money which came into his hands as treasurer of

the navy.—2. That, in violation of the act of parliament already mentioned, he permitted Mr Trotter to draw large sums from the money issued to the treasurer for the use of the navy, and to place it in the banking house of Messrs Coutts and Co. in his (Mr Trotter's) own name.—3. That while he held the office of treasurer of the navy, and after the passing of the foresaid act, he permitted Mr Trotter to draw large sums of money from the treasurer's public account, kept with the bank of England, under the said statute, and to place those sums in Mr Trotter's individual account with Coutts and Co., for purposes of private emolument.—4. That after the 10th of January, 1786, and while treasurer of the navy, he fraudulently, and illegally, and for his own private advantage, or emolument, took from the public money, set apart for the use of the navy, £10,000; and that he and Mr Trotter, by mutual agreement, destroyed the vouchers of an account current kept between them, in order to conceal the advances of money made by Mr Trotter to him, and the account or considerations on which such advances were made.—5. That whilst Mr Trotter was thus illegally using the public money, he made, in part therefrom, several large advances to lord Melville, and destroyed the vouchers, as aforesaid, in order to conceal the fact.—6. That in particular, he received an advance of £22,000, without interest, partly from the public money, illegally in Mr Trotter's hands, and partly from Mr Trotter's own money in the hands of Messrs Coutts, and destroyed the vouchers as aforesaid.—7. That he received an advance of £22,000 from Mr Trotter, for which, as alleged by himself, he was to pay interest; for concealing which transaction the vouchers were destroyed as aforesaid.—8. That during all, or the greater part of the time that he was treasurer, and Mr Trotter paymaster of the navy, Mr Trotter gratuitously transacted his (lord Melville's) private business, as his agent, and from time to time advanced him from £10,000, to £20,000, taken partly from the public money, and partly from Mr Trotter's own money, lying mixed together indiscriminately in Messrs Coutts' hands; whereby lord Melville derived profit from Mr Trotter's illegal acts.—9. That Mr Trotter so acted gratuitously as lord Melville's agent, in consideration of his connivance at the foresaid illegal appropriations of the public money; nor could Mr Trotter, as lord Melville knew, have made such advances otherwise than from the public money at his disposal by his lordship's connivance, and with his permission.—10. That lord Melville, while treasurer of the navy, at divers times between the years 1782, and 1786, took from the moneys paid to him as treasurer of the navy, £27,000, or thereabouts, which sum he illegally applied to his own use, or to some purpose other than the service of the navy; and continued this fraudulent and illegal conversion of the public money, after the passing of the act for regulating the office of treasurer of the navy.

The charges, of which the above is an abstract, having been read, Mr Whitbread, as leading manager for the house of commons, opened the case in an elaborate speech, in which he detailed, and commented on, the evidence which the managers proposed to adduce. This was followed by the examination of witnesses in support of the several charges; the chief witness being Mr Trotter himself, in whose favour an act of indemnity had been passed, in order to qualify him to give his testimony with safety. The examination of the witnesses in support of the charges occupied nearly nine days. On the tenth day of the trial, Sir Samuel Romilly, one of the managers, gave a summary of what, as he maintained, had been proved. He was followed by Mr Plomer, the leading counsel for lord Melville, who opened the defence in a speech of distinguished ability, the delivery of which occupied two days. The substance of the defence was, that lord Melville, so far from being accessory to, or conniving at, Mr Trotter's appropriation of the public money, was entirely ignorant of these irre-

gular practices. As to the £10,000, it was admitted to have been diverted from the service of the navy, and used in another department of the public service, but this was prior to the passing of the foresaid act, when such a proceeding was perfectly lawful and customary; and at any rate, no part of that sum was applied either directly or indirectly to the individual profit or advantage of lord Melville. Mr Plomer farther showed, that lord Melville had been remarkable during his whole life for his carelessness about money, and for his superiority to all mercenary motives—that while he held the office of treasurer of the navy, he had voluntarily relinquished the salary attached to the office of secretary of state, to the aggregate amount of £34,730, being a sum exceeding the whole of the public money which he was said to have misapplied—that if there had been any irregularity at all, it was imputable solely to Mr Trotter, and perhaps, to a slight degree of laxity on the part of lord Melville, whose attention was distracted by many engrossing and more important public duties. Witnesses were then called to prove that lord Melville had voluntarily relinquished, for the benefit of the public, £8,648, 13*s.* 2*d.*, in the home department, and £26,081, 7*s.* 5*d.* in the war department, making a total of £34,730, 0*s.* 7*d.*; and the case on the part of the defendant was then concluded by a very able speech from Mr Adam, now lord chief commissioner of the jury court in Scotland. Sir Arthur Piggot, on the part of the managers of the house of commons, replied at some length to the legal arguments of Messrs Plomer and Adam, and Mr Whitbread closed the case by a reply upon the evidence, in the course of which he resumed the invective and sarcasm against lord Melville, which had distinguished his opening speech, as well as all his speeches on this subject in the house of commons. It would seem, however, if we are to judge from the result, that either his sarcasm or his arguments had by this time lost their efficacy. After a few words from Mr Plomer, the peers adjourned, and having met again, after an interval of nearly a month, on the 10th of June, to determine on lord Melville's guilt or innocence, he was acquitted of every charge by triumphant majorities. On the 4th charge in particular, which concerned the sum of £10,000, alleged to have been applied by lord Melville for his own advantage or emolument, their lordships were unanimous in their acquittal; and in general the majorities were very large on all the charges which imputed corrupt or fraudulent intentions to lord Melville. The votes on the several charges were as follow:—

	Guilty.	*Not Guilty.*	*Majority.*
First charge,	16	119	103
Second charge,	56	79	23
Third charge,	52	83	31
Fourth charge,	None	All	—
Fifth charge,	4	131	127
Sixth charge,	48	87	39
Seventh charge,	50	85	35
Eighth charge,	14	121	107
Ninth charge,	16	119	103
Tenth charge,	12	123	111

The dukes of York, Cumberland, and Cambridge, generally voted *not guilty*. The dukes of Clarence, Kent, and Sussex, *guilty*, except of the 4th charge. The lord chancellor, Erskine, generally voted with the dukes of Clarence, Kent, and Sussex. The prince of Wales was not present.

On looking back dispassionately to the whole of this proceeding, it is impossible not to be struck with the rancour with which it was characterized. Had lord Melville been a rapacious and mercenary peculator, enriching himself at

the public expense, or a vindictive political partisan, and otherwise undistinguished, we might have found some excuse for the uncompromising course adopted. But the reverse of all that was the fact. He was confessedly a generous and high-minded competitor in the great game of politics; incapable of pecuniary meanness—impoverished rather than enriched by his connexion with the state, and the consequent expense in which it involved him;—and above all, he was, by the admission even of his enemies, a most meritorious public servant, who, during a long and laborious official career, had conferred great and lasting benefits on his country. On this last point we can have no better testimony than that of Mr Whitbread himself, who, on this very trial, was constrained, in common justice, to admit,—"that, during the time lord Melville was treasurer of the navy, several most beneficial regulations took place in his office, and several acts were passed for the protection and defence of those who were before unprotected and defenceless. The widows and orphans of those gallant sons of the empire, who were fighting the battles of their country, were the objects of his peculiar care, and a number of lives were preserved by his prudent and generous interposition. However detestable the crime may be, it had been a common practice to forge the wills of those who fell in the defence of the state, and this atrocious conduct, and its pernicious consequences, have been, in a great degree, prevented by the salutary plans recommended by the defendant; for which he deserves the thanks of the British people." Mr Whitbread might easily have extended his eulogy to the defendant's public conduct as president of the board of control, as home secretary, as secretary of state for the war department, and finally to his patriotic exertions for the improvement of his native country of Scotland.

Yet such was the man, who, after having been held up to popular execration, in vague and declamatory speeches in parliament, was brought to his trial labouring not only under the odium and prejudice thus excited, but actually *punished before trial;* for it never can be forgotten, that his accusers, before attempting to prove the charges, in the proof of which they ultimately failed, and even before putting him on his trial, had declared him incapable of public trust, and had succeeded in getting his name erazed from the list of the privy council. In such circumstances of degradation and obloquy, with his cause to a certain extent prejudged, and almost overwhelmed by the weight and influence of his adversaries, his acquittal was indeed the triumph of justice, and a memorable encomium on the impartiality of the august tribunal before which the trial proceeded. Nor is it necessary for lord Melville's vindication from the graver charges to deny that he was guilty of a certain degree of negligence. Undoubtedly, amidst his multifarious public avocations, he was not so vigilant in scrutinizing Mr Trotter's money transactions, as in strictness he ought to have been. But such oversights are comparatively venial, and, in this instance, they were natural; for, even before lord Melville became treasurer of the navy, Mr Trotter was in a confidential public office. He afterwards rose by his own merits to a place of higher trust, and throughout, nothing had occurred to excite suspicion. Indeed, it is not the least remarkable feature of this prosecution, that it was never attempted to be shown, that the public had lost one farthing by the supposed delinquencies of lord Melville, or even by the admitted irregularities of Mr Trotter. To assert, however, that the investigation originated merely in factious or party motives, would be going beyond the truth; but perhaps it may be now said without offence, that the many disclamations of personal hostility, and the anxious professions of disinterested zeal for the public service, which the accusers were in the daily habit of repeating during the whole progress of the discussion, were found to be necessary, in order to counteract the

growing suspicion, that their zeal was stimulated by the prospect of supplanting, or at least displacing, a powerful and able political opponent, and perhaps paralysing the administration, of which he was so conspicuous a member.

The proceedings against lord Melville made a deep impression on Mr Pitt, who unfortunately did not survive to congratulate him on his acquittal. According to the author of the article "*Great Britain*," in the new edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica, Mr Pitt was thus deprived "of his only efficient coadjutor, at a time when, from the magnitude of his public cares, he was more than ever in want of support. The consequent fatigue and anxiety made severe inroads on a constitution naturally not strong. His indisposition became apparent in the early part of the winter, and, on the meeting of parliament, it was understood to have reached a dangerous height. His (Mr Pitt's) death took place on the 23d January, 1806."

Soon after his acquittal, lord Melville was restored to his place in the privy council; but although the whig administration which was in power at the end of the trial, resigned within a few months, he never returned to office. The loss of his friend, Mr Pitt, and his own advanced age, rendered him little anxious to resume public life; and thenceforward he lived chiefly in retirement; taking part only occasionally in the debates of the house of lords. One of his last appearances was made in the year 1810, when he brought forward a motion recommending the employment of armed vessels, instead of hired transports, for the conveyance of troops. His death, which was very sudden, took place in Edinburgh, on the 27th of May, 1811. He died in the house of his nephew, lord chief baron Dundas, in George Square; having come to Edinburgh, it is believed, to attend the funeral of his old friend, lord president Blair, who had been himself cut off no less suddenly, a few days before, and who lay dead in the house adjoining that in which lord Melville expired.

Lord Melville's person was tall, muscular, and well formed. His features were strongly marked, and the general expression of his face indicated high intellectual endowments, and great acuteness and sagacity. In public life, he was distinguished by his wonderful capacity for business; by unwearied attention to his numerous official duties; and by the manliness and straightforwardness of his character. He was capable of great fatigue; and, being an early riser, he was enabled to get through a great deal of business before he was interrupted by the bustle of official details, or the duties of private society. As a public speaker he was clear, acute, and argumentative; with the manner of one thoroughly master of his subject, and desirous to convince the understanding without the aid of the ornamental parts of oratory; which he seemed, in some sort, to despise.

In private life his manner was winning, agreeable, and friendly, with great frankness and ease. He was convivial in his habits, and, in the intercourse of private life, he never permitted party distinctions to interfere with the cordiality and kindness of his disposition; hence, it has been truly said, that whig and tory agreed in loving him; and that he was always happy to oblige those in common with whom he had any recollections of good humoured festivity. But perhaps the most remarkable peculiarity in his character, was his intimate and familiar acquaintance with the actual state of Scotland, and its inhabitants, and all their affairs. In Edinburgh, in particular, there was no person of consideration whose connections and concerns were not known to him. Amongst the anecdotes told of him, there is one which strikingly illustrates the natural kindness of his disposition, while, at the same time, it discloses one of the sources of his popularity. It is said, that, to the latest period of his life, whenever he came to Edinburgh, he made a point of visiting all the old ladies with whom

he had been acquainted in his early days; climbing, for this purpose, with unwearying steps some of the tallest staircases in the old town. He was sagacious in the discernment of merit, and on many occasions showed a disinterested anxiety to promote the success of those he thought deserving. His public duties left him little time for the cultivation of literary pursuits, even had he been so inclined; he frequently, however, proved himself a sincere but unostentatious patron of learning. In the earlier part of his life he enjoyed the esteem and friendship of Dr Robertson; and lived on habits of great intimacy with Dr Hugh Blair, on whom he conferred several preferments. On the death of Dr Robertson, he obtained the office of historiographer for Scotland for Dr Gillies, the historian of Greece, whose merit he fully appreciated. He also increased the number of the royal chaplains in Scotland from six to ten, thus adding one or two additional prizes to the scantily endowed church establishment of Scotland.

But lord Melville's great claim on the affection and gratitude of Scotsmen is founded on the truly national spirit with which he promoted their interest; and the improvement of their country, whenever opportunities presented themselves. We have seen of late a disposition to *provincialize* Scotland, (if we may so express ourselves,) and a sort of timidity amongst our public men, lest they should be suspected of showing any national predilections. Lord Melville laboured under no such infirmity. *Cæteris paribus* he preferred his own countrymen; and the number of Scotsmen who owed appointments in India and elsewhere to him, and afterwards returned to spend their fortunes at home, have contributed in no inconsiderable degree to the marked improvement on the face of the country which has taken place during the last fifty years. Neither did he overlook the interest of those who remained at home. The abolition of the public boards, courts, and other memorials, of the former independence of Scotland, had not occurred to the economists of lord Melville's day. He acted, therefore, on the exploded, although by no means irrational, notion, that the community, generally, would derive benefit from the expenditure of the various resident functionaries, at that time connected with our national establishments. In all this he may have been wrong, although there are many who are still at a loss to perceive the error; but however that may be, he must be but an indifferent Scotsman, be his political principles what they may, who can talk lightly of the debt which his country owes to lord Melville. Indeed it is well known, that during his life, the services which he had rendered to this part of the island, were readily acknowledged even by those who differed most widely from him on the general system of public policy in which he took so active a part.

The city of Edinburgh contains two public monuments to lord Melville's memory—the first, a marble statue, by Chantrey, which stands on a pedestal at the north end of the large hall of the parliament house. This statue, which is a remarkably fine specimen of the artist's skill, was erected at the expense of gentlemen of the Scottish bar, in testimony of their respect for one who had in early life, been so distinguished a member of their body. Among the subscribers are to be found the names of many gentlemen who differed in politics from lord Melville, but who esteemed him as a benefactor to his native country. The other monument is the column surmounted by a statue of his lordship, which adorns the centre of St Andrew Square. This fine pillar is copied from Trajan's column at Rome; with this difference, that the shaft, in place of being ornamented with sculpture, is fluted. The entire height of the column and pedestal is 136 feet 4 inches. The statue, which is of free-stone, and the work of Mr Forrest, formerly of Lanark, about 15 feet in height; giving a total altitude of about 150 feet. The expense of this erection was defrayed by

subscription, chiefly among gentlemen connected with the navy. The foundation stone was laid in April, 1821; the scaffolding removed in August, 1822, on the occasion of George IV.'s visit to Edinburgh, and the statue was put up in 1827. The architect was Mr William Burn of Edinburgh. Lord Melville was twice married; first to Miss Rannie, daughter of Captain Rannie of Melville, with whom he is said to have got a fortune of £100,000. Another of Captain Rannie's daughters was the wife of Mr Baron Cockburn of the Scottish court of exchequer, and mother to Henry Cockburn, Esq., now solicitor general for Scotland. Lord Melville's second wife was lady Jane Hope, daughter of John and sister to James, earl of Hopetoun. Of his first marriage there were three daughters and one son; of the second no issue. Lord Melville's landed property in Scotland consisted of Melville-castle in Mid-Lothian and Dunira in Perthshire. He was succeeded in his titles and estates by his only son, the right honourable Robert Dundas, the present lord Melville, who held the office of first lord of the admiralty under the administrations of the earl of Liverpool and of the duke of Wellington.

Lord Melville can hardly be said to have been an author, but he published the three subjoined political pamphlets, each of which was distinguished by his usual good sense and knowledge of business.[1]

DUNLOP, William, principal of the university of Glasgow, and an eminent public character at the end of the seventeenth century, was the son of Mr Alexander Dunlop, minister of Paisley, of the family of Auchenkeith, in Ayrshire, by Elizabeth, daughter of William Mure of Glanderston. One of his mother's sisters was married to the Rev. John Carstairs, and became the mother of the celebrated principal of the college of Edinburgh; another was the wife, successively of Mr Zachary Boyd, and Mr James Durham. Being thus intimately connected with the clergy, William Dunlop early chose the church as his profession. After completing his studies at the university of Glasgow, he became tutor in the family of William, lord Cochrane, and superintended the education of John, second earl of Dundonald, and his brother, William Cochrane of Kilmarnock. The insurrection of 1679 took place about the time when he became a licentiate, and he warmly espoused the views of the moderate party in that unfortunate enterprise. Though he was concerned in drawing up the Hamilton declaration, which embodied the views of his party, he appears to have escaped the subsequent vengeance of the government. Tired, however, like many others, of the hopeless state of things in his own country, he joined the emigrants who colonized the state of Carolina, and continued there till after the revolution, partly employed in secular, and partly in spiritual work. He had previously married his cousin, Sarah Carstairs. On returning to Scotland in 1690, he was, through the influence of the Dundonald family, presented to the parish of Ochiltree, and a few months after, had a call to the church of Paisley. Ere he could enter upon this charge, a vacancy occurred in the principality of the university of Glasgow, to which he was preferred by king William, November, 1690. Mr Dunlop's celebrity arises from the dignity and zeal with which he supported the interests of this institution. In 1692, he was an active member of the general correspondence of the Scottish universities, and in 1694, was one of a deputation sent by the church of Scotland, to congratulate the king on his return from the continent, and negotiate with his majesty certain affairs concerning the interest of the church. He seems to have participated considerably in the power and influence enjoyed by his distinguish-

[1] The substance of a speech in the house of commons, on the British government and trade in the East Indies, April 23, 1793, London, 1813, 8vo.—Letter to the chairman of the court of directors of the East India Company, upon an open trade to India, London, 1813, 8vo.—Letters to the right honourable Spenser Percival, relative to the establishment of a Naval Arsenal at Northfleet, London, 1810, 4to.

ed brother-in-law, Carstairs, which, it is well known, was of a most exalted, though irregular kind. In 1699, he acted as commissioner for all the five universities, in endeavouring to obtain some assistance for those institutions. He succeeded in securing a yearly grant of £1200 sterling, of which £300 was bestowed upon his own college. While exerting himself for the public, principal Dunlop regarded little his own immediate profit or advantage: besides his principalship, the situation of historiographer for Scotland, with a pension of £40 a year, is stated to have been all that he ever personally experienced of the royal bounty. He died in middle life, March, 1700, leaving behind him a most exalted character: "his singular piety," says Wodrow, with whom he was connected by marriage, "great prudence, public spirit, universal knowledge, general usefulness, and excellent temper, were so well known, that his death was as much lamented as perhaps any one man's in this church."

Principal Dunlop left two sons, both of whom were distinguished men. Alexander, who was born in America, and died in 1742, was an eminent professor of Greek in the Glasgow university, and author of a Greek Grammar long held in esteem. William was professor of divinity and church history in the university of Edinburgh, and published the well known collection of creeds and confessions, which appeared in 1719 and 1722 (two volumes), as a means of correcting a laxity of religious opinion, beginning at that time to be manifested by some respectable dissenters. To this work was prefixed an admirable essay on confessions, which has since been reprinted separately. Professor William Dunlop, after acquiring great celebrity, both as a teacher of theology and a preacher, died October 29th, 1720, at the early age of twenty-eight.

DUNS, John de, (Scotus,) that is, "John of Dunse, Scotsman," an eminent philosopher, was born in the latter part of the thirteenth century.

The thirteenth and part of the fourteenth centuries are distinguished, in the history of philosophy, as the *scholastic age*, in which the Aristotelian logic and metaphysics were employed, to an absurd and even impious degree, in demonstrating and illustrating the truths of the Holy Scriptures. Among the many scholars of Europe, who, during this period, perverted their talents in the exposition of preposterous dogmas and the defence of a false system of philosophy, John de Dunse, called the Subtle Doctor, was perhaps the most celebrated. So famous indeed was he held for his genius and learning, that England and Ireland have contended with Scotland for the honour of his birth. His name, however, seems to indicate his nativity beyond all reasonable dispute. Though convenience has induced general modern writers to adopt the term Scotus as his principal cognomen, it is evidently a signification of his native country alone; for Erigena, and other eminent natives of Scotland in early times, are all alike distinguished by it in their learned titles; these titles, be it observed, having been conferred in *foreign* seminaries of learning. *John of Dunse* points as clearly as possible to the town of that name in Berwickshire, where, at this day, a spot is pointed out as the place of his birth, and a branch of his family possessed, till the beginning of the last century, a small piece of ground, called in old writings, "Duns's Half of Grueldykes." Those who claim him as a native of England set forward the village of Dunstane in Northumberland as the place of his birth; but while the word *Dunse*[2] is exactly his name, Dunstane is not so, and therefore, without other proof, we must hold the English locality as a mere dream. The Irish claimants again say, that, as *Scotia* was the ancient name of Ireland, *Scotus* must have been an Irishman. But it happens that Scotland and Ireland bore their present

[2] It is a common story that the term *Dunce* is derived from the name of the philosopher, but in an oblique manner; a stupid student being termed *another Dunse*, on the same principle as a person of heavy intellect in general life is sometimes termed a *bright man*.

names from a period long antecedent to the birth of John de Dunse; and all over Europe, *Hibernus* and *Scotus* were distinguishing titles of Irishmen and Scotsmen. Independent, too, of the name, there are other testimonies concerning the native place of Scotus. In the earliest authentic record of him, preserved in his life by Wading, (an Irishman and advocate for Ireland), the following passage occurs, which represents him as a boy conducted by two friars to Dumfries, a town in a county almost adjoining that in which Dunse is situate:—"Some infer that the acute genius of Scotus was inborn. Father Ildephonsus Birzenus (*in Appar.* §. 2.) from Ferchius (*Vita Scoti*, c. 20.) and the latter from Gilbert Brown (*Hist. Eccles.*) relate, 'that Scotus, occupied on a farm, and, though the son of a rich man, employed in keeping sheep, according to the custom of his country, that youth may not become vicious from idleness, was met by two Franciscan friars, begging as usual for their monastery. Being favourably received by his father's hospitality, they begun to instruct the boy by the repetition of the Lord's prayer, as they found him ignorant of the principles of piety; and he was so apt a scholar as to repeat it at once. The friars, surprised at such docility, which they regarded as a prodigy, prevailed on the father, though the mother warmly and loudly opposed, to permit them to lead the boy to Dumfries, where he was soon after shorn as a novice, and presented to our holy father, St Francis; and some say that he then assumed the profession of a friar.' Such are the words of Birzenus." Another passage from the same authority is still more conclusive regarding the country of Scotus:—"Nor must a wonderful circumstance be omitted, which, with Birzenus, we transcribe from Ferchius (c. 5.), that we may obtain the greater credit. Hence it appears, that the Holy Virgin granted to Dunse innocence of life, modesty of manners, complete faith, continence, piety, and wisdom. That Paul might not be elated by great revelations, he suffered the blows of Satan; that the subtle doctor might not be inflated by the gifts of the mother of Christ, he was *forced to suffer the tribulation of captivity*, by a fierce enemy. Gold is tried by the furnace, and a just man by temptation. Edward I. king of England, called, from the length of his legs, *Long Shanks*, had cruelly invaded Scotland, leaving no monument of ancient majesty that he did not seize or destroy, leading to death, or to jail, the most noble and learned men of the country. *Among them were twelve friars;* and that he might experience the dreadful slaughter and bitter captivity of *his country*, John of Dunse *suffered a miserable servitude;* thus imitating the apostle in the graces of God, and the chains he endured."

When delivered from his servitude in England, Scotus studied at Merton college, Oxford, where he soon became distinguished, particularly by the facility and subtilty of his logical disputations. His progress in natural and moral philosophy, and in the different branches of mathematical learning, was rapid; and his skill in scholastic theology was so striking, that he was, in 1301, appointed divinity professor at Oxford. In this situation he soon attracted unbounded popularity. His lectures on the sentences of Peter Lombard drew immense crowds of hearers, and we are assured that there were no fewer than thirty thousand students brought to the university of Oxford, by the fame of the subtle doctor's eloquence and learning. These lectures have been printed, and fill six folio volumes. In 1304, he was commanded by the general of his order (the Franciscan) to proceed to Paris, to defend the doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, which had been impugned by some divines. No fewer than two hundred objections are said to have been brought against that doctrine, which he "heard with great composure, and refuted them with as much ease as Sampson broke the cords of the Philistines." Hugo Cav-

illus, in his life of Scotus, says that one who was present on this occasion, but who was a stranger to the person, though not to the fame of Scotus, exclaimed, in a fervour of admiration at the eloquence displayed, "This is either an angel from heaven, a devil from hell, or John Duns Scotus!" The same anecdote we have seen applied to various other prodigies, but this is perhaps the origin of it. As a reward for his victory in this famous dispute, he was appointed professor and regent in the theological schools of Paris, and acquired the title of the Subtle Doctor. Nothing, however, could be more barren and useless than the chimerical abstractions and metaphysical refinements which obtained him his title. He opposed Thomas Aquinas on the subject of grace, and established a sect called the Scotists, in contra-distinction to the Thomists, which extended its ramifications throughout every country in Europe. In 1308, he was sent to Cologne, to found a university there, and to defend his favourite doctrine of the immaculate conception, against the disciples of Albert the Great. But he was only a few months there when he was seized with an apoplectic fit, which cut him off on the 8th of November, 1308, in the forty-fourth, or, according to others, in the thirty-fourth year of his age. It is said, that he was buried before he had been actually dead, as was discovered by an after examination of his grave.

The writings which Scotus left behind him were numerous. Various editions of parts of them, particularly of his lectures on the sentences of Peter Lombard, were printed towards the close of the fifteenth century; and in 1639, a complete edition of all his works, with his life, by Wading, *et cum Notis et Comm. a P. P. Hibernis Collegii Romani S. Isinori Professoribus*, appeared at Lyons in twelve volumes folio! These labours, which were at one time handled with reverential awe, are now almost totally neglected.

The fame of John Duns Scotus, during his lifetime, and for many years after his decease, was extraordinary, and goes to prove the extent of his talents, however misapplied and wasted they were on the subtilties of school philosophy and the absurdities of school divinity. From among the testimonials regarding him which Wading has collected in his life, the following, by a learned cardinal, may be given as a specimen: "Among all the scholastic doctors, I must regard John Duns Scotus as a splendid sun, obscuring all the stars of heaven, by the piercing acuteness of his genius; by the subtilty and the depth of the most wide, the most hidden, the most wonderful learning; this most subtile doctor surpasses all others, and, in my opinion, yields to no writer of any age. His productions, the admiration and despair even of the most learned among the learned, being of such extreme acuteness, that they exercise, excite, and sharpen even the brightest talents to a more sublime knowledge of divine objects, it is no wonder that the most profound writers join in one voice, 'that this Scot, beyond all controversy, surpasses not only the contemporary theologians, but even the greatest of ancient or modern times, in the sublimity of his genius and the immensity of his learning.' This subtile doctor was the founder of the grand and most noble sect of the Scotists, which, solely guided by his doctrine, has so zealously taught, defended, amplified, and diffused it, that, being spread all over the world, it is regarded as the most illustrious of all. From this sect, like heroes from the Trojan horse, many princes of science have proceeded, whose labour in teaching has explained many difficulties, and whose industry in writing has so much adorned and enlarged theological learning, that no further addition can be expected or desired." Here is another specimen of panegyric: "Scotus was so consummate a philosopher, that he could have been the inventor of philosophy, if it had not before existed. His knowledge of all the mysteries of religion was so profound and perfect, that it

was rather intuitive certainty than belief. He described the divine nature as if he had seen God; the attributes of celestial spirits, as if he had been an angel; the felicities of a future state as if he had enjoyed them; and the ways of providence as if he had penetrated into all its secrets. He wrote so many books that one man is hardly able to read them, and no one man is able to understand them. He would have written more, if he had composed with less care and accuracy. Such was our immortal Scotus, the most ingenious, acute, and subtile of the sons of men."[3]

These extracts may suffice to show the estimation, or rather adoration, in which the subtle doctor was once held; and it was not alone among his own disciples that he was venerated; for Julius Cæsar Scaliger acknowledges, that in the perusal of John of Dunse, he acquired any subtilty of discussion which he may possess; and Cardan, one of the earliest philosophers who broke the yoke of Aristotle, classes Scotus among his chosen twelve masters of profound and subtile sciences. In comparing the enthusiastic popularity in which Scotus and his works were once held with the undisturbed oblivion which they now enjoy, the mind adverts to the fleeting nature of all, even the most honourable earthly aggrandizement; and a likeness of name and situation suggests the question, Shall another *Scotus*, who, in this our day, excites throughout Europe the liveliest admiration, come, in two or three centuries, to be forgotten like John of Dunse, or only remembered, like him, as a curious illustration of the follies of a dark and ignorant age?

DURHAM, James, "that singularly wise and faithful servant of Jesus Christ," was by birth a gentleman. He was descended from the family of Grange-Durham, in the shire of Angus, and was proprietor of the estate of Easter Powrie, now called Wedderburn. From his age at the time of his death, he appears to have been born in 1622. We have but few memorials of his early life. Leaving college before taking any degree, he retired to his paternal estate, where he lived for some years as a country gentleman. At an early period he married a daughter of the laird of Duntarvie;' and soon afterwards, while on a visit to one of her relations, became deeply impressed with religious feelings.[4] On his return home, he devoted himself almost wholly to study, in which he made great proficiency, and we are told, "became not only an experimental christian, but a learned man." He did not, however, contemplate becoming a clergyman, till the time of the civil wars, in which he served as a captain. On one occasion, before joining battle with the English, he called his company together to prayer. Mr David Dickson riding past, heard some one praying, drew near him, and was much struck with what he heard. After the service was finished, he charged him, that as soon as the action was over, he should de-

[3] Brukeri Hist. Philos. tom. iii. p. 828.

[4] The following account of his "conversion" is given in Wodrow's Analecta (MS. Adv. Lib.):

"He was young when he married, and was not for a while concerned about religion. He came with his lady to visit his mother-in-law, the lady Duntarvie, who lived in the parish of the Queensferry. There fell at that time a communion to be in the Queensferry, and she the lady Duntarvie desired her son-in-law, Mr Durham, to go and hear sermon upon the Saturday, and for some time he would by no means go, till both his lady and his mother-in-law, with much importunity, at last prevailed with him to go. He went that day, and heard very attentively; he seemed to be moved that day by the preacher being very serious in his discourse, so that there was something wrought in Mr Durham that day; but it was like an embryo. When he came home, he said to his mother-in-law, 'Mother, ye had much ado to get me to the church this day: but I will goe to-morrow without your importuning me.' He went away on the Sabbath morning, and heard the minister of the place, worthy Mr Ephraim Melvine, preach the action sermon upon 1 Pet. 2. 7, and Mr Durham had these expressions about his sermon: 'He commended him, he commended him, again and again, till he made my heart and soul commend him;' and soe he immediately closed with Christ, and covenanted, and went down immediately to the table, and took the seal of the covenant; and after that he became a most serious man."

vote himself to the ministry, "for to that he judged the Lord had called him." During the engagement, Mr Durham met with two remarkable deliverances, and accordingly, considered himself bound to obey the stranger's charge, "as a testimony of his grateful and thankful sense of the Lord's goodness and mercy to him."

With this resolution, he came to the college of Glasgow, where he appears to have taken his degree,[5] and to have studied divinity under his celebrated friend David Dickson. The year 1647, in which he received his license, was one of severe pestilence. The masters and students of the university removed to Irvine, where Mr Durham underwent his trials, and received a recommendation from his professor to the presbytery and magistrates of Glasgow. Though now only about twenty-five years of age, study and seriousness of disposition had already given him the appearance of an old man. The session of Glasgow appointed one of their members to request him to preach in their city, and after a short period, "being abundantly satisfied with Mr Durham's doctrine, and the gifts bestowed upon him by the Lord, for serving him in the ministry, did unanimously call him to the ministry of the Blackfriars' church, then vacant." Thither he removed in November, the same year. In 1649, Mr Durham had a pressing call from the town of Edinburgh, but the general assembly, to whom it was ultimately referred, refused to allow his translation. In his ministerial labours he seems to have exercised great patience and diligence, nor was he wanting in that plainness and sincerity towards the rich and powerful, which is so necessary to secure esteem. When the republican army was at Glasgow, in 1651, Cromwell came unexpectedly on a Sunday afternoon to the outer high church, where Mr Durham preached "graciously and well to the time, as could have been desired," according to principal Baillie; in plainer language, "he preached against the invasion to his face."[6] The story is thus concluded by his biographer:—"Next day, Cromwell sent for Mr Durham, and told him, that he always thought Mr Durham had been a more wise and prudent man than to meddle with matters of public concern in his sermons. To which Mr Durham answered, that it was not his practice to bring public matters into the pulpit, but that he judged it both wisdom and prudence in him to speak his mind upon that head, seeing he had the opportunity of doing it in his own hearing. Cromwell dismissed him very civilly, but desired him to forbear insisting upon that subject in public. And at the same time, sundry ministers both in town and country met with Cromwell and his officers, and represented in the strongest manner the injustice of his invasion."[7]

[5] See Letter of Principal Baillie in M'Ure's History of Glasgow, ed. 1830, p. 364.

[6] Wodrow's Life of Dickson, MS. p. xix. In the Analecta of this historian [MS. Adv. Lib. v. 186,] occurs the following curious particulars: "——— tells me, he had this account from old Aikenhead, who had it from the gentlewoman. That Cromwell came in to Glasgow, with some of his officers, upon a Sabbath day, and came straight into the high church, where Mr Durham was preaching. The first seat that offered him was P[rovost] Porterfield's, where Miss Porterfield sat, and she, seeing him an English officer, she was almost not civil. However, he got in and sat with Miss Porterfield. After sermon was over, he asked the minister's name. She sullenly enough told him, and desired to know wherefore he asked. He said, 'because he perceived him to be a very great man, and in his opinion might be chaplain to any prince in Europe, though he had never seen him nor heard of him before.' She enquired about him, and found it was O. Cromwell."

[7] Life prefixed to Treatise concerning Scandal. Cromwell seems to have received "great plainness of speech" at the hands of the ministers of Glasgow. On a former occasion, Zachary Boyd had railed on him to his face in the high church: on the present, we are informed, that "on Sunday, before noon, he came unexpectedly to the high inner church, where he quietly heard Mr Robert Ramsay preach a very good honest sermon, pertinent for his case. In the afternoon, he came as unexpectedly to the high outer church, where he heard Mr John Carstairs lecture, and Mr James Durham preach graciously, and well to the time, as could have been desired. Generally, all who preached that day in the town, gave *a fair enough testimony against the sectaries.*"—Baillie ut supra.

In the year 1650, when Mr Dickson became professor of divinity at Edinburgh college, the commissioners for visiting that of Glasgow, appointed by the general assembly, unanimously called Mr Durham to the vacant chair. But before he was admitted to this office, the assembly nominated him chaplain to the king's family; a situation in which, though trying, more especially to a young man, he conducted himself with great gravity and faithfulness. While he conciliated the affections of the courtiers, he at the same time kept them in awe; "and whenever," says his biographer, "he went about the duties of his place, they did all carry gravely, and did forbear all lightness and profanity." The disposition of Charles, however, was little suited to the simplicity and unostentatious nature of the presbyterian worship, and although Mr Durham may have obtained his respect, there is little reason to believe that he liked the check which his presence imposed.

Livingston mentions that Mr Durham offered to accompany the king when he went to Worcester,—an offer which, as may have been anticipated, was not accepted. The session of Glasgow, finding that he was again at liberty, wrote a letter to him at Stirling, in which they expressed the warmest feelings towards him. "We cannot tell," say they, "how much and how earnestly we long once more to see your face, and to hear a word from you, from whose mouth the Lord has often blessed the same, for our great refreshment. We do, therefore, with all earnestness request and beseech you, that you would, in the interim of your retirement from attendance upon that charge, (that of king's chaplain,) let the town and congregation, once and yet dear to you, who dare not quit their interest in you, nor look on that tie and relation betwixt you and them as dissolved and null, enjoy the comfort of your sometimes very comfortable fellowship and ministry." From the letter it would appear, that Mr Durham did not yet consider himself released from his appointment in the king's family; but with the battle of Worcester terminated all the fond hopes of the royalists. Finding the household thus broken up, there could be no objection to his returning to his former residence. He is mentioned as present in the session in April, and it was at this period that his interview with Cromwell took place, but for several months afterwards he seems to have withdrawn. In August, a vacancy in the inner high church arose from the death of Mr Robert Ramsay, and Mr Durham was earnestly requested to accept the charge. He accordingly entered upon it in the course of the same year (1651), having for his colleague Mr John Carstairs, his brother-in-law by his second marriage, and father of the afterwards celebrated principal of the university of Edinburgh. [*See article* CARSTAIRS.] In the divisions which took place between the resolutioners and protesters, Mr Durham took neither side. When the two parties in the synod of Glasgow met separately, each elected him their moderator, but he refused to join them, until they should unite, and a junction fortunately took place. The habits of severe study in which he had indulged since his entry into the ministry, seem to have brought on a premature decay of his constitution. After several months of confinement, he died on the 25th of June, 1658, at the early age of thirty-six.[8]

[8] "Mr Durham was a person of the outmost composure and gravity, and it was much made him smile. In some great man's house, Mr William Guthry and he were together at dinner, and Mr Guthry was exceeding merry, and made Mr Durham smile, yea laugh, at his pleasant facetious conversation. It was the ordinary of the family to pray after dinner, and immediately after their mirth it was put upon Mr Guthry to pray, and, as he was wont, he fell immediately into the greatest measure of seriousnesse and fervency, to the astonishment and moving of all present. When he rose from prayer, Mr Durham came to him, and embraced him, and said, 'O! Will, you are a happy man. If I had been soe daft as you have been, I could not have been seriouse, nor in any frame, for forty-eight hours.'"—*Wodrow's Ana.* iii. 133.

Mr Durham's first marriage has been noticed in the early part of this sketch. His second wife was the widow of the famous Zachary Boyd, and third daughter of William Mure of Glanderston, in Renfrewshire. This lady seems to have survived him many years, and to have been a zealous keeper of conventicles. Several of her sufferings on this account are noticed by Wodrow in his History.

It would be tiresome to the reader to enter into a detail of Mr Durham's different works, and their different editions. He has long been, and still is known as one of the most popular religious writers in Scotland.[6]

E.

ELLIOT, George Augustus, lord Heathfield, a distinguished military officer, was the ninth son of Sir Gilbert Elliot of Stobbs in Roxburghshire, and born about the year 1718. He received his education, first at home under the charge of a family tutor, and afterwards at Leyden, where he acquired a perfect and colloquial knowledge of the French and German languages. Being destined for the army, he was placed at the military school of La Fere, in Picardy, which was the most celebrated in Europe, and conducted at that time by Vauban, the famous engineer. He afterwards served for some time as a volunteer in the Prussian army, which was then considered the best *practical* school of war. Returning in his seventeenth year, he was introduced by his father to lieutenant-colonel Peers of the 23d foot or royal Welsh Fusileers, which was then lying at Edinburgh. Sir Gilbert presented him as a youth anxious to bear arms for his king and country; and he accordingly entered the regiment as a volunteer. Having served for upwards of a twelvemonth, during which he displayed an uncommon zeal in his profession, he was removed to the engineer corps at Woolwich, and was making great progress in the studies requisite for that branch of service, when his uncle, colonel Elliot, introduced him as adjutant of the 2d troop of horse grenadiers. His exertions in this situation laid the foundation of a discipline, which afterwards rendered the two troops of horse grenadiers the finest corps of heavy cavalry in Europe. In the war, which ended in 1748, he served with his regiment in many actions—among the rest, the battle of Dettingen, in which he was wounded. After successively purchasing the captaincy, majority, and lieutenant colonelcy, of his regiment, he resigned his place in the engineer corps, notwithstanding that he had already studied gunnery and other matters connected with the service, to a degree which few have ever attained. He was now distinguished so highly for his zeal and acquirements, that George II. appointed him one of his aides-de-camp. In 1759, he quitted the second regiment of horse grenadiers, having been selected to raise, form, and discipline the first regiment of light horse, called after him, Elliot's. This regiment was brought by him to such a pitch of activity and discipline, as to be held up as a pattern to all the other dragoon regiments raised for many years afterwards. Colonel Elliot, indeed, may be described as a perfect military enthusiast. His habits of life were as rigorous as those of a religious ascetic. His food was vegetables, his drink water. He neither indulged himself in animal food nor wine. He never slept more than four hours at a time, so that he was up later and earlier than most other men.

[6] Abridged from a Memoir of Durham prefixed to his Treatise concerning Scandal. Glas. 1740, 12mo.

It was his constant endeavour to make his men as abstemious, hardy, and vigilant as himself; and it is stated that habit at last rendered them so, without their feeling it to be a hardship. It might have been expected, from such a character, that he would also be a stern and unscrupulous soldier; but the reverse was the case. He was sincerely anxious, by acts of humanity, to soften the horrors of war. In the expedition to the coast of France, which took place near the close of the seven years' war, he had the command of the cavalry, with the rank of brigadier-general. In the memorable expedition against the Havannah, he was second in command. After a desperate siege of nearly two months, during which the British suffered dreadfully from the climate, the city, which was considered as the key to all the Spanish dominions in the West Indies, was taken by storm. The Spanish general, Lewis de Velasco, had displayed infinite firmness in his defence of this fortress, as well as the most devoted bravery at its conclusion, having fallen amidst heaps of slain, while vainly endeavouring to repel the final attack. Elliot appears to have been forcibly struck by the gallant conduct of Velasco, and to have resolved upon rendering it a model for his own conduct under similar circumstances. After the peace his regiment was reviewed by the king (George III.) in Hyde Park, when they presented to his majesty the standards taken from the enemy. The king, gratified with their high character, asked general Elliot what mark of his favour he could bestow on his regiment equal to their merits. He answered that his regiment would be proud, if his majesty should think that, by their services, they were entitled to the distinction of royals. It was accordingly made a royal regiment, with this flattering title—"The 15th or king's royal regiment of light dragoons." At the same time the king expressed a desire to confer a mark of his favour on the brave general; but he declared that the honour and satisfaction of his majesty's approbation were his best reward.

During the peace between 1763 and 1775, general Elliot served for a time as commander of the forces in Ireland. Being recalled from this difficult post on his own solicitation, he was, in an hour fortunate for his country, appointed to the command of Gibraltar. In the ensuing war, which finally involved both the French and Spaniards, the latter instituted a most determined siege round his fortress, which lasted for three years, and was only unsuccessful through the extraordinary exertions, and, it may be added, the extraordinary qualifications, of general Elliot. Both himself and his garrison, having been previously inured to every degree of abstinence and discipline, were fitted in a peculiar manner to endure the hardships of the siege, while at the same time his military and engineering movements were governed by such a clear judgment and skill, as to baffle the utmost efforts of the enemy. Collected within himself, he in no instance destroyed by premature attacks, the labours which would cost the enemy time, patience, and expense to complete; he deliberately observed their approaches, and, with the keenest perception, seized on the proper moment in which to make his attack with success. He never spent his ammunition in useless parade, or in unimportant attacks. He never relaxed from his discipline by the appearance of security, nor hazarded the lives of his garrison by wild experiments. By a cool and temperate demeanour, with a mere handful of men, he maintained his station for three years of constant investment, in which all the powers of Spain were employed. All the eyes of Europe were upon his conduct, and his final triumph was universally allowed to be among the most brilliant military transactions of modern times.

On his return to England, general Elliot received the thanks of parliament, and was honoured by his sovereign, June 14, 1787, with a peerage, under the

title of lord Heathfield and baron Gibraltar, besides being elected a knight of the Bath. His lordship died at Aix-la-Chapelle, July 6, 1790, of a second stroke of palsy, while endeavouring to reach Gibraltar, where he was anxious to close his life. He left, by his wife Anne, daughter of Sir Francis Drake, a son who succeeded him in the peerage.

ELLIOT Murray Kynnynmond, Gilbert, first earl of Minto, a distinguished statesman, was born at Edinburgh, April 23, 1751. He was the eldest son of Gilbert Elliot, Esq., advocate, younger of Minto, by Mrs Agnes Murray Kynnynmond, of Melgund and Kynnynmond.

The earl of Minto was descended from a race of very eminent persons. His father, who became Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, baronet, was conspicuous as a parliamentary orator, and, in 1763, held the office of treasurer of the navy. He subsequently obtained the reversion of the office of keeper of the signet in Scotland. In the literary annals of his country, he is the well-known author of several excellent poetical compositions, particularly the popular song, "My sheep I neglected." He also carried on a philosophical correspondence with David Hume, which is quoted with marks of approbation by Mr Dugald Stewart, in his Philosophy of the Human Mind, and in his Dissertation prefixed to the seventh edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica.

Sir Gilbert was the eldest son of Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, lord justice clerk, a respectable judge and most accomplished man, especially in music. Lord Minto, as he was called, is said to have been the first to introduce the German flute into Scotland, about the year 1725. In the history of Scotland, during the early part of the eighteenth century, he is distinguished by his zealous and useful exertions as a friend of the protestant succession, and also by his patriotic enthusiasm in every measure that tended tot he improvement and advantage of his country.

The father of lord Minto was Gilbert Elliot, popularly called "Gibbie Elliot," at first a writer in Edinburgh, and in that capacity employed by the celebrated Mr Veitch to rescue him from the tyrannical government of Charles II. in Scotland; a duty in which he succeeded, though it led to his own denouncement by the Scottish privy council. Gilbert Elliot contrived to make his escape to Holland, but, nevertheless, was tried in his absence for high treason to king James VII., for which he was condemned and forfeited. After the revolution, he returned to his native country; and being recommended, both by his sufferings and his sagacity and expertness in business, was made clerk of the privy council. He subsequently entered at the Scottish bar, and rose to the rank of a civil and criminal judge. It is related, that when he came to Dumfries in the course of the justiciary circuit, he never failed to visit his old friend Veitch, who was there settled minister; and the following dialogue used to pass between them: "Ah, Willie, Willie," lord Minto would say, "if it had not been for me, the pyets [magpies] would have been pyking your pow on the Netherbow Port." "Ah, Gibbie, Gibbie," Veitch would reply, in reference to the first impulse which his persecutions had given to the fortunes of lord Minto, "if it had not been for me, you would have been writing papers yet, at a plack the page."

To return to the earl of Minto—his first education was of a private nature; and, as his father had prospects of advancement for him in England, he was subsequently placed at a school in that country. In 1768, he entered as a gentleman commoner at Christ church, Oxford; whence he was transferred to Lincoln's Inn, and in due time was called to the English bar. His health becoming delicate, he soon after commenced a tour of the continent, with the view of acquiring a view of the general state of European life and policy. While at Paris, he frequented the society of Madame du Deffand, by whom he is justly

praised in her correspondence. She calls him " ce petit Elliot," either in endearment, or in allusion to his youth and delicate person. In 1777, Mr Elliot married Miss Amyand, daughter of Sir George Amyand, by whom he had three sons and three daughters. Soon after this period, his father died, leaving him in possession of the baronetcy.

In 1774, Mr Elliot was elected member of parliament for Morpeth; and, though he never became a very frequent speaker, he gave proofs, on many occasions, of his talents both as a debater and a man of business. In the deliberations of parliament on the American contest, he warmly espoused the cause of ministers, until nearly the close of the war, when he joined the ranks of the opposition. Having attached himself to Mr Fox, he gave his support to the coalition ministry, and after the dismission of that party, adhered to it throughout its misfortunes and disgrace. In the endeavours of the party of the coalition to humble that of the new aristocracy, which seemed to have arisen in what was called the *India interest;* in their attempts to win the people back to their side, by swerving, to a certain length, into democratical whiggism; in their hopes to strengthen themselves on the authority of the heir apparent to the crown; in their opposition to a war on behalf of Turkey, with the power of Russia and its allies; in their efforts to maintain what was really the constitutional right of the prince of Wales to the regency; and in all their other political measures, whether to serve their country, or to restore themselves to official power, Sir Gilbert Elliot bore no undistinguished part.

The estimation in which he was held by his party, is proved by the circumstance of his having been twice proposed as speaker; on one of which occasions he very nearly carried his election against the government. At the breaking out of the French revolution, he, like many others of his party, warmly adopted the views of the tories, and became a warm supporter of ministers. In 1793, the town of Toulon, and other parts of the south of France, had declared for Louis XVII., and seemed likely to become of great service to the British arms in operating against the new republic. Sir Gilbert Elliot was then associated in a commission with lord Hood and general O'Hara, respectively commanders of the naval and military force, to meet with the French royalists, and afford them all possible protection. On the re-capture of Toulon by the republicans, December 18, 1793, he procured for such of the Toulonese as escaped, a refuge in the island of Elba. The Corsicans having now also resolved to declare against the republic, Sir Gilbert was nominated to take them under the protection of Great Britain. Early in 1794, all the fortified places of the island were put into his hands; and the king having accepted the proffered sovereignty of the island, Sir Gilbert presided as viceroy in a general assembly of the Corsicans, June 19, 1794, when a code of laws was adopted for the political arrangement of society in the island, being in substance somewhat similar to the constitution of Great Britain. In a speech of great wisdom, dignity, and conciliation, Sir Gilbert recommended to the Corsicans to live quietly under this constitution, and to value aright the advantages they had gained by putting themselves under the protection of the same sovereign who was the executor of the laws, and the guardian of the liberties of Great Britain. Whatever could be done by prudence, moderation, energy, and vigilance, was done by Sir Gilbert in the government of this island; but, notwithstanding all his efforts, the French ultimately gained the ascendancy, and in October, 1796, the island was deserted by the British. George III. acknowledged his sense of Sir Gilbert's services by raising him to the peerage, under the title of lord or baron of Minto, in the shire of Roxburgh, with a special permission to adopt the arms of Corsica into the armorial bearings of his family.

Lord Minto's speech in the house of lords in support of the union with Ireland, a measure which met his sincere support, was one of considerable effect, and much admired even by those with whom he differed on that occasion. Early in 1799, his lordship was appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Vienna, where he resided, and ably executed the duties of his very important office, till the end of the year 1801. On the accession of the whig administration in 1806, he filled, for a short time, the office of president of the board of controul; but having soon after been appointed to the situation of governor-general of India, he embarked for that distant region in February, 1807. As the company, board of controul, and ministers had differed about the filling of this office (vacant by the death of Marquis Cornwallis), the appointment of lord Minto must be considered as a testimony of the general confidence in his abilities and integrity, more especially as he was at the time quite ignorant of Indian affairs. The result fully justified all that had been anticipated. Under the care of lord Minto, the debts of the company rapidly diminished, the animosities of the native princes were subdued, and the jealousy of the government was diminished. In quelling the mutiny of the coast army, he evinced much prudence, temper, and firmness; but his administration was rendered more conspicuously brilliant by his well-concerted and triumphant expeditions against the isles of France and Bourbon in 1810, and that of Java in 1811. Although these enterprises were in conformity to the general instructions, yet the British ministers candidly allowed, in honour of lord Minto, that to him was due the whole merit of the plan, and also its successful termination. He himself accompanied the expedition against Java: and it is well known that his presence not only contributed materially to its early surrender, but also to the maintenance of harmony in all departments of the expedition, and tended materially to conciliate the inhabitants after the surrender. For these eminent services, lord Minto received the thanks of both houses of parliament; and in February, 1813, as a proof of his majesty's continued approbation, he was promoted to an earldom, with the additional title of viscount Melgund. His lordship returned to England in 1814, in apparent health; but after a short residence in London, alarming symptoms of decline began to show themselves, and he died June 21st, at Stevenage, on his way to Scotland. Lord Minto's general abilities are best seen in his acts. His manners were mild and pleasant, his conversation naturally playful—but he could make it serious and instructive. He displayed, both in speaking and writing, great purity of language, and an uncommon degree of perspicuity in his mode of expression and narration. He was an elegant scholar, a good linguist, and well versed both in ancient and modern history. With all these qualifications, he possessed one which gives a charm to all others—modesty. In short, it is rare that a person appears with such a perfect balance of good qualities as the earl of Minto.

ELPHINSTONE, James, a miscellaneous writer, was born at Edinburgh, November 25th, O. S., 1721. He appears to have descended from a race of non-jurant episcopalians, and to have had some distinguished connections among that body. His father was the Rev. William Elphinstone, an episcopal minister. His mother was daughter to the Rev. Mr Honeyman, minister of Kineff, and niece to Honeyman, bishop of Orkney, a prelate very obnoxious to the presbyterian party in the reign of Charles II., and who died in consequence of a pistol-wound which he received while entering archbishop Sharpe's coach, and which was intended for the primate. Mr Elphinstone was educated at the high school and university of Edinburgh; and, before the age of seventeen, was deemed fit to act as tutor to the son of lord Blantyre. When about twenty-one years of age, he became acquainted at London with the Jacobite historian,

Thomas Carte, whom he accompanied on a tour through Holland, the Netherlands, and France. In Paris the two travellers spent a considerable time; and here Mr Elphinstone perfected his acquaintance with the French language. After the death of Carte, Mr Elphinstone returned to his native country, and became tutor in the family of Mr Moray of Abercairney, also a keen jacobite. In 1750, he is found resident at Edinburgh, where he superintended an edition of the Rambler. The law of copyright at that time permitted the Scottish and Irish booksellers to reprint whatever works appeared in England, without compensation; and this was taken advantage of in the case of Dr Johnson's celebrated paper, each number of which appeared at Edinburgh as soon as it could be obtained from London. To this reprint, the subject of the present memoir, supplied English translations of the classical mottoes, and with these Dr Johnson was so much pleased, as to extend his friendship to their author, and to adopt them in all the subsequent editions of his work. In a letter to Mr Elphinstone, published in Boswell's Life of Johnson, the author of the Rambler begs of his friend, to "write soon, to write often, and to write long letters;" a compliment of which any man existing at that time might well have been proud. During the progress of the Rambler, Mr Elphinstone lost his mother, of whose death he gave a very affecting account, in a letter to his sister, Mrs Strahan, wife of Mr William Strahan, the celebrated printer. This being shown to Dr Johnson, affected him so much, with a reflection upon his own mother, then in extreme old age, that he shed tears. He also sent a consolatory letter to Mr Elphinstone, which is printed by Boswell, and is full of warm and benignant feeling. The Scottish edition of the Rambler was ultimately completed, in eight duodecimo volumes, of most elegant appearance, and, as the impression was limited, it is now very scarce.

In 1751, Mr Elphinstone married Miss Gordon, daughter of a brother of general Gordon of Auchintool, and grand-daughter of lord Auchintool, one of the judges of the court of session before the revolution. Two years afterwards, he removed to London, and established a seminary upon an extensive scale, first at Brompton, and afterwards at Kensington. As a teacher, he was zealous and intelligent, and never failed to fix the affections and retain the friendship of his pupils. In 1753, he published a poetical version of the younger Racine's poem of "Religion," which, we are told, obtained the approbation of Dr Young, author of the "Night Thoughts." About the same time, finding no grammar of the English language which he altogether approved of, he composed one for the use of his pupils, and published it in two duodecimo volumes. This was the most useful, and also the most successful of all his works, though it is now antiquated; it received the warm approbation of Mr John Walker, author of the Pronouncing Dictionary. In 1763, Mr Elphinstone published a poem, entitled "Education," which met with no success.

In the year 1776, Mr Elphinstone retired from his school with a competency, and seemed destined to spend the remainder of a useful life in tranquillity and happiness. In consequence, however, of certain peculiarities of his own mind, his peace was greatly disturbed, and his name covered with a ridicule which would not otherwise have belonged to it. It was the impression of everybody but Mr Elphinstone himself, that he possessed no particular talent for poetry, but simply resembled many other men of good education, who possess the art of constructing verse, without the power of inspiring it with ideas. Tempted, perhaps, by the compliments he had received on account of his mottoes to the Rambler, he resolved to execute a poetical translation of Martial. As he had a most extensive acquaintance, his contemplated work was honoured with a large subscription-list; and the work appeared in 1782, in one volume quarto, but was

met on all hands with ridicule and contempt. "Elphinstone's Martial," says Dr Beattie, in a letter to Sir William Forbes, "is just come to hand. It is truly a *unique*. The specimens formerly published did very well to laugh at; but a whole quarto of nonsense and gibberish is too much. It is strange that a man not wholly illiterate should have lived so long in England without learning the language." The work, in fact, both in the poetry and the notes, displayed a total absence of judgment; and, accordingly, it has sunk into utter neglect.

In 1778, Elphinstone lost his wife, an event which is supposed to have somewhat unhinged his mind. To beguile his grief, he travelled into Scotland, where he was received with great civility by the most distinguished men of the day. It was even purposed to erect a new chair—one for English literature—in the university of Edinburgh, in order that he might fill it. Though this design misgave, he delivered a series of lectures on the English language, first at Edinburgh, and then in the public hall of the university of Glasgow. In the autumn of 1779, he returned to Edinburgh.

In his translation of Martial, Mr Elphinstone had given some specimens of a new plan of orthography, projected by himself, and of which the principal feature was the spelling of the words according to their sounds. In church and in state, he was a high tory; but he was the most determined jacobin in language. The whole system of derivation he set at defiance; analogy was his solvent; and he wished to create a complete revolution in favour of pronunciation. In 1786, he published a full explanation of his system, in two volumes quarto, under the extraordinary title of "Propriety ascertained in her Picture." Though the work produced not a single convert, he persisted in his desperate attempt, and followed up his first work by two others, entitled "English Orthography Epitomized," and "Propriety's Pocket Dictionary." In order, further, to give the world an example of an ordinary book printed according to his ideas, he published, in 1794, a selection of his letters to his friends, with their answers, entirely spelt in the new way; the appearance of which was so unnatural, and the reading so difficult and tiresome, that it never was sold to any extent, and produced a heavy loss to the editor. If Mr Elphinstone had applied his political principles to this subject, he would have soon convinced himself that there is more mischief, generally, in the change than good in the result. His pupil, Mr R. C. Dallas, thus accounts for his obstinacy in error. "He was," says this gentleman,[1] "a Quixote in whatever he judged right; in religion, in virtue, in benevolent interferences; the force of custom or a host of foes made no impression upon him; the only question with him was, *should it be, or should it not be?* Such a man might be foiled in an attempt, but was not likely to be diverted from one in which he thought *right* was to be supported against *wrong*. The worst that can be said of his perseverance in so hopeless a pursuit is, that it was a foible by which he injured no one but himself."

Having seriously impaired his fortune by these publications, the latter days of this worthy man would have probably been spent in poverty, if he had not been rescued from that state by his brother-in-law and sister, Mr and Mrs Strahan. The former of these individuals, at his death, in 1785, left him an annuity of a hundred a-year, a hundred pounds in ready money, and twenty pounds for mournings. Mrs Strahan, who only survived her husband a month, left him two hundred pounds a-year more, and thus secured his permanent comfort. In the same year, he married, for his second wife, Miss Falconer, a niece of bishop Falconer of the Scottish episcopal church, who proved to him a most faithful and attentive partner till the close of his life. Mr Elphinstone lived on his

[1] Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, iii 33.

humble competency, in the enjoyment of good health, till October 8th, 1809, when he suddenly expired, in the eighty-eighth year of his age. He was buried at Kensington, where, upon the east wall of the church, there is a marble slab, with an inscription setting forth his virtues.

Though, as a follower of literature, Elphinstone did little to secure the approbation of mankind, he was, nevertheless, a man of considerable mental abilities; and it is even said that he possessed the power of writing with force and simplicity, if it had not been obscured by his eccentricities. "After all," says Mr Dallas, "it is as a man and a christian that he excelled; as a son, a brother, a husband, and a father to many, though he never had any children of his own, as a friend, an enlightened patriot, and a loyal subject. His manners were simple, his rectitude undeviating. His piety, though exemplary, was devoid of show; the sincerity of it was self-evident; but, though unobtrusive, it became impatient on the least attempt at profaneness; and an oath he could not endure. On such occasions he never failed boldly to correct the vice, whencesoever it proceeded. Mr Elphinstone was middle-sized, and slender in his person; he had a peculiar countenance, which, perhaps, would have been considered an ordinary one, but for the spirit and intellectual emanation which it possessed. He never complied with fashion in the alteration of his clothes. In a letter to a friend in 1782, he says: 'time has no more changed my heart than my dress;' and he might have said it again in 1809. The colour of his suit of clothes was invariably, except when in mourning, what is called a drab; his coat was made in the fashion that reigned when he returned from France, in the beginning of the last century, with flaps and buttons to the pockets and sleeves, and without a cape: he always wore a powdered bag-wig, with a high toupee, and walked with a cocked-hat and an amber-headed cane; his shoe-buckles had seldom been changed, and were always of the same size; and he never put on boots. It must be observed, that he latterly, more than once, offered to make any change Mrs Elphinstone might deem proper; but in her eyes his virtues and worth had so sanctified his appearance, that she would have thought the alteration a sacrilege."

ELPHINSTON, William, a celebrated Scottish prelate, and founder of the university of Aberdeen, was born in the city of Glasgow in the year 1413. His father, William Elphinston, was a younger brother of the noble family of Elphinston, who took up his residence in Glasgow during the reign of James I., and was the first of its citizens who became eminent and acquired a fortune as a general merchant. His mother was Margaret Douglas, a daughter of the laird of Drumlanrick. His earliest youth was marked by a decided turn for the exercises of devotion, and he seems to have been by his parents, at a very early period of his life, devoted to the church, which was in these days the only road to preferment. In the seventh year of his age he was sent to the grammar school, and having gone through the prescribed course, afterwards studied philosophy in the university of his native city, then newly founded by bishop Turnbull, and obtained the degree of *Artium magister* in the twenty-fifth year of his age. He then entered into holy orders, and was appointed priest of the church of St Michael's, situated in St Enoch's gate, now the Trongate, where he officiated for the space of four years. Being strongly attached to the study both of the civil and canon law, he was advised by his uncle, Lawrence Elphinston, to repair to the continent, where these branches of knowledge were taught in perfection. Accordingly, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, he went over to France, where he applied himself to the study of law for the space of three years, at the end of which he was called to fill a professional chair in the university of Paris, and afterwards at Orleans, in both of which

places he taught the science of law with the highest applause. Having in this manner spent nine years abroad, he was, at the request of his friends, especially of Andrew Muirhead, his principal patron, (who, from being rector of Cadzow, had been promoted to the bishopric of Glasgow,) persuaded to return to his native country, where he was made parson of Glasgow, and official or commissary of the diocese. As a mark of respect, too, the university of Glasgow elected him lord rector the same year. On the death of bishop Muirhead, which took place only two years after his return, he was nominated by Schevez, bishop of St Andrews, official of Lothian; an office which he discharged so much to the satisfaction of all concerned, that James III., sent for him to parliament, and appointed him one of the lords of his privy council. It may be noticed here, as a curious fact, that at this period men of various degrees sat and deliberated and voted in parliament without any other authority than being summoned by his majesty as wise and good men, whose advice might be useful in the management of public affairs. So little, indeed, was the privilege of sitting and voting in parliament then understood, or desired, that neither the warrant of their fellow subjects, nor the call of the king, were sufficient to to secure their attendance, and penalties for non-attendance had before that period been exacted. Elphinston was now in the way of preferment; and being a man both of talents and address, was ready to profit by every opportunity. Some differences having arisen between the French and Scottish courts, the latter, alarmed for the stability of the ancient alliance of the two countries, thought fit to send out an embassy for its preservation. This embassy consisted of the earl of Buchan, lord chamberlain Livingston, bishop of Dunkeld, and Elphinston, the subject of this memoir, who so managed matters as to have the success of the embassy wholly attributed to him. As the reward of such an important service, he was, on his return in 1479, made archdeacon of Argyle, and as this was not considered as at all adequate to his merits, the bishopric of Ross was shortly after added. The election of the chapter of Ross being speedily confirmed by the king's letters patent under the great seal, Elphinston took his seat in parliament, under the title of *electus et confirmatus*, in the year 1482. It does not appear, however, that he was ever any thing more than bishop elect of Ross; and in the following year, 1483, Robert Blackadder, bishop of Aberdeen, being promoted to the see of Glasgow, Elphinston was removed to that of Aberdeen. He was next year nominated, along with Colin earl of Argyle, John lord Drummond, lord Oliphant, Robert lord Lyle, Archibald Whitelaw, archdeacon of Loudon, and Duncan Dundas, lord lyon king at arms, to meet with commissioners from Richard III., of England, for settling all disputes between the two countries. The commissioners met at Nottingham on the 7th of September, 1484, and, after many conferences, concluded a peace betwixt the two nations for the space of three years, commencing at sunrise September 29th, 1484, and to end at sunset on the 29th of September, 1487. Anxious to secure himself from the enmity of James at any future period, Richard, in addition to this treaty, proposed to marry his niece, Anne de la Pool, daughter of the duke of Suffolk, to the eldest son of king James. This proposal met with the hearty approbation of James; and bishop Elphinston with several noblemen were despatched back again to Nottingham to conclude the affair. Circumstances, however, rendered all the articles that had been agreed upon to no purpose, and on the fatal field of Bosworth Richard shortly after closed his guilty career. The truce concluded with Richard for three years does not appear to have been very strictly observed, and on the accession of Henry VII., bishop Elphinston with Sir John Ramsay and others, went again into England, where they met with commissioners on the part of

that country, and on the 3d of July, 1486, more than a year of the former truce being still to run, concluded a peace, or rather a cessation of arms, which was to continue till the 3d of July, 1489. Several disputed points were by this treaty referred to the Scottish parliament, which it was agreed should assemble in the month of January following. A meeting of the two kings, it was also stipulated, should take place in the following summer, when they would, face to face, talk over all that related to their personal interests, and those of their realms. Owing to the confusion that speedily ensued, this meeting never took place. Bishop Elphinston, in the debates betwixt the king and his nobles, adhered steadfastly to the king, and exerted himself to the utmost to reconcile them, though without effect. Finding the nobles nowise disposed to listen to what he considered reason, the bishop made another journey to England, to solicit in behalf of his master the assistance of Henry. In this also he was unsuccessful; yet James was so well pleased with his conduct, that on his return, he constituted him lord high chancellor of Scotland, the principal state office in the country. This the bishop held till the death of the king, which happened a little more than three months after. On that event, the bishop retired to his diocese, and applied himself to the faithful discharge of his episcopal functions. He was particularly careful to reform such abuses as he found to exist among his clergy, and for their benefit composed a book of canons, taken from the canons of the primitive church. He was, however, called to attend the parliament held at Edinburgh, in the month of October, 1488, where he was present at the crowning of the young prince James, then in his sixteenth year. Scarcely any but the conspirators against the late king attended this parliament, and aware that the bishop might refuse to concur with them in the measures they meant to pursue, they contrived to send him on a mission to Germany, to the emperor Maximilian, to demand in marriage for the young king, his daughter Margaret. Before he could reach Vienna, the lady in question had been promised to the heir apparent of the king of Spain. Though he failed in the object for which he had been specially sent out, his journey was not unprofitable to his country; for, taking Holland in his way home, he concluded a treaty of peace and amity with the States, who had, to the great loss of Scotland, long been its enemies. The benefits of this treaty were so generally felt, that it was acknowledged by all to have been a much more important service than the accomplishment of the marriage, though all the expected advantages had followed it. On his return from this embassy in 1492, bishop Elphinston was made lord privy seal, in place of bishop Hepburn, removed. The same year, he was again appointed a commissioner, along with several others, for renewing the truce with England, which was done at Edinburgh, in the month of June, the truce being settled to last till the end of April, 1501.

Tranquillity being now restored, bishop Elphinston turned his attention to the state of learning and of morals among his countrymen. For the improvement of the latter, he compiled the lives of Scottish Saints, which he ordered to be read on solemn occasions among his clergy; and for the improvement of the former, he applied to pope Alexander VI. to grant him a bull for erecting a university in Aberdeen. This request pope Alexander, from the reputation of the bishop, readily complied with, and sent him a bull to that effect in the year 1494. The college, however, was not founded till the year 1506, when it was dedicated to St Mary; but the king, at the request of the bishop, having taken upon himself and his successors the protection of it, and contributed to its endowment, St Mary was compelled to give place to his more efficient patronage, and it has ever since been called King's college. By the bull of erection this university was endowed with privileges as ample as any in Europe,

and it was chiefly formed upon the excellent models of Paris and Bononia. The persons originally endowed, were a doctor of theology (principal), a doctor of the canon law, a doctor of the civil law, a doctor of physic, a professor of humanity to teach grammar, a sub-principal to teach philosophy, a chanter, a sacrist, six students of theology, three students of the laws, thirteen students of philosophy, an organist, and five singing boys, who were students of humanity. By the united efforts of the king and the bishop, ample provision was made for the subsistence of both teachers and taught, and to this day a regular education can be obtained at less expense in Aberdeen, than any where else in the united kingdoms of Great Britain. The bishop of Aberdeen for the time, was constituted chancellor of the university; but upon the abolition of that office at the reformation, the patronage became vested in the crown. Of this college the celebrated Hector Boece was the first principal. He was recalled from Paris, where he had a professional chair, for the express purpose of filling the office, which had a yearly salary of forty merks attached to it—two pounds three shillings and fourpence sterling. While the worthy bishop was thus laying a foundation for supplying the church and the state with a regular series of learned men, he was not inattentive to other duties belonging to his office. His magnificent cathedral, founded by bishop Kinnimonth in the year 1357, but not completed till the year 1447, he was at great pains and considerable expense to adorn. The great steeple, he furnished with bells, which were supposed to have peculiar efficacy in driving off evil spirits. He was also careful to add to the gold, the silver, and the jewels, with which the cathedral was liberally furnished, and particularly to the rich wardrobe for the officiating clergy. He also added largely to the library. While he was attending to the spiritual wants of his diocese, the worthy bishop was not forgetful of its temporal comforts; and especially, for the accommodation of the good town of Aberdeen, was at the expense of erecting an excellent stone bridge over the Dee, a structure which continued to be a public benefit for many ages.

In consequence of his profuse expenditure, James IV. had totally exhausted his treasury, when, by the advice of the subject of this memoir, he had recourse to the revival of an old law that was supposed to have become obsolete. Among the tenures of land used in Scotland, there was one by which the landlord held his estate on the terms, that if he died and left his son and heir under age, his tutelage belonged to the king or some other lord superior, who uplifted all the rents of the estate till the heir reached the years of majority, while he bestowed upon his ward only what he thought necessary. By the same species of holding, if the possessor sold more than the half of his estate without consent of his superior, the whole reverted to the superior. There were also lands held with clauses called *irritant*, of which some examples we believe may be found still, by which, if two terms of feu duty run unpaid into the third, the land reverts to the superior. From the troubled state of the country during the two former reigns, these laws had not been enforced; so that now, when inquiry began to be made, they had a wide operation, and many were under the necessity of compounding for their estates. Had the bishop been aware of the use the king was to make of the very seasonable supply, he would most probably have been the last man to have suggested it.

James now permitted himself to be cajoled by the French court, and especially by the French queen, who, aware of the romantic turn of his mind, addressed letters to him as her knight, expressing her hope, that as she had suffered much rebuke in France for defending his honour, so he would recompense her again with some of his kingly support in her necessity; that is to say, that he would raise her an army, and come three feet of space on English ground

for her sake. Pitscottie adds, that she sent him also fourteen thousand French crowns to pay his expenses, a circumstance that detracts in a considerable degree from the wildness of the enterprise, and brings the whole nearly to the level of a foolish bargain. James, thus prompted, called a parliament, where, contrary to the declared opinion of all the wiser members, the promises of La Motte the French ambassador, the subserviency of the clergy, who either enjoyed or expected Gallic pensions, and the eagerness of James, caused war to be determined on against England, and a day to be appointed for assembling the army. The army was raised accordingly, and James, crossing the borders, stormed the castles of Norham, Wark, and Ford, wasting without mercy all the adjoining country. In a short time, one of his female prisoners, the lady Heron of Ford, ensnared him in an amour, in consequence of which he neglected the care of his army, and suffered the troops to lie idle in a country that could not yield them subsistence for any length of time. His army, of course, soon began to disperse. The nobles, indeed, remained with their relations and immediate retainers; but even these were highly dissatisfied, and were anxious to return home, taking Berwick by the way, which they contended would yield them a richer reward for their labour than all the villages on the border. James, however, obstinate and intractable, would listen to no advice, and on the 9th day of September, 1513, came to an action with the English, under the earl of Surrey, who, by a skilful countermarch had placed himself between James and his own country. James, whether from ignorance or wilfulness, allowed his enemies quietly to take every advantage, and when they had done so, set fire to his tents, and descended from a strong position on the ridge of Flodden into the plain to meet them. The consequences were such as the temerity of his conduct merited; he was totally routed, being cut off himself, with almost the whole of the Scottish nobility, together with the archbishop of St Andrews, and many of the dignified clergy. The news of this most disastrous battle so deeply affected the gentle spirit of bishop Elphinston, that he never was seen to smile afterwards. He, however, attended in parliament to give his advice in the deplorable state to which the nation was reduced. The queen had been by the late king named as regent so long as she remained unmarried, and this, though contrary to the practice of the country, which had never hitherto admitted of a female exercising regal authority, was, from the scarcity of men qualified either by rank or talents for filling the situation, acquiesced in, especially by those who wished for peace, which they supposed, and justly, as the event proved, she might have some influence in procuring. It was but a few months, however, till she was married, and the question then came to be discussed anew, and with still greater violence.

Such a man as Elphinston was not to be spared to his country in this desperate crisis; for as he was on his journey for Edinburgh to attend a meeting of parliament, he was taken ill by the way, and died on the 25th of October, 1514; being in the eighty-third year of his age. He was, according to his own directions, buried in the collegiate church of Aberdeen.

Bishop Elphinston is one of those ornaments of the catholic church, who almost redeem the general errors of that faith. He appears to have been a really good and amiable man. He wrote, as has been already remarked, the Lives of Scottish Saints, which are now lost. He composed also a history of Scotland, from the earliest period of her history, down to his own time, which is still preserved in the Bodleian library at Oxford. It is said to consist of eleven books, occupying three hundred and eighty-four pages in folio, written in a small hand, and full of contractions, and to be nearly the same as Fordun, so that we should suppose it scarcely worthy of the trouble it would take to

read it. Of all our Scottish bishops, however, no one has been by our historians more highly commended than bishop Elphinston. He has been celebrated as a great statesman, a learned and pious churchman, and one who gained the reverence and the love of all men. He certainly left behind him many noble instances of his piety and public spirit; and it is highly to his honour, that, notwithstanding his liberality in building and endowing his college, providing materials for a bridge over the Dee, the large alms that he gave daily to the poor and religious of all sorts, besides the help that he afforded to his own kindred, he used solely the rents of his own bishopric, having never held any place in *commendam*, as the general practice then was, and he left behind him at his death, ten thousand pounds in gold and silver, which he bequeathed to the college, and to the finishing and repairing of his bridge over the Dee. As he was thus conspicuous, continues his biographer, for piety and charity, so he was no less so for his having composed several elaborate treatises that were destroyed at the reformation. This panegyrist goes on to say, "that there never was a man known to be of greater integrity of life and manners, it being observed of him, that after he entered into holy orders, he was never known to do or say an unseemly thing. But the respect and veneration that he was held in, may appear from what is related to have happened at the time of his burial, by the historians who lived near his time, for they write, that the day his corpse was brought forth to be interred, the pastoral staff, which was all of silver, and carried by Alexander Lauder a priest, broke in two pieces, one part thereof falling into the grave where the corpse was to be laid, and a voice was heard to cry, *Tecum*, Gulielme, *Mitra sepelienda*—With thee the mitre and glory thereof is buried."

ERIGENA, John, Scotus, an eminent scholar of the middle age, is supposed to have been born at Ayr, early in the ninth century, though neither the place nor the date of his birth is ascertained with any precision. According to some, his principal name, *Erigena*, signifies that he was *born at Ayr;* but others point to Ergene, on the borders of Wales, as the place of his nativity; while others, again, contend for Ireland, on the strength of his name *Scotus*, which, at that period, was used to indicate a native of the sister island. It would be a mere mockery to say, that any thing is known with certainty respecting the life of John Scotus Erigena. It is almost inconceivable, that a man should have been born among the rude people of Scotland in the ninth century, who afterwards distinguished himself in the eyes of Europe as a scholar. Assuming, nevertheless, the imperfect authorities which have handed down the name of this person, he seems to have, at an early period of his life, been entertained at the court of Charles the Bald, king of France, as a profound philosopher, and, what is strange, a witty and amusing companion. It is stated, as an instance of the latter qualification, that, being once asked by the king what was between a Scot and a sot, he answered, "Only the breadth of the table;" a proof, in fact, of the fabulous character of Erigena's history, since there could have been no such jingle between the words that must have been required to express those ideas in any language of the ninth century. The biographers of Erigena represent him as having been employed for a number of years in the court of king Charles, partly as a preceptor in knowledge, and partly as a state councillor. At the same time, he composed a number of works upon theological subjects, some of which were considered not orthodox. Having translated the works of Dionysius, or St Denis, the Greek philosopher, which were considered as particularly adverse to the true faith, he was obliged, by the persecution of pope Nicolas I., to retire from France. This work is remarkable as having been the means of introducing the Aristotelian or scholastic system of philosophy into the theolo-

gical learning of the western churches; an absurdity which retarded the progress of true science for many centuries, and was not finally put down till the days of Bacon. The subsequent life of this great scholar is doubly obscure. He is said to have been a professor of mathematics and astronomy at Oxford, about the time of Alfred the Great, or at least to have delivered lectures at that seminary of learning. But nothing is known with certainty respecting Oxford till a much later period. From Oxford he is said to have retired to the abbey of Malmesbury, where for some time he kept a school. Behaving, however, with great harshness and severity among his scholars, they were so irritated, that they are reported to have murdered him with the iron bodkins then used in writing. The time of his death is generally referred to 883.

A great multitude of works have been attributed to Erigena; but the following are all that have been printed:—1. "De Divisione Naturæ," Oxon. by Gale, folio, 1651.—2. "De Prædestinatione Dei, contra Goteschalcum," edited by Gilb. Maguin, in his Vindiciæ Prædestinationis et Gratiæ, vol. i. p. 103.—3. "Excerpta de Differentiis et Societatibus Græci Latinique Verbi," in Macrobius's works.—4. "De Corpore et Sanguine Domini," 1558, 1566, 1653; Lond. 1686, 8vo.—5. "Ambigua S. Maximi, seu Scholia ejus in Difficiles locos S. Gregorii Nazianzeni, Latine versa," along with the "Divisio Naturæ," Oxford, 1681, folio.—6. "Opera S. Dionysii quatuor, in Latinam linguam conversa," in the edition of Dionysius, Colon., 1536.

ERSKINE, David, better known by his judicial designation of lord Dun, an eminent lawyer and moral writer, was born at Dun, in the county of Angus, in the year 1670. After receiving his education, partly at the university of St Andrews, and partly at that of Paris, he was, in 1696, called to the Scottish bar, where he soon distinguished himself as a pleader. Though the representative of the celebrated laird of Dun, whose efforts in behalf of the Reformation have endeared his name to the Scottish people, David Erskine was a zealous jacobite, and friend to the non-jurant episcopal clergy. As a member, moreover, of the last Scottish parliament, he gave all possible opposition to the union. In 1711, the tory ministry of queen Anne appointed him one of the judges of the court of session; and in 1713, through the same patronage, he became a commissioner of the court of justiciary. These offices he held till 1750, when old age induced him to retire. In 1754, lord Dun published a volume of moral and political reflections, which was long known under the title of "Lord Dun's Advices," but is now almost forgotten. His lordship died in 1755, aged eighty-five. By his wife, Magdalen Riddel, of the family of Riddel of Haining, in Selkirkshire, he left a son, John, who succeeded him in his estate, and a daughter, Anne, who was first married to James, lord Ogilvy, son of David, third earl of Airly, and secondly to Sir James Macdonald of Sleat.

ERSKINE, David Stewart, earl of Buchan, lord Cardross, was born on the 1st of June, 1742, O. S., and was the eldest surviving son of Henry David, the tenth earl, and Agnes, daughter of Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees, his majesty's solicitor-general for Scotland. He was educated, "in all manner of useful learning, and in the habits of rigid honour and virtue," under the care of James Buchanan, a relation of the poet and historian, and learned the elements of the mathematics, history, and politics from his father, who had been a scholar of the celebrated Colin Maclaurin. At the university of Glasgow he engaged ardently in "every ingenious and liberal study;" but what will be better remembered, was his connexion with the unfortunate academy of Foulis the printer, which he attended, and of his labours at which he has left us a specimen, in an etching of the abbey of Icolmkill, inserted in the first volume of the Transactions of the Scottish Antiquaries.

On the completion of his education, lord Cardross entered the army, but never rose higher than the rank of lieutenant. Forsaking the military life, he went to London, to pursue the study of diplomacy under lord Chatham; and, while there, was elected a fellow of the royal and antiquarian societies. In the following year, 1766, his lordship was appointed secretary to the British embassy in Spain; but his father having died thirteen months afterwards, he returned to his native country, determined to devote the remainder of his life to the cultivation of literature and the encouragement of literary men.

The education of his younger brothers, Thomas, afterwards the illustrious lord-chancellor, and Henry, no less celebrated for his wit, seems to have occupied a large portion of lord Buchan's thoughts. To accomplish these objects, he for years submitted to considerable privations. The family-estate had been squandered by former lords, and it is no small credit to the earl that he paid off debts for which he was not legally responsible; a course of conduct which should lead us to overlook parsimonious habits acquired under very disadvantageous circumstances.

Lord Buchan's favourite study was the history, literature, and antiquities of his native country. It had long been regretted that no society had been formed in Scotland for the promotion of these pursuits; and with a view to supplying this desideratum, he called a meeting of the most eminent persons resident in Edinburgh, on the 14th of November, 1780. Fourteen assembled at his house in St Andrew square, and an essay, which will be found in Smellie's Account of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, p. 4—18, was read by his lordship. At a meeting, held at the same place, on the 28th, it was determined, that upon the 18th of December a society should be formed upon the proposed model; and, accordingly, on the day fixed, the earl of Bute was elected president, and the earl of Buchan first of five vice-presidents. In 1792 the first volume of their Transactions was published; and the following discourses, by the earl, appear in it:—"Memoirs of the Life of Sir James Stewart Denham;" "Account of the Parish of Uphall;" "Account of the Island of Icolmkill;" and a "Life of Mr James Short, optician." Besides these, he had printed, in conjunction with Dr Walter Minto, 1787, "An Account of the Life, Writings, and Inventions of Napier of Merchestoun."

In the same year his lordship retired from Edinburgh to reside at Dryburgh abbey on account of his health. Here he pursued his favourite studies. He instituted an annual festive commemoration of Thomson, at that poet's native place; and this occasion produced from the pen of Burns the beautiful Address to the shade of the bard of Ednam. The eulogy pronounced by the illustrious earl on the first of these meetings, in 1791, is remarkable. "I think myself happy to have this day the honour of endeavouring to do honour to the memory of Thomson, which has been profanely touched by the rude hand of Samuel Johnson, whose fame and reputation indicate the decline of taste in a country that, after having produced an Alfred, a Wallace, a Bacon, a Napier, a Newton, a Buchanan, a Milton, a Hampden, a Fletcher, and a Thomson, can submit to be bullied by an overbearing pedant!" In the following year his lordship published an "Essay on the Lives and Writings of Fletcher of Saltoun and the poet Thomson, Biographical, Critical, and Political; with some pieces of Thomson's never before published," 8vo.[1]

Lord Buchan had contributed to several periodical publications. In 1784 he communicated to the Gentleman's Magazine "Remarks on the Progress of

[1] Biographical Notice of the Earl of Buchan in the New Scots Magazine, vol. ii. p. 494. From this article most of the facts here mentioned are extracted.

the Roman Arms in Scotland during the sixth campaign of Agricola," afterwards printed, with plates and additions, by Dr Jamieson, in the Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica. To Grose's Antiquities of Scotland he gave a description of Dryburgh, with views, taken in 1787 and 1789. But his most frequent assistance was given to "The Bee," generally under fictitious signatures. The last work which he meditated was the collection of these anonymous communications. Accordingly, in 1812, "the Anonymous and Fugitive Essays of the earl of Buchan, collected from various periodical works," appeared at Edinburgh in 12mo. It contains the following short preface: "The earl of Buchan, considering his advanced age, has thought proper to publish this volume, and meditate the publication of others, containing his anonymous writings, that no person may hereafter ascribe to him any others than are by him, in this manner, avowed, described, or enumerated." The volume is wholly filled with his contributions to "The Bee;" among which, in the department of Scottish history, are "Sketches of the Lives of Sir J. Stewart Denham, George Heriot, John earl of Marr (his ancestor), and Remarks on the Character and Writings of William Drummond of Hawthornden." The second volume did not appear.

His death did not, however, take place till seventeen years after this period; but he was for several years before it in a state of dotage. Few men have devoted themselves so long and so exclusively to literature; his correspondence, both with foreigners and his own countrymen, was very extensive, and comprehended a period of almost three generations. But his services were principally valuable, not as an author, but as a patron: his fortune did not warrant a very expensive exhibition of good offices; but in all cases where his own knowledge, which was by no means limited, or letters of recommendation, could avail, they were frankly and generously offered. One of the works proposed by him was, "a Commercium Epistolarum and Literary History of Scotland, during the period of last century," including the correspondence of "antiquaries, typographers, and bibliographists," in which he had the assistance of the late Dr Robert Anderson. It is exceedingly to be regretted that such a work, and referring to so remarkable a period, should not have been presented to the public. It might probably have had a considerable portion of the garrulity of age; but, from his lordship's very extensive acquaintance with the period, it cannot be doubted that it would have contained many facts, which are now irretrievably lost.

ERSKINE, Rev. Ebenezer, a celebrated divine, and founder of the secession church in Scotland, was son to the Rev. Henry Erskine, who was settled minister at Cornhill, in Northumberland, about the year 1649; whence he was ejected by the Bartholomew act in the year 1662, and, after suffering many hardships for his attachment to the cause of presbytery, was, shortly after the revolution, 1688, settled pastor of the parish of Chirnside, Berwickshire, where he finished his course, in the month of August, 1696, in the seventy-second year of his age. The Rev. Henry Erskine was of the ancient family of Shielfield, in the Merse, descended from the noble family of Marr, and Ebenezer was one of his younger sons by his second wife, Margaret Halcro, a native of Orkney, the founder of whose family was Halcro, prince of Denmark, and whose great-grandmother was the lady Barbara Stuart, daughter to Robert earl of Orkney, son to James V. of Scotland; so that his parentage was, in every respect, what the world calls highly respectable. The place of his birth has been variously stated. One account says it was the village of Dryburgh, where the house occupied by his father is still pointed out, and has been carefully preserved, as a relic of the family; another says it was the Bass, where his father was at the time a pri-

soner for nonconformity. Be the place of his birth as it may, the date has been ascertained to have been the 22nd day of June, 1680; and the name Ebenezer, "a stone of assistance," was given him by his pious parents in testimony of their gratitude for that goodness and mercy with which, amidst all their persecutions, they had been unceasingly preserved. Of his early youth nothing particular has been recorded. The elements of literature he received at Chirnside, under the immediate superintendence of his father, after which he went through a regular course of study at the university of Edinburgh.[1] During the most part of the time that he was a student, he acted as tutor and chaplain to the earl of Rothes, at Leslie-house, within the presbytery of Kirkaldy, by which court he was taken upon trials, and licensed to preach the gospel in the year 1702.

The abilities and the excellent character of Mr Erskine soon brought him into notice; and in the month of May, 1703, he received a unanimous call to the parish of Portmoak, to the pastoral care of which he was ordained in the month of September following. In this pleasantly sequestered situation, devoting himself wholly to the duties of his office, he laid the foundation of that excellence for which, in his after-life, he was so remarkably distinguished. Anxious to attain accurate and extensive views of divine truth, he spent a great proportion of his time in the study of the scriptures, along with some of the most eminent expositors, Turretine, Witsius, Owen, &c.; embracing, besides, every opportunity of conversing on theological subjects with persons of intelligence and piety. By these means he soon came to great clearness both of conception and expression of the leading truths of the gospel, of which, at first, like many other pious ministers of the church of Scotland at that period, his views were clouded with no inconsiderable portion of legalism. During the year succeeding his settlement, he was united in marriage to Alison Turpie, a young woman of more than ordinary talents, and of undoubted piety. To the experience of this excellent woman he was accustomed to acknowledge to his friends, that he was indebted for much of that accuracy of view by which he was so greatly distinguished, and to which much of that success which attended his ministry is, doubtless, to be ascribed; and, more especially, he used to mention a confidential conversation, on the subject of their religious experiences, between her and his brother Ralph, which he accidentally overheard from the window of his study, which overlooked the bower in the garden, where they were sitting, and unconscious of any person overhearing them. Struck with the simplicity of their views, and the extent of their attainments, as so very superior to his own, he was led to a more close examination of the vital principle of Christianity, which issued in a measure of light and a degree of comfort to which he had previously been a stranger. In the discharge of his ministerial duties, he had always been most exemplary. Besides the usual services of the Sabbath, he had, as was a very general practice in the church of Scotland at that period, a weekly lecture on the Thursdays; but now his diligence seemed to be doubled, and his object much more pointedly to preach Christ in his person, offices, and grace, as at once wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption to all who truly receive and rest upon him. Even in his external manners there appeared, from this time forward, a great and important improvement. In public speaking he had felt considerable embarrassment, and in venturing to change his attitude was in danger of losing his ideas; but now he was at once master of his mind, his voice, and his gestures, and by a manner most dignified and engaging, as well as by the weight and the importance of his matter, com-

[1] From the records of the town-council of Edinburgh it appears, that, in 1698, he was a bursar in the university, being presented by Pringle of Torwoodlee.

manded deep and reverential attention. At the same time that Mr Erskine was thus attentive to his public appearances, he was equally so to those duties of a more private kind, which are no less important for promoting the growth of piety and genuine holiness among a people, but which, having less of the pomp of external circumstance to recommend their exercise, are more apt to be sometimes overlooked. In the duties of public catechising and exhorting from house to house, as well as in visiting the sick, he was most indefatigable. In catechising he generally brought forward the subject of his discourses, that by the repetition of them he might make the more lasting impression on the manners and hearts of his people. For the purposes of necessary recreation he was accustomed to perambulate the whole bounds of his parish, making frequent calls at the houses of his parishioners, partaking of their humble meals, and talking over their every day affairs, without any thing like ceremony. By this means he became intimately acquainted with the tempers and the characters of all his hearers, and was able most effectively to administer the word of instruction, correction, encouragement, or reproof, as the circumstances of the case might require. Though Mr Erskine was thus free and familiar with his people on ordinary and every day occasions, he was perfectly aware of the necessity of maintaining true ministerial dignity and deportment; and when he appeared among them in the way of performing official duty, was careful to preserve that serious and commanding demeanour which a situation so important, and services so solemn, naturally tend to inspire. When visiting ministerially, it was his custom to enter every habitation with the same gravity with which he entered the pulpit, pronouncing the salutation, "Peace be to this house;" after which he examined all the members of the family, tendered to each such exhortations as their circumstances seemed to require, concluded with prayer, fervent, particular, and affectionate. In visiting the sick, he studied the same serious solemnity, and few had the gift of more effectually speaking to the comfort of the dejected christian, or of pointing out the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world, to the sinner alarmed with a sense of guilt and the view of the approaching judgment.

We cannot forbear mentioning another part of his ministerial conduct, in which it were to be wished that he were more imitated. Not satisfied with addressing to the children of his charge frequent admonitions from the pulpit, and conversing with them in their fathers' houses, he regularly superintended their instruction in the parish school, where it was his practice to visit every Saturday to hear them repeat the catechism, to tender them suitable advice, and affectionately to pray with them. When such was his care of the children, the reader will scarcely need to be told that he was watchful over the conduct of their teachers; and for the preservation of order and good government in his parish, he took care to have in every corner of it a sufficient number of active and intelligent ruling elders, an order of men of divine appointment, and fitted for preserving and promoting the public morals beyond any other that have yet been thought upon, but in the present time, especially in the established church of Scotland, greatly neglected. The effect of all this diligence in the discharge of his pastoral duties, was a general attention to the interests of religion among his people, all of whom seemed to regard their pastor with the strongest degree of respect and confidence. Not only was the church crowded on Sabbaths, but even on the Thursdays, and his diets of examination drew together large audiences. Prayer meetings were also established in every part of his parish, for the management of which, he drew up a set of rules, and he encouraged them by his presence, visiting them in rotation as often as his other avocations would admit. Nor was it this external regard to the practice of piety alone that dis-

tinguished them, the triumphant deaths of many of them bore the still more decisive testimony to the good seed sown among them having been watered by the dews of divine influence. It has been affirmed, that the parish of Portmoak is to this day distinguished above all the parishes around it for the attainments of the people in religious knowledge, and for their marked attention to the rules of godliness and honesty.

But it was not to his parish alone that Mr Erskine's labours were made a blessing. Serious christians from all quarters of the country, attracted by the celebrity of his character, were eager to enjoy occasionally the benefits of his ministry, and on sacramental occasions he had frequently attendents from the distance of sixty or seventy miles. So great was the concourse of people on these occasions, that it was necessary to form two separate assemblies besides that which met in the church, for the proper business of the day; and so remarkable was the success attending the word, that many eminent christians on their death-beds, spoke of Portmoak as a Bethel where they had enjoyed renewed manifestations of God's love, and the inviolability of his covenant. In the midst of his labours, on the death of his dear brother Mr Macgill of Kinross, an attempt was made to remove Mr Erskine from Portmoak to that burgh. Though the call, however, was unanimous and urgent, the affectionate efforts of the people of Portmoak were successful in preventing the desired translation. Shortly after this, Mr Erskine received an equally unanimous call to the parish of Kirkaldy, which he also refused, but a third minister being wanted at Stirling, the Rev. Mr Alexander Hamilton, with the whole population, gave him a pressing and unanimous call, of which, after having maturely deliberated on the circumstances attending it, he felt it his duty to accept. He was accordingly, with the concurrence of the courts, translated to Stirling, in the autumn of the year 1731, having discharged the pastoral office in Portmoak for twenty-eight years. The farewell sermon which he preached at Portmoak, from Acts xx. 22, "And now behold I go bound in the spirit unto Jerusalem, not knowing the things that shall befall me there," had in it something particularly ominous, and as such seems to have been received by the people. "This," says an eye and ear witness of the scene, "was a sorrowful day to both minister and people. The retrospect of twenty-eight years of great felicity which were for ever gone, and the uncertainty of what might follow, bathed their faces with tears, and awoke the voice of mourning throughout the congregation, for the loss of a pastor, the constant object of whose ministry was to recommend to their souls the exalted Redeemer in his person, offices, and grace, who had laboured to rouse the inconsiderate to repentance and serious concern, and who had not failed, when religious impressions took place, to preserve and promote them with unwearied diligence. So much was the minister himself affected, that it was with difficulty he could proceed till he reached the end of the doctrinal part of his discourse, when he was obliged to pause, and, overcome with grief, concluded with these words, "My friends, I find that neither you nor I can bear the application of this subject." So strong was the affection of the people of Portmoak to Mr Erskine, that several individuals removed to Stirling along with him, that they might still enjoy the benefit of his ministry; he was also in the habit of visiting them and preaching to them occasionally, till, through the melancholy state of matters in the church, the pulpits of all the parishes in Scotland were shut against him.

In the new and enlarged sphere of action which Mr Erskine now occupied, he seemed to exert even more than his usual ability. His labours here met with singular acceptance, and appeared to be as singularly blessed; when an attempt was made, certainly little anticipated by his friends, and perhaps as little

by himself, to paralyse his efforts, to narrow the sphere of his influence, and to circumscribe his expression of thought and feeling; an expression which had long been painful and was now thought to be dangerous to the party that had long been dominant in the Scottish church, and were charged with corrupting her doctrines and labouring to make a sacrifice of her liberties at the shrine of civil authority. That they were guilty of the first of these charges was alleged to be proved beyond the possibility of contradiction, by their conduct towards the presbytery of Auchterarder, with regard to what has since been denominated the Auchterarder creed, so far back as the year 1717; by their conduct towards the twelve brethren, known by the name of "Marrow men," along with their acts against the doctrines of the book entitled, "The Marrow of Modern Divinity," in the years 1720 and 1721; and, more recently still, by the leniency of their dealings with professor John Simpson of Glasgow, who, though found to have, in his prelections to the divinity students, taught a system of Deism rather than christian theology, met with no higher censure than simple suspension. The students, it was insisted, could be equally well instructed from their tamely submitting to take the abjuration oath, and to the re-imposition of lay patronages,—contrary to the act of union, by which the Scottish church was solemnly guaranteed in all her liberties and immunities so long as that treaty should be in existence. That this grinding yoke had been imposed upon her in an illegal and despotic manner by the tory ministry of the latter years of queen Anne was not denied; but it was contended, that those powers which the church still possessed, and which she could still legally employ, had never been called into action, but that patrons had been encouraged to make their sacrilegious encroachments upon the rights of the christian people even beyond what they appeared of themselves willing to do,—while the cause of the people was by the church trampled upon, and their complaints totally disregarded. In the contests occasioned by these different questions, Mr Erskine had been early engaged. He had refused the oath of abjuration, and it was owing to a charge preferred against him by the Rev. Mr Anderson of St Andrews, before the commission of the general assembly, for having spoken against such as had taken it, that his first printed sermon, "God's little remnant keeping their garments clean," was, along with some others, given to the public in the year 1725, many years after it had been preached. In the defence of the doctrine of the Marrow of Modern Divinity, he had a principal hand in the representation and petition presented to the assembly on the subject, May the 11th, 1721; which, though originally composed by Mr Boston, was revised and perfected by him. He also drew up the original draught of the answers to the twelve queries that were put to the twelve brethren, which was afterwards perfected by Mr Gabriel Wilson of Maxton, one of the most luminous pieces of theology to be found in any language. Along with his brethren, for his share in this good work, he was by the general assembly solemnly rebuked and admonished, and was along with them reviled in many scurrilous publications of the day, as a man of wild antinomian principles, an innovator in religion, an impugner of the Confession of Faith and Catechisms, an enemy to Christian morality, a troubler of Israel, and puffed up with vanity in the pride and arrogancy of his heart, anxious to be exalted above his brethren. These charitable assumptions found their way even into the pulpits, and frequently figured in Synod sermons and other public discourses. Owing to the vehemence of Principal Haddow of St Andrews, who, from personal pique at Mr Hogg of Carnock, the original publisher of the Marrow in Scotland, took the lead in impugning the doctrines of that book, Mr Ebenezer Erskine and his four representing brethren in that quarter, James Hogg, James Bathgate, James Wardlaw, and Ralph Erskine, were treated with

marked severity. At several meetings of Synod they were openly accused and subjected to the most inquisitorial examinations. Attempts were also repeatedly made to compel them to sign anew the Confession of Faith, not as it was originally received by the church of Scotland in the year 1647, but as it was explained by the obnoxious act of 1722. These attempts however, had utterly failed, and the publication of so many of Mr Erskine's sermons had not only refuted the foolish calumnies that had been so industriously set afloat, but had prodigiously increased his reputation and his general usefulness. The same year in which Mr Erskine was removed to Stirling, a paper was given in to the general assembly, complaining of the violent settlements that were so generally taking place throughout the country, which was not so much as allowed a hearing. This induced upwards of fifty-two ministers, of whom the subject of this memoir was one, to draw up at large a representation of the almost innumerable evils under which the church of Scotland was groaning, and which threatened to subvert her very foundations. To prevent all objections on the formality of this representation, it was carefully signed and respectfully presented, according to the order pointed out in such cases; but neither could this obtain so much as a hearing. So far was the assembly from being in the least degree affected with the mournful state of the church, and listening to the groans of an afflicted but submissive people, that they sustained the settlement of Mr Stark at Kinross, one of the most palpable intrusions ever made upon a christian congregation, and they enjoined the presbytery who had refused to receive him as a brother, to enrol his name on their list, and to grant no church privileges to any individual of the parish of Kinross, but upon Mr Stark's letter of recommendation requiring or allowing them so to do, and this in the face of the presbytery's declaration, that Mr Stark had been imposed on the parish of Kinross, and upon them, by the simple fiat of the patron. Against this decision, protests and dissents were presented by many individuals, but by a previous law they had provided, that nothing of the kind should henceforth be entered upon the journals of the courts, whether supreme or subordinate, thus leaving no room for individuals to exonerate their own consciences, nor any legitimate record of the opposition that had been made to departures from established and fundamental laws, or innovations upon tacitly acknowledged rules of propriety and good order. This same assembly, as if anxious to extinguish the possibility of popular claims being at any future period revived, proceeded to enact into a standing law an overture of last assembly, for establishing a uniform method of planting vacant churches, when at any time the right of doing so should fall into the hands of presbyteries, *tanquam jure devoluto*, or by the consent of the parties interested in the settlement. This uniform method was simply the conferring the power of suffrage, in country parishes, on heritors being protestant, no matter though they were episcopalians, and elders, in burghs, on magistrates, town council,—and elders,—and in burghs with landward parishes joined, on magistrates, town council, heritors, and elders joined, and this to continue "till it should please God in his providence to relieve this church from the grievances arising from the act restoring patronages." This act was unquestionably planned by men to whom patronage presented no real grievances, and it was itself nothing but patronage modified very little for the better. But the authors of it had the art to pass it off upon many simple well-meaning men, as containing all that the constitution of the Scottish church had ever at any time allowed to the body of the people, and as so moderately worded that the government could not but be amply satisfied that no danger could arise from its exercise, and of course would give up its claims upon patronage without a murmur. In consequence of this, the act passed through the assembly with less opposition than even in the de-

cayed state of the church might have been expected. In fact it passed through the court at the expense of its very constitution. By the barrier act, it has been wisely provided, that no law shall be enacted by the assembly, till in the shape of an overture, it has been transmitted to every presbytery in the church, a majority of whose views in its favour must be obtained before it be made the subject of deliberation. In this case it had been transmitted; but eighteen presbyteries had not made the required return, eighteen approved of it with material alterations, and thirty-one were absolutely against it; so that the conduct of the party who pushed this act into law, was barefaced in the extreme. Nor was the attempt to persuade the people, that it contained the true meaning and spirit of the standards of the church less so. The first book of discipline compiled in the year 1560, and ratified by act of parliament in the year 1567, says expressly, "No man should enter in the ministry, without a lawful vocation: the lawful vocation standeth in the election of the people, examination of the ministry, and admission by both." And as if the above were not plain enough, it is added, "No minister should be intruded upon any particular kirk, without their consent." The second book of discipline agreed upon in the general assembly, 1578, inserted in their registers, 1581, sworn to in the national covenant the same year revived, and ratified by the famous assembly at Glasgow, in the year 1638, and according to which the government of the church, was established first in the year 1592, and again in the year 1640, is equally explicit on this head. "Vocation or calling is common to all that should bear office within the kirk, which is a lawful way by the which qualified persons are promoted to spiritual office within the kirk of God. Without this lawful calling, it was never leisome to any to meddle with any function ecclesiastical." After speaking of vocation as extraordinary and ordinary, the compilers state "this ordinary and outward calling," to consist of "two parts, election, and ordination. Election they state to be "the choosing out of a person or persons most able to the office that vakes, by the judgment of the eldership, [the presbytery], and consent of the congregation to which the person or persons shall be appointed. In the order of election is to be eschewed, that any person be intruded in any office of the kirk, contrary to the will of the congregation to which they are appointed, or without the voice of the eldership," not the eldership or session of the congregation to which the person is to be appointed, as has been often ignorantly assumed; but the eldership or presbytery in whose bounds the vacant congregation lies, and under whose charge it is necessarily placed in a peculiar manner, by its being vacant, or without a public teacher. In perfect unison with the above, when the articles to be reformed are enumerated in a following chapter, patronage is one of the most prominent, is declared to have "flowed from the pope and corruption of the canon law, in so far as thereby any person was intruded or placed over kirks having *curam animarum*; and forasmuch as that manner of proceeding hath no ground in the word of God, but is contrary to the same, and to the said liberty of election, they ought not now to have place in this light of reformation; and, therefore, whosoever will embrace God's word, and desire the kingdom of his son Christ Jesus to be advanced, they will also embrace and receive that policy and order, which the word of God and upright state of this kirk crave; otherwise it is in vain that they have professed the same." Though the church had thus clearly delivered her opinion with regard to patronages, she had never been able to shake herself perfectly free from them, excepting for a few years previous to the restoration of Charles II., when they were restored in all their mischievous power and tendencies; and the revolution church being set down, not upon the attainments of the second, but upon the less clear and determinate

ones of the first reformation, patronage somewhat modified, with other evils, was entailed on the country. Something of the light and heat of the more recent, as well as more brilliant period still, however, remained; and in the settlement of the church made by the parliament in the year 1690, patronage in its direct form was set aside, not as an antichristian abomination, and incompatible with christian liberty, as it ought to have been, but as "inconvenient and subject to abuse." Though this act, however, was the act only of a civil court, it was less remote from scripture and common sense, than this act of the highest ecclesiastical court in the nation. By that act "upon a vacancy, the heritors, being protestants," (by a subsequent act it was provided, that they should be qualified protestants,) "and the elders, are to name and propose the person to the whole congregation, to be either approven, or disapproven by them; and if they disapprove, the disapprovers to give in their reasons to the effect the affair may be cognosced by the presbytery of the bounds, at whose judgment, and by whose determination the calling and entry of a particular minister is to be ordered and concluded." By this act, which we by no means admire, the heritors it would appear might have proposed one candidate to the congregation, and the elders another; nor, whether there was but one candidate or two, had the election been completed till the congregation had given their voice. But by the assembly's act, the heritors and the elders elected as one body; the work was by them completed; and, however much the congregation might be dissatisfied, except they could prove the elected person immoral in conduct, or erroneous in doctrine, they had no resource but to submit quietly to the choice of their superiors, the heritors and the elders.

The act of 1690 was liable to great abuse; yet, by the prudent conduct of presbyteries, complaints were for many years comparatively few, and but for the restoration of patrons to their antichristian power, might have continued to be so long enough. For ten or twelve years previous to this period, 1732, patrons had been gaining ground every year, and this act was unquestionably intended to accommodate any little appearance of liberty which remained in the Scottish church to the genius of patronage, which was now by the leaders of the dominant party declared the only sure if not legitimate door of entrance to the benefice, whatever it might be to the affections and the spiritual edification of the people. The measure, however, was incautious and premature. There was a spirit abroad which the ruling faction wanted the means to break, and which their frequent attempts to bend ought to have taught them was already far beyond their strength. As an overture and an interim act, it had been almost universally condemned; and, now that it was made a standing law, without having gone through the usual forms, and neither protest, dissent, nor remonstrance allowed to be entered against it, nothing remained for its opponents but, as occasion offered, to testify against it from the pulpit or the press, which many embraced the earliest opportunity of doing. Scarcely, indeed, had the members of assembly reached their respective homes with the report of their proceedings, when, in the evening of the Sabbath, June 4th, in a sermon from Isaiah ix. 6, the subject of this memoir attacked the obnoxious act with such force of argument as was highly gratifying to its opponents, but peculiarly galling to its abettors, who were everywhere, in the course of a few days, by the loud voice of general report, informed of the circumstance, with manifold exaggerations. Public, however, as this condemnation of the act of assembly was, Mr Erskine did not think it enough. Having occasion, as late moderator, to open the synod of Perth on the 10th day of October, the same year, taking for his text, Psalm cxviii. 22, "The Stone which the builders rejected, the same is made the Head Stone of the Cor-

ner, he delivered himself, on the disputed points, more at large, and with still greater freedom. In this sermon, Mr Erskine asserted, in its full breadth, the doctrine which we have above proved, from her standards, to have all along been the doctrine of the church of Scotland—that the election of a minister belonged to the whole body of the people. "The promise," said he, keeping up the figure in the text, "of conduct and counsel in the choice of men that are to build, is not made to patrons and heritors, or any other set of men, but to the church, the body of Christ, to whom apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers are given. As it is a natural privilege of every house or society of men, to have the choice of their own servants or officer; so it is the privilege of the house of God in a particular manner. What a miserable bondage would it be reckoned, for any family to have stewards, or servants, imposed on them by strangers, who might give the children a stone for bread, or a scorpion instead of a fish, poison instead of medicine; and shall we suppose that our God granted a power to any set of men, patrons, heritors, or whatever they be, a power to impose servants on his family, they being the purest society in the world?" This very plain and homely passage, which, for the truth it contains, and the noble spirit of liberty which it breathes, deserves to be written with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever, gave great offence to many members of synod, and particularly to Mr Mercer of Aberdalgie, who moved that Mr Erskine should be rebuked for his freedom of speech, and admonished to be more circumspect for the future. This produced the appointment of a committee, to draw out the passages complained of; which being done, and Mr Erskine refusing to retract any thing he had said, the whole was laid before the synod. The synod, after a debate of three days, found, by a plurality of six voices, Mr Erskine censurable, and ordered him to be rebuked and admonished at their bar accordingly. The presbytery of Stirling was also instructed to notice his behaviour in time coming, at their privy censures, and report to the next meeting of synod. Against this sentence Mr Erskine entered his protest, and appealed to the general assembly. Mr Alexander Moncrief of Abernethy also protested against this sentence, in which he was joined by a number of his brethren, only two of whom, Mr William Wilson of Perth, and Mr Fisher of Kinclaven, Mr Erskine's son-in-law, became eventually seceders. Firm to their purpose, the synod, on the last sederunt of their meeting, called Mr Erskine up to be rebuked; and he not appearing, it was resolved that he should be rebuked at their next meeting in April. Personal pique against Mr Erskine, and envy of his extensive popularity, were unfortunately at the bottom of this procedure, which, as it increased that popularity in a tenfold degree, heightened proportionally the angry feelings of his opponents, and rendered them incapable of improving the few months that elapsed between the meetings of synod, for taking a more cool and dispassionate view of the subject. The synod met in April, under the same excitation of feeling; and though the presbytery and the kirk session of Stirling exerted themselves to the utmost in order to bring about an accommodation, it was in vain: the representations of the first were disregarded, and the petition of the other was not so much as read. Mr Erskine being called, and compearing, simply told them that he adhered to his appeal. There cannot be a doubt but that the synod was encouraged to persevere in its wayward course by the leaders of the assembly, who were now resolved to lay prostrate every shadow of opposition to their measures. Accordingly, when the assembly met, in the month of May following, 1733, they commenced proceedings by taking up the case of Mr Stark, the intruder into the parish of Kinross, and the presbytery of Dunfermline, which they finished in the highest style of authority; probably, in part, for the very purpose of intimidating such as might be dis-

posed to befriend Mr Erskine on this momentous occasion. Multitudes, it was well known, approved of every word Mr Erskine had said; but when it was made apparent with what a high hand they were to be treated, if they took any part in the matter, even those who wished him a safe deliverance might be afraid to take his part. Probably he himself was not without painful misgivings when he beheld the tide of authority thus rolling resistlessly along; but he had committed himself, and neither honour nor conscience would allow him to desert the prominence on which, in the exercise of his duty, he had come to be placed, though, for the time, it was covered with darkness, and seemed to be surrounded with danger. His appeal to the assembly he supported by reasons alike admirable, whether we consider their pointed bearing on the subject, the piety that runs through them, or the noble spirit of independence which they breathe. The reasons of his appeal were five, of which we can only give a feeble outline. 1st, The imbittered spirit of the greater part of the synod, by which they were evidently incapable of giving an impartial judgment. 2nd, The tendency of such procedure to gag the mouths of those, who, by their commission, must use all boldness and freedom in dealing with the consciences of men. 3d, Because, though the synod had found him censurable, they had condescended on no one part of the truth of God's word, or the standards of this church, from which he had receded. 4th, The censured expressions, viewed abstractly from the committee's remarks, which the synod disowned, are not only inoffensive but either scriptural or natively founded on scripture. The fifth reason regarded the obnoxious act of assembly, against which he could not retract his testimony, and which the synod, by their procedure, had made a term of ministerial communion, which, for various reasons, he showed could not be so to him. On all these accounts, he claimed, "from the equity of the venerable assembly," a reversal of the sentence of the synod. To Mr Erskine's appeal Mr James Fisher gave in his name as adhering. Reasons of protest were also given in by Mr Alexander Moncrief and a number of ministers and elders adhering to him, fraught with the most cogent arguments, though couched in the modest form of supplication rather than assertion. But they had all one fate, viz. were considered great aggravations of Mr Erskine's original offence. The sentence of the synod was confirmed, and, to terminate the process, Mr Erskine appointed to be rebuked and admonished by the moderator, at the bar of the assembly; which was done accordingly. Mr Erskine, however, declared that he could not submit to the rebuke and admonition, and gave in a protest for himself, Mr Wilson, Mr Moncrief, and Mr Fisher, each of whom demanded to be heard on their reasons of appeal, but were refused,—Mr Moncrief and Mr Wilson, immediately by the assembly, and Mr Fisher, by the committee of bills refusing to transmit his reasons, which were, in consequence, left upon the table of the house. The paper was titled, "Protest by Mr Ebenezer Erskine and others, given in to the assembly, 1733." "Although I have a very great and dutiful regard to the judicatures of this church, to whom I own subjection in the Lord, yet, in respect the assembly has found me censurable, and have tendered a rebuke and admonition to me for things I conceive agreeable to the word of God and our approven standards, I find myself obliged to protest against the foresaid censure, as importing that I have, in my doctrine, at the opening of the synod of Perth, in October last, departed from the word of God, and the foresaid standards, and that I shall be at liberty to preach the same truths of God, and to testify against the same or like defections of this church upon all proper occasions. And I do hereby adhere unto the testimonies I have formerly emitted against the act of assembly, 1732, whether in the protest entered against it in open assembly, or yet in my synodi-

cal sermon, craving this my protest and declaration be inserted in the records of assembly, and that I be allowed extracts thereof: Ebenezer Erskine." "We, undersigned subscribers, dissenters from the sentence of the synod of Perth and Stirling, do hereby adhere to the above protestation and declaration, containing a testimony against the act of assembly 1732, and asserting our privilege and duty to testify publicly against the same or like defections upon all proper occasions: William Wilson, Alexander Moncrief." "I Mr James Fisher, minister at Kinclaven, appellant against the synod of Perth in this question, although the committee of bills did not think fit to transmit my reasons of appeal, find myself obliged to adhere unto the foresaid protestation and declaration: James Fisher." This paper being referred to a committee, that committee returned it with the following overture, which by a great majority of the assembly, was instantly turned into an act:—"The general assembly ordains, that the four brethren aforesaid, appear before the commission in August next, and then show their sorrow for their conduct and misbehaviour in offering to protest, and in giving in to this assembly the paper by them subscribed, and that they then retract the same. And in case they do not appear before the said commission in August, and then show their sorrow, and retract as said is, the commission is hereby empowered and appointed to suspend the said brethren, or such of them as shall not obey, from the exercise of their ministry. And farther, in case the said brethren shall be suspended by the said commission, and that they shall act contrary to the said sentence of suspension, the commission is hereby empowered and appointed, at their meeting in November, or any subsequent meeting, to proceed to a higher censure against the said four brethren, or such of them as shall continue to offend by transgressing this act. And the general assembly do appoint the several presbyteries of which the said brethren are members, to report to the commission in August and subsequent meetings of it, their conduct and behaviour with respect to this act." The four brethren, on this sentence being intimated to them, offered to read the following as their joint speech:—"In regard the venerable assembly have come to a positive sentence without hearing our defence, and have appointed the commission to execute the sentence in August, in case we do not retract what we have done, we cannot but complain of this uncommon procedure, and declare that we are not at liberty to take this affair into *avisandum*." The assembly, however, would not hear them, and they left their paper on the table, under form of instrument.

This sentence excited a deep sensation in every corner of the country, and when the four brethren, as they were now called, appeared before the commission in the month of August, numerous representations were presented in their behalf, stating the evils that were likely to result from persevering in the measures that had been adopted towards them, and recommending caution and delay as the only means whereby matters might be accommodated, and the peace of the church preserved. On Mr Erskine's behalf, especially, the petitions were urgent, and the testimonials to his character strong. "Mr Erskine's character," say the presbytery of Stirling in their representation to the commission, "is so established amongst the body of professors of this part of the church, that we believe even the authority of an assembly condemning him cannot lessen it, yea, the condemnation itself, in the present case will tend to heighten it, and in his case, should the sentence be executed, most lamentable consequences would ensue, and most melancholy divisions will be increased; the success of the gospel in our bounds hindered; reproach, clamour, and noise will take place; our congregations be torn in pieces; ministers of Christ will be deserted and misrepresented; and our enemies will rejoice over us. The

same evils were apprehended by the kirk session of Stirling, and the observations of both presbytery and session were confirmed by the town council.—"We beg leave," say they, "briefly to represent that Mr Erskine was settled as an ordained minister amongst us for the greater edification of the place, and that with no small trouble and expense—that we have always lived in good friendship with him, after now two full years' acquaintance—that we find him to be of a peaceable disposition of mind, and of a religious walk and conversation, and to be every way fitted and qualified for discharging the office of the ministry amongst us, and that he has accordingly discharged the same to our great satisfaction—that, therefore, our being deprived of his ministerial performances must undoubtedly be very moving and afflictive to us, and that the putting the foresaid act (the act of suspension) into execution, we are afraid, will in all likelihood be attended with very lamentable circumstances, confusions, and disorders, too numerous and tedious to be here rehearsed, and that not only in this place in particular, but also in the church in general." The kirk session and town council of Perth presented each a representation in favour of Mr Wilson, as did the presbyteries of Dunblane and Ellon, praying the commission to wait at least for the instructions of another assembly. Full of the spirit of the assembly which had appointed it, however, the commission was deaf to all admonitions, refusing to read, or even to allow, any of these representations to be read, with the exception of a small portion of that from the presbytery of Stirling, which might be done as a mark of respect to Mr Erskine's character, or it might be intended to awaken the envy and rage of his enemies. Mr Erskine prepared himself a pretty full representation, as an appellant from the sentence of the synod of Perth and Stirling, as did also Mr James Fisher. Messrs Wilson and Moncrief, as protesters against that sentence, gave in papers, under form of instrument, insisting upon it as their right to choose their own mode of defence, which was by writing. Mr Erskine was allowed, with some difficulty, to read his paper, but none of the others could obtain the like indulgence, so they delivered the substance of them in speeches at the bar. They did not differ in substance from those formerly given in, and of which we have already given the reader as liberal specimens as our limits will permit. "In regard they were not convicted of departing from any of the received principles of the church of Scotland, or of counteracting their ordination vows and engagements; they protested that it should be lawful and warrantable for them to exercise their ministry as heretofore they had done; and that they should not be chargeable with any of the lamentable effects that might follow upon the course taken with them." The commission, without any hesitation, suspended them from the exercise of the ministerial function in all its parts. Against this sentence they renewed their protestations, and paid no regard to it, as all of them confessed when brought before the commission in the month of November. Applications in their behalf were more numerous, at the meeting of the commissions in November, than they had been in August, and they had the advantage of those of August, in that they were read. The prayer of them all was delay; and it carried in the commission, to proceed to a higher censure only by the casting vote of Mr Goldie, (or Gowdie,) the moderator. The sentence was pronounced on the 16th day of November, 1733, to the following effect:—"The commission of the general assembly did, and hereby do, loose the pastoral relation of Mr Ebenezer Erskine, minister at Stirling, Mr William Wilson, minister at Perth, Mr Alexander Moncrief, minister at Abernethy, and Mr James Fisher, minister at Kinclaven, to their said respective charges; and do declare them no longer ministers of this church. And do hereby prohibit all ministers of this church to employ them, or any of them, in any ministerial function. And the commis-

sion do declare the churches of the said Messrs Erskine, Wilson, Moncrief, and Fisher, vacant from and after the date of this sentence." Extracts were also, by the sentence, ordered to be sent with letters to the several presbyteries in whose bounds the said ministers had their charges, ordering intimation of the sentence to be made in the several vacant churches. Letters, intimating the sentence, were also ordered to the magistrates of Perth and Stirling, to the sheriff principal of Perth, and baillie of the regality of Abernethy. Against this sentence, Mr Erskine and his brethren took the following protestation, which may be considered as the basis, or constitution, of the secession church. "We hereby adhere to the protestation formerly entered before this court, both at their last meeting in August, and when we appeared before this meeting. And, farther, we do protest, in our own name, and in the name of all and every one in our respective congregations adhering to us, that, notwithstanding of this sentence passed against us, our pastoral relation shall be held and reputed firm and valid. And, likewise, we protest, that, notwithstanding of our being cast out from ministerial communion with the established church of Scotland, we still hold communion with all and every one who desire, with us, to adhere to the principles of the true presbyterian church of Scotland, in her doctrine, worship, government, and discipline, and particularly with all who are groaning under the evils, and who are afflicted with the grievances we have been complaining of, and who are, in their several spheres, wrestling against the same. But in regard the prevailing party in this established church, who have now cast us out from ministerial communion with them, are carrying on a course of defection from our reformed and covenanted principles, and particularly are suppressing ministerial freedom and faithfulness in testifying against the present backslidings, and inflicting censures upon ministers for witnessing, by protestations and otherwise, against the same. Therefore we do, for these and many other weighty reasons, to be laid open in due time, protest that we are obliged to make a secession from them, and that we can hold no ministerial communion with them till they see their sins and mistakes, and amend them; and in like manner, we do protest that it shall be lawful and warrantable for us to exercise the keys of doctrine, discipline, and government, according to the word of God, and confession of faith, and the principles and constitution of the covenanted church of Scotland, as if no such censure had been passed upon us; upon all which we take instruments. And we do hereby appeal to the first free, faithful, and reforming general assembly of the church of Scotland." Mr Gabriel Wilson, of Maxton, one of the eleven brethren who, thirteen years before this, had been joined with Mr Erskine in the defence of the Marrow, took a protest against the sentence at the same time, which was adhered to by Ralph Erskine, Dunfermline; Thomas Muir, Orwell; John Maclaurin, Edinburgh; John Currie, Kinglassie; afterwards the most bitter enemy of the secession, James Wardlaw, Dunfermline, and Thomas Nairn, Abbotshall; the greater part of whom lived to advance the interests of the secession.

In this violent struggle for the church's and the people's liberties, Mr Erskine was ably supported by his three brethren, Messrs Wilson, Moncrief, and Fisher, and his popularity was extended beyond what might be supposed reasonable limits. His congregation clung to him with increasing fondness, and his worthy colleague, Mr Alexander Hamilton, during the short time he lived after the rise of the secession, ceased not to show him the warmest regard by praying publicly, both for him and the associate presbytery. This presbytery was constituted with solemn prayer, by Mr Ebenezer Erskine at Gairny Bridge, near Kinross, on the 6th day of December, 1733, the greater part of that, and the whole of the preceding day having been spent in prayer. The associate presbytery

consisted at first only of the four brethren; for though Messrs Ralph Erskine and Thomas Muir were both present at its constituting, they were only spectators. Though they had thus put themselves in a posture to work, they did not proceed for some years to any judicative acts, further than publishing papers relating to the public cause in which they were engaged; these were a review of the narrative and state of the proceedings against them, published by a committee of the commission of the general assembly, published in March, 1734; and a testimony to the doctrine, worship, and government of the church of Scotland, or reasons for their protestation entered before the commission of the general assembly, in November, 1733, &c. This has been since known by the name of the extrajudicial testimony. In these papers Mr Erskine had his full share, and they had an effect upon the public mind, which alarmed the ruling faction in the church not a little, and drove them upon measures which could hardly have been anticipated. The friends of the seceders indeed made an extraordinary bustle, many of them from no sincere motives, some of them anxious to heal the breach, and others of them only anxious for a pretext to stand by and do nothing in the matter. The leaders of the assembly, too, fearful of the consequences of a system that was untried; were willing to concede something at the present time, to outraged orthodoxy, knowing well that though they could not recall the past, they might yet, by a semblance of moderation, preserve on their side a number of the more timid of the friends of the seceders who had not yet declared themselves, by which the schism, though not totally healed, might be greatly circumscribed. Accordingly, the next assembly when it met in the month of May, 1734, was found to be of a somewhat different complexion, from a number that had preceded it. There was still, however, as one of its members and its great admirer has remarked, "the mighty opposition of great men, ruling elders, who had a strong party in the house to support them," and who took effectual care, that nothing should be done in the way of reformation, further than might be justified by a calculating worldly policy. In passing the commission book, sundry reservations were made of a rather novel kind, and among others, the sentence passed against Mr Erskine and his three brethren. The act of 1730, forbidding the registering of dissents, and the act of 1732, concerning the planting of vacant churches, were both declared to be no longer binding rules in the church. The synod of Perth and Stirling were also empowered to take up the case of Mr Erskine, and without inquiring into the legality or justice of any of the steps that had been taken on either side, restore the harmony and peace of the church, and for this purpose they were to meet on the first Tuesday of July next. Never had any synod before this such a task enjoined them. The preceding assembly had enjoined its commission to do all that had been done toward Mr Erskine and his friends. This assembly enjoins the synod to reverse all that had been done by the commission, but with the express promise, that they shall not take it upon them to judge either of the legality, or the formality of the proceedings they were thus ordered to reverse. Upon what principle was the synod to proceed? If the sentence of the commission was pronounced on proper grounds, and the subjects of it had given no signs of repentance, the assembly itself could not warrantably nor consistently take it off. This, "the great men, the ruling elders, who had a strong party in the house to support them, were perfectly aware of; but there were a few men, such as Willison, Currie, and Macintosh, who they knew had a hankering after the seceders, and whom they wished to secure upon their own side, and they served them by an act more absurd than any of those that had occasioned the secession; an act requiring a synod to reverse a sentence, that either was or ought to have been pronounced in the name of the Lord Jesus

Christ, without inquiring into its validity, or presuming to give an opinion respecting it? The synod, however, hasted to perform the duty assigned them, and on the second of July, 1734, met at Perth, when, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, they took off the sentences from all the four brethren, restoring them to their standing in the church, ordered their names to be placed upon the presbytery and synod rolls, as if there had never been act, sentence, or impediment in their way. The seceders had too much penetration to be gulled by this invention, and too much honesty to accept of the seeming boon; but it answered the main purpose that it was intended to serve, it afforded a handle for reviving a popular clamour against them, and proved an excellent excuse for their summer friends to desert them. The reforming fit was past in the meeting of next assembly in 1736, which was as violent in its proceedings, as any that had preceded it. Mr Erskine and his friends now despairing of any speedy reformations in the judicatories, published their reasons for not acceding to these judications, and proceeded to prepare the judicial act and testimony, which, after many diets of fasting and prayer, was enacted at their twenty-fourth presbyterial meeting, in the month of December, 1736. Mr Erskine continued all this time to occupy his own parish church, and was attended with the same respectful attention as ever. In the year 1738, the assembly began to persecute Mr Erskine and his friends, who were now considerably increased. In the year 1739, he, along with his brethren, was served with a libel to appear before the general assembly, where they appeared as a constituted presbytery, and by their moderator gave in a paper, declining the authority of the court. The assembly, however, delayed giving sentence against them till next year, 1740, when they were all deposed, and ordered to be ejected from their churches. On the sabbath after this, Mr Erskine retired with his congregation to a convenient place in the fields, where he continued to preach till a spacious meeting-house was prepared by his people, all of whom adhered to him, and in this house he continued to officiate when ability served till the day of his death. In the year 1742, Mr Erskine was employed, along with Mr Alexander Moncrief, to enlarge the secession testimony, which they did by that most excellent and well known little work, entitled an act anent the doctrine of grace. About this period he had also some correspondence with Mr George Whitefield, which terminated in a way that could not be pleasing to either party. Along with the doctrines of grace, the associate presbytery took into consideration the propriety of renewing the national covenants. An overture to this purpose was approved of by the presbytery on the twenty-first of October, 1742, the same day that they passed the act anent the doctrine of grace. That a work of so much solemnity might be gone about with all due deliberation, the presbytery agreed that there should be room left for all the members to state freely whatever difficulties they might have upon the subject, and it accordingly lay over till the twenty-third of December, 1743, when the overture, with sundry amendments and enlargements, was unanimously approved of and enacted. A solemn acknowledgment of sins being prepared for the occasion, and a solemn engagement to duties on the twenty-eighth of December, Mr Erskine preached a sermon at Stirling, the day being observed as a day of solemn fasting and humiliation, after which the confession of sins was read, and the engagement to duties sworn to and subscribed by fifteen ministers, of whom Ebenezer Erskine was the first that subscribed. Shortly after, the same thing was done at Falkirk, where five ministers more subscribed. In this work no man of the body was more hearty than Mr Ebenezer Erskine; and it went through a number of congregations, till a stop was put to it by the question that arose respecting the religious clause of some burgess oaths, which it was alleged were utterly incon-

sistent with the oath of the covenants, and with the secession testimony. The associate presbytery had already determined the oaths of abjuration and allegiance to be sinful, as embracing the complex constitution, and was of course incompatible with the testimony which they had emitted against that complex constitution. At the last meeting of the associate presbytery, Mr Alexander Moncrief gave in a paper, stating his scruples with regard to the religious clause of some Burgess oaths, which he apprehended, would be found when examined, to be equally sinful with those they had already condemned. The dissolution of the associate presbytery being determined on, the question was reserved for a first essay of the associate synod. Accordingly, when the synod met in the month of March, 1745, it was among the first motions that came before them; and after much discussion, the synod, in the month of April, 1746, found "that the swearing the religious clause in some Burgess oaths,—'Here I protest before God and your lordships, that I profess and allow within my heart, the true religion presently professed within this realm, and authorized by the laws thereof; I shall abide thereat and defend the same to my life's end, renouncing the Romish religion, called papistry,'—by any under their inspection, as the said clause comes necessarily in this period to be used and applied in a way that does not agree unto the present state and circumstances of the testimony for religion and reformation which this synod, with those under their inspection, are maintaining; particularly, that it does not agree unto nor consist with an entering into the bond for renewing our solemn covenants, and that, therefore, those seceding cannot farther, with safety of conscience and without sin, swear any burgess oath with the said religious clause, while matters, with reference to the profession and settlement of religion, continue in such circumstances as at present," &c. When this subject was first stated, it did not appear to be attended either with difficulty or danger. Questions of much more intricacy had been discussed at great length, and harmoniously disposed of by the associate presbytery; and the above decision, we are persuaded every unbiassed reader, when he reflects that it was intended to bind only those who had already acceded to the sederunt act and testimony, will think that it should have given entire satisfaction. This, however, was far from being the case. Some personal pique seems to have subsisted between two of the members of court, Mr Moncrief and Mr Fisher; in consequence of which, the latter regarded the conduct of the former with some suspicion. Being son-in-law to Mr Ebenezer Erskine, the latter, too, was supported by both the Erskines, who were the idols of the body, and on this occasion gave most humiliating evidence of the power of prejudice to darken the clearest intellects, and to pervert the purest and the warmest hearts. The question was simple—What was meant by those who framed and now imposed the oath? Was it the true religion abstractly considered, that was to be acknowledged by the swearer? or was it not rather the true religion embodied in a particular form, and guaranteed by particular laws, to insure the integrity of which, the oath was principally intended? Either this was the case, or the oath was superfluous and unmeaning, and of course could not be lawfully sworn by any one, whatever might be his opinions, as in that case it would have been a taking of the name of God in vain. True, however, it is, that volumes were written, of which no small portion came from the pens of the venerable Ralph Erskine and the worthy Mr James Fisher, to prove that nothing was sworn to in the oath but the true religion, abstracting from all the accompanying and qualifying clauses thereof. A protest against the above decision of synod was taken by Messrs Ralph Erskine, James Fisher, William Hutton, Henry Erskine, and John M'Cara, in which they were joined by two elders, and by the time of next meeting of synod, the whole body was

in a flame, every individual having committed himself on the one side or the other.

When the synod met on the 7th of April, 1747, the subject was resumed with a warmth that indicated not ardour, but absolute frenzy. The protesters against the former decision of the question, instead of bringing up their reasons of protest, as order and decency required, began by renewing the original question, Whether the act of synod was to be made a term of communion before it should be sent round in the form of an overture, to sessions and presbyteries for their judgment there-anent; the members of synod in the meantime praying and conferring with one another for light upon the subject. To this it was opposed as a previous question—Call for the reasons of protest, and the answers thereunto, that they may be read and considered. The question being put, which of the two questions should be voted, it carried for the first; from this Mr W. Campbell entered his dissent, to which Mr Thomas Moir and Mr Moncrief adhered. Next morning the protesters resumed the question with renewed ardour, or rather rage, Mr Moir again entered his protest, followed by eleven ministers, and ten elders. The protesters still insisting for their question, the whole day was wasted in shameful discussions; Mr Gibb protesting against the proposal of the protesters, in a new and somewhat startling form. Having adjourned one hour, the synod met again at eight, or between eight and nine o'clock, p. m., when the war of words was renewed for several hours, the protesters still insisting upon having the vote put; a protest against it was again entered by Mr Moncrief, which was adhered to by twelve ministers and ten elders. The moderator of course refused to put the vote, as did the clerk *pro tempore;* one of the party then called the roll, another marked the votes, the sum total of which, was nine ministers and eleven elders, and of these, six ministers and one elder were protesters, and of course, parties in the cause that had not the smallest right to vote on the subject. In this way, twenty voters, and of these twenty only thirteen legal voters, carried a deed against twenty-three, standing before them in solemn opposition under cover of all legal forms that, in the circumstances in which they stood, it was possible for them to employ. In this most extraordinary crisis, Mr Moir, the moderator of the former meeting of synod, considering the present moderator as having ceased to act, claimed that place for himself, and the powers of the associate synod for those who had stood firm under their protest against such disorderly procedure, whom he requested to meet in Mr Gibb's house to-morrow, to transact the business of the associate synod. They did so, and thus one part of the associate synod was reconstituted. The other part met next day in the usual place, having the moderator, though he had deserted them the night before, along with them, and the clerk *pro tempore;* on which they returned themselves as being the true associate synod. Whatever superiority in point of order was between them, entirely belonged to the party that met in Mr Gibb's house, and have since been known by the name of antiburghers; and they showed some sense of shame by making open confession of the sad display which they had made of their own corruptions, in managing what they then and still considered to be the cause of God. The other party were certainly even in this respect the more culpable; but having the unfettered possession of their beloved oath, they seem to have been more at ease with themselves, than their brethren. A more deplorable circumstance certainly never took place in any regularly constituted church, nor one that more completely demonstrated how little the wisest and the best of men are to be depended on when they are left to the influence of their own spirits. The very individual persons who, in a long and painful dispute with the established judicature, upon points of the highest im-

portance, had conducted themselves with singular judgment, prudence, and propriety, here, upon a very trifling question, and of easy solution, behaved in a manner not only disgraceful to the christian but to the human character; violating in their case, to carry a point of very little moment, the first principles of order, without preserving which it is impossible to carry on rationally the affairs of ordinary society. In all this disgraceful business we blush to be obliged to acknowledge that Ebenezer Erskine had an active hand; he stood in front of the list of the burgher presbytery, and, if we may believe the report of some who boast of being his admirers, abated considerably after this of his zeal for the principles of the reformation. He certainly lost much of his respectability by the share he had in augmenting the storm which his age and his experience should have been employed to moderate, and it must have been but an unpleasant subject for his after meditations. He was after this engaged in nothing of public importance. He lived indeed only seven years after this, and the better half of them under considerable infirmity. He died on the twenty-second of June, 1756, aged seventy-four years, saving one month. He was buried by his own desire, in the middle of his meeting-house, where a large stone with a Latin inscription, recording the date of his death, his age, and the periods of his ministry at Portmoak and Stirling, still marks out the spot. Mr Erskine was twice married; first, as we have already mentioned, to that excellent woman, Alison Terpie, who died sometime in the year 1720. He married three years afterwards a daughter of the Rev. James Webster, Edinburgh, who also died before him. He left behind him several children, one of whom, a daughter, died so late as the year 1814. Of his character we have scarcely left ourselves room to speak. As a writer of sermons he is sound, saving, and practical, abounding in clear views of the gospel, with its uses and influence in promoting holiness of life. As a preacher, he was distinguished among the greatest men of his day. In learning, and in compass of mind, he was inferior to the author of "The Trust," and, for keen and penetrating genius, to the author of "The Defence of the reformation principles of the church of Scotland;" but for straight forward good sense, incorruptible integrity, and dauntless intrepidity, he was equal to any man of the age in which he lived.

ERSKINE, Henry, third lord Cardross, one of the most distinguished patriots of the seventeenth century, was the eldest son of the second lord Cardross, who, in his turn, was grandson to John, seventh earl of Marr, the eminent and faithful counsellor of King James VI. By his mother, Anne Hope, the subject of our memoir was grandson to Sir Thomas Hope, king's advocate, the chief legal counsellor of the covenanters in the early years of the civil war. It may also be mentioned, that colonel Erskine of Carnock, father to the author of "the Institutes," was a half-brother of lord Cardross.

The father of this eminent patriot, was one of the seven Scottish lords who protested against the reddition of Charles I. to the English army, and he educated his son in the same principles of honour and fidelity to the laws, and to personal engagements, which inspired himself. Lord Henry was born about 1650, and succeeded his father in 1671. Having also succeeded to all the liberal principles of the family, he at once joined himself, on entering life, to the opposers of the Lauderdale administration. This soon exposed him to persecution, and in 1674 he was fined in £5,000, for his lady having heard worship performed in his own house by a non-conforming chaplain. His lordship paid £1,000 of this fine, and after attending the court for six months, in the vain endeavour to procure a remission for the rest, was imprisoned in Edinburgh castle, where he continued for four years. While he was thus suffering captivity, a party of soldiers visited his house, and, after treating his lady with the

greatest incivility, and breaking up the closet in which he kept his papers, established a garrison, which continued there for eight years. Two years afterwards, while he was still in prison, his lady having been delivered of a child, whom she caused to be baptized (without his knowledge), by a non-conforming clergyman, another fine of £3,000 was imposed upon him, being purposely thus severe, in order that he might be retained in prison, through inability to pay it. So meanly revengeful was the feeling of the government, that, when the royal forces were on their march to Bothwell bridge, in June 1679, they were taken two miles out of their proper line of march, in order that they might quarter upon his lordship's estates of Kirkhill and Uphall, and do them all the mischief possible.

In July 1679, lord Cardross was released, on giving bond for the amount of his fine. He went to court, to give an account of his sufferings, and solicit some redress. But the infamous privy council of Scotland counteracted all his efforts. Finding no hope of further comfort in his own country, and that there was little probability of the British nations contriving to throw off the odious bondage in which they were kept, he resolved to seek refuge and freedom in a distant land. He perhaps acted upon the philosophical maxim, thus laid down by Plato, "If any one shall observe a great company run out into the rain every day, and delight to be wet in it, and if he judges, that it will be to little purpose for him to go and persuade them to come into their houses and avoid the rain, so that all that can be expected from his going to speak to them, will be, that he will be wet with them; would it not be much better for him to keep within doors, and preserve himself, since he cannot correct the folly of others?" Lord Cardross engaged with those who settled on Charlestown Neck, in South Carolina, where he established a plantation. From thence, a few years afterwards, he and his people were driven by the Spaniards, many of the colonists being killed, and almost all their effects destroyed. Dispirited, but not broken by his misfortunes, the Scottish patriot returned to Europe, and took up his abode at the Hague, where many others of his persecuted countrymen now found shelter. Entering into the service of Holland, he accompanied the prince of Orange on his expedition to England, his son David commanding a company in the same army. He was of great service in Scotland, under general Mackay, in promoting the revolution settlement, which at length put an end to the miseries endured for many years by himself, and by his country at large. He was now restored to his estates, sworn a privy counsellor, and honoured with much of the friendship and confidence of king William. His health, however, previously much impaired by his imprisonment, and the fatigue of his American plantation, sunk under his latter exertions, and he died at Edinburgh, May 21st, 1693, in the forty-fourth year of his age. The late venerable earl of Buchan, and his two brothers, Henry and Thomas Erskine, were the grandchildren of lord Cardross.

ERSKINE, (Honouraele) Henry, an eminent pleader, was the third son of Henry David, tenth earl of Buchan, by Agnes, daughter of Sir James Stewart of Coltness and Goodtrees, Baronet. He was born at Edinburgh, on the 1st of November, 1746, O.S. His fame has been eclipsed by that of his younger and more illustrious brother, Thomas lord Erskine, who rose to the dignity of lord high chancellor of Great Britain; but his name, nevertheless, holds a distinguished place in the annals of the Scottish bar, to which he was called in the year 1768, and of which he was long the brightest ornament.

Mr Erskine's education was begun under the paternal roof. He was afterwards sent, with his two brothers, to the college of St Andrews; whence they were subsequently transferred to the university of Edinburgh, and latterly to

that of Glasgow. As his patrimony was small, Henry was taught to look forward to a profession, as the only avenue to fortune; and he early decided on that of the bar, while his younger brother resolved to push his fortune in the army.

It was in the Forum, a promiscuous debating society established in Edinburgh, that young Erskine's oratorical powers first began to attract notice. While prosecuting his legal studies, and qualifying himself for the arduous duties of his profession, he found leisure to attend the Forum, and take an active part in its debates. It was in this school that he laid the foundation of those powers of extemporary speaking, by which in after years he wielded at will the feelings of his auditors, and raised forensic practice, if not to the models of ancient oratory, at least to something immeasurably above the dull, cold, circumlocutory forms of speech in which the lords of council and session were then wont to be addressed. Another arena upon which Henry Erskine trained himself to exhibitions of higher oratory than had yet been dreamt of by his professional brethren, was the general assembly of the kirk of Scotland, of which it was then said with greater truth than it would be now, that it afforded the best theatre for deliberative eloquence to be found in Scotland. Here his lineage, talents, and orthodox sentiments commanded respect; and accordingly he was always listened to by that venerable body with the greatest deference and attention.

Mr Erskine was equalled, perhaps surpassed in depth of legal knowledge, by one or two of his fellows at the bar; but none could boast of equal variety and extent of accomplishments; none surpassed him in knowledge of human character; and none equalled him in quickness of perception, playfulness of fancy, and professional tact. He was the Horace of the profession; and his "seria commixta jocis" are still remembered with pleasure by his surviving contemporaries. Yet, while by the unanimous suffrages of the public, Mr Erskine found himself placed without a rival at the head of a commanding profession, his general deportment was characterized by the most unaffected modesty and easy affability, and his talents were not less at the service of indigent but deserving clients, than they were to be commanded by those whose wealth or influence enabled them most liberally to remunerate his exertions. Indeed his talents were never more conspicuous than when they were employed in protecting innocence from oppression, in vindicating the cause of the oppressed, or exposing the injustice of the oppressor. Henry Erskine was in an eminent sense the advocate of the people, throughout the long course of his professional career; he was never known to turn his back upon the poor man; or to proportion his services to the ability of his employers to reward them. It is said that a poor man, in a remote district of Scotland, thus answered an acquaintance who wished to dissuade him from engaging in a law-suit with a wealthy neighbour, by representing the hopelessness of his being able to meet the expense of litigation: "Ye dinna ken what ye're saying, maister; there's no a puir man in a' Scotland need to want a friend or fear an enemy sae lang as Harry Erskine lives!"

When Mr Erskine deemed his independence secured, he married Christina, the only daughter of George Fullarton, Esq., collector of the customs at Leith. This lady brought him a handsome fortune; but, with the prospect of a pretty numerous family before him, Mr Erskine continued assiduously to practise his profession. By this lady he had three daughters: Elizabeth Frances, who died young; Elizabeth Crompton, afterwards Mrs Callendar; and Henrietta, now Mrs Smith; together with two sons, Henry and George, the former of whom married the eldest daughter of the late Sir Charles Shipley in 1811, and is now earl of Buchan.

Mr Erskine, like his elder brother, had early embraced the principles of whiggism; and this distinguished family, during the progress of the American war, openly expressed their decided disapprobation of the course which ministers were pursuing in that unfortunate contest. Opposition was a more serious thing in these times, than it has since become; to oppose ministers was considered tantamount to disaffection to the constitution, and often exposed a man to serious loss and inconvenience. Mr Erskine's abilities, indeed, were beyond the reach of detraction; and his practice at the bar was founded upon a reputation too extensive to be easily shaken; but it cannot be doubted that, in espousing the liberal side of politics, he was sacrificing to no small amount his prospects of preferment. At the conclusion, therefore, of the American war, and the accession of the Rockingham administration, Mr Erskine's merits pointed him out as the fittest member of faculty, for the important office of lord advocate of Scotland, to which he was immediately appointed. But his opportunities to support the new administration were few, an account of its ephemeral existence; and on its retirement, he was immediately stripped of his official dignity, and even some years afterwards deprived, by the vote of his brethren, on account of his obnoxious political sentiments, of the honourable office of dean of faculty. On the return of the liberal party to office in 1806, Henry Erskine once more became lord advocate, and was returned member for the Dumfries district of burghs, in the room of major general Dalrymple. This, however, like the former whig administration, was not suffered to continue long in power, and with its dissolution, Mr Erskine again lost his office and seat in parliament. Amid these disappointments, Mr Erskine remained not less distinguished by inflexible steadiness to his principles, than by invariable gentleness and urbanity in his manner of asserting them. "Such, indeed," says one of his most distinguished contemporaries, "was the habitual sweetness of his temper, and the fascination of his manners, that, though placed by his rank and talent in the obnoxious station of a leader of opposition, at a period when political animosities were carried to a lamentable height, no individual, it is believed, was ever known to speak or to think of him, with any thing approaching to personal hostility. In return it may be said, with equal correctness, that though baffled in some of his pursuits, and not quite handsomely disappointed of some of the honours to which his claim was universally admitted, he never allowed the slightest shade of discontent to rest upon his mind, nor the least drop of bitterness to mingle with his blood. He was so utterly incapable of rancour, that even the rancorous felt that he ought not to be made its victim."

Mr Erskine's constitution began to give way under the pressure of disease, about the year 1812; and he, thereupon, retired from professional life, to his beautiful villa of Ammondell in West Lothian, which originally formed part of the patrimonial estate, but was transferred to the subject of our memoir by his elder brother about the year 1795, to serve as a retreat from the fatigues of business during the vacation. "Passing thus," says the eloquent writer already quoted, "at once from all the bustle and excitement of a public life, to a scene of comparative inactivity, he never felt a moment of ennui or dejection; but retained unimpaired, till within a day or two of his death, not only all his intellectual activity and social affections, but, when not under the immediate affliction of a painful and incurable disease, all that gayety of spirit, and all that playful and kindly sympathy with innocent enjoyment, which made him the idol of the young, and the object of cordial attachment and unenvying admiration to his friends of all ages." The five remaining years of his life were consumed by a complication of maladies; and he expired at his country-seat on the 8th of October, 1817, when he had nearly completed the 71st year of his age.

In person, Mr Henry Erskine was above the middle size; he was taller than either of his brothers, and well-proportioned, but slender; and in the bloom of manhood, was considered handsome in no common degree. In early life, his carriage was remarkably graceful; and so persuasive was his address, that he never failed to attract attention, and by the spell of irresistible fascination, to fix and enchain it. His features were all character,—his voice was powerful and melodious,—his enunciation uncommonly accurate, and distinct,—and there was a peculiar grace in his utterance, which enhanced the value of all he said, and engraved the remembrance of his eloquence indelibly on the minds of his hearers. His habits were domestic in an eminent degree. It has been said of men of wit in general, that they delight and fascinate every where but at home; this observation, however, though too generally true, could not be applied to him, for no man delighted more in the enjoyment of home, or felt more truly happy in the bosom of his family, while at the same time none were more capable of entering into the gayeties of polished society, or more courted for the brilliancy of his wit, and the ease and polish of his manners.

"The character of Mr Erskine's eloquence," says another friend, well capable of estimating his merits, "bore a strong resemblance to that of his noble brother; but being much less diffuse, it was better calculated to leave a forcible impression. He had the art of concentrating his ideas, and presenting them at once in so luminous and irresistible a form, as to render his hearers master of the view he took of his subject, which, however dry or complex in its nature, never failed to become entertaining and instructive in his hands; for to professional knowledge of the highest order, he united a most extensive acquaintance with history, literature, and science, and a thorough conversancy with human life." His oratory was of that comprehensive species which can address itself to every audience, and to every circumstance, and touch every chord of human emotion. Fervid and affecting in the extreme degree, when the occasion called for it: it was no less powerful, in opposite circumstances, by the potency of wit and the irresistible force of comic humour, which he could make use of at all times, and in perfect subordination to his judgment. "In his profession, indeed, all his art was argument, and each of his delightful illustrations a material step in his reasoning. To himself it seemed always as if they were recommended rather for their use than their beauty; and unquestionably they often enabled him to state a fine argument, or a nice distinction, not only in a more striking and pleasing way, but actually with greater precision than could have been obtained by the severer forms of reasoning. In this extraordinary talent, as well as in the charming facility of his eloquence, and the constant radiance of good humour and gayety which encircled his manners in debate, he had no rival in his own times, and as yet has no successor. That part of eloquence is now mute, that honour in abeyance."

There exists a bust of Mr Erskine, from the chisel of Turnerelli. We are not aware that any good portrait of him was ever taken.[1]

[1] After the above account of Mr Erskine was written, we happened to read a very pleasing account of him in his latter days, which was drawn up by his relation, Henry David Inglis, Esq., and inserted in the Edinburgh Literary Journal. This sketch we subjoin:

"My youthful visits to Ammondell live very greenly in my memory: these had greater charms for me than either Horace or Virgil, and, I suspect, charms quite as rational. None of my holidays were anticipated with longings more eager than those that were to be spent at Ammondell. I had my fishing tackle to arrange, which, to one fond of angling, is a pleasure secondary only to that of using it. I had to prepare myself in the classics, which, though a less agreeable occupation than the other, was as necessary—certain, as I was, that I should be examined as to my proficiency. Sometimes, also, I ventured upon a verse or two of English poetry, to show to my indulgent relative.

"It was soon after Mr Erskine retired from the bar and from political life, that my visits

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

ERSKINE, John, of Dun, knight, and the second in importance of the lay supporters of the Scottish Reformation, is said to have been born about the year 1508, at the family seat of Dun, in the county of Forfar. His family was descended from that which afterwards acceded to the title of Marr, while his

to Ammondell were the most frequent; and it is at this period that my recollections of him are the most vivid. Some say, he retired from public life disgusted: all admit, that he retired neglected—but no one will add, forgotten. Sure I am, that if impressions made upon the mind of a boy be entitled to any regard, I may say truly, that disappointment, if felt at all, had been unable in him to sour the milk of human kindness: and that, when I saw that fine grey-headed man—the most eloquent, the wittiest of his day—walking in his garden, with the hoe in his hand, I never questioned his sincerity in the following charming and characteristic lines, which he once read to me from his scrap-book, and which, not very long before his death, he kindly permitted me to copy. They have never before been published:

'Let sparks and topers o'er their bottle sit,
Toss bumpers down, and fancy laughter wit;
Let cautious plodders o'er the ledger pore,
Note down each farthing gain'd, and wish it more:
Let lawyers dream of wigs,—poets, of fame,—
Scholars look learned, and senators declaim:
Let soldiers stand like targets in the fray,
Their lives worth just their thirteen pence a-day;—
Give *me* a nook in some secluded spot
Which business shuns, and din approaches not,—
Some quiet retreat, where I may never know
What monarch reigns, what ministers bestow:
A book—my slippers—and a field to stroll in—
My garden-seat—an elbow-chair to loll in:
Sunshine when wanted—shade, when shade invites;
With pleasant country sounds, and smells, and sights;
And, now and then, a glass of generous wine,
Shared with a chatty friend of "auld lang syne;"
And one companion more, for ever nigh,
To sympathize in all that passes by—
To journey with me on the path of life,
And share its pleasures, and divide its strife.
These simple joys, Eugenius, let me find,
And I'll ne'er cast a lingering look behind.'

'These lines were written after Mr Erskine's second marriage, and refer, no doubt, in the latter part, to his second wife, who proved a most valuable companion and a tender nurse in his declining years. What degree of happiness his first connexion yielded in his early days, I have no access to know; but the extreme nervous irritability, and somewhat eccentric ways of the first Mrs Erskine, did not contribute greatly to his happiness in her later years. One of her peculiarities consisted in not retiring to rest at the usual hours. She would frequently employ half the night in examining the wardrobe of the family, to see that nothing was missing, and that every thing was in its proper place. I recollect being told this, among other proofs of her oddities, that one morning, about two or three o'clock, having been unsuccessful in a search, she awoke Mr Erskine by putting to him this important interrogatory, 'Harry, lovie, where's your white waistcoat?'

"The mail coach used to set me down at Ammondell gate, which is about three quarters of a mile from the house; and yet I see, as vividly as I at this moment see the landscape from the window at which I am now writing, the features of that beautiful and secluded domain,—the antique stone bridge,—the rushing stream, the wooded banks,—and, above all, the owner, coming towards me with his own benevolent smile and sparkling eyes. I recollect the very grey hat he used to wear, with a bit of the rim torn, and the pepper-and-salt short coat, and the white neckcloth sprinkled with snuff.

"No one could, or ever did, tire in Mr Erskine's company—he was society equally for the child and for the grown man. He would first take me to see his garden, where, being one day surprised by a friend while digging potatoes, he made the now well-known remark, that he was enjoying *otium cum diggin a tautie.** He would then take me to his melon bed, which we never left without a promise of having one after dinner; and then he would carry me to see the pony, and the great dog upon which his grandson used to ride.

"Like most men of elegant and cultivated minds, Mr Erskine was an amateur in music, and himself no indifferent performer upon the violin. I think I scarcely ever entered the hall along with him that he did not take down his Cremona—a real one, I believe—which hung on the wall, and, seating himself in one of the wooden chairs, play some snatches of

* The Scottish word for potatoe.

mother was a daughter of William, first lord Ruthven. In early life, he travelled for some time upon the continent, from which he returned in 1534, bringing with him a Frenchman, capable of teaching the Greek language, whom he established in the town of Montrose. Hitherto, this noble tongue was almost unknown in Scotland, and an acquaintance with it was deemed to imply a tendency to heresy. Erskine of Dun was the first man who made a decided attempt to overcome this prejudice, thereby foretelling his own fitness to burst through moral clouds of still greater density, and far more pernicious. Previous to 1540, he was one of the limited number of persons who, notwithstanding the persecuting disposition of James V., had embraced the protestant religion: in doing so, far from being led by mercenary motives, as many afterwards were, he and his friends were inspired solely with a love of what they considered the truth, and, for that sake, encountered very great dangers. His house of Dun, near Montrose, was constantly open to the itinerant preachers of the reformed doctrines, who, though liable to persecution in other places, seem to have always enjoyed, through the respectability of his personal character, as well as his wealth and baronial influence, an immunity for the time during which they resided with him. Though he must have been unfavourable to the war with England, commenced by the catholic party, in 1547, he appears to have been too much of a patriot to endure the devastations committed upon his native country by the enemy. His biographers dwell with pride on a very successful attack which he made, with a small party, upon a band of English, who had landed near Montrose for the purpose of laying waste the country. On this occasion, out of eighty invaders, hardly a third of them got back to their ships. When John Knox returned to Scotland in 1555, Erskine of Dun was among those who repaired to hear his private ministrations in the house of a citizen of Edinburgh. The reformer soon after followed him to Dun, where he preached daily for a month to the people of the neighbourhood; next year he renewed his visit, and succeeded in converting nearly all the gentry of the district.

In 1557, Erskine was one of the few influential persons who signed the first covenant, and established what was called the Congregation. In the succeeding year, he was one of the commissioners sent by the queen regent, Mary of Lorraine, to witness the marriage of her daughter Mary to the dauphin. While

old English or Scottish airs;—sometimes, 'Let's have a dance upon the heath,' an air from the music in Macbeth, which he used to say was by Purcel, and not by Locke, to whom it has usually been ascribed—sometimes, 'The flowers of the forest,' or 'Auld Robin Gray'—and sometimes the beautiful Pastorale from the eighth concerto of Corelli, for whose music he had an enthusiastic admiration. But the greatest treat to me was when, after dinner, he took down from the top of his bookcase, where it lay behind a bust, I think, of Mr Fox, his manuscript book, full of *jeux d'esprit*, charades, *bon mots*, &c., all his own composition. I was then too young, and, I trust, too modest, to venture any opinion upon their merits; but I well recollect the delight with which I listened, and Mr Erskine was not above being gratified by the silent homage of a youthful mind.

"Few men have ever enjoyed a wider reputation for wit than the Honourable Henry Erskine; the epithet then, and even now, applied to him, *par excellence*, is that of the witty Harry Erskine; and I do believe, that all the puns and *bon mots* which have been put into his mouth—some of them, no doubt, having originally come out of it—would eke out a handsome duodecimo. I well recollect, that nothing used to distress me so much as not perceiving at once the point of any of Mr Erskine's witticisms. Sometimes, half an hour after the witticism had been spoken, I would begin to giggle, having only then discovered the gist of the saying. In this, however, I was not singular. While Mr Erskine practised at the bar, it was his frequent custom to walk, after the rising of the courts, in the Meadows; and he was often accompanied by Lord Balmuto—one of the judges, a very good kind of man, but not particularly quick in his perception of the ludicrous. His lordship never could discover at first the point of Mr Erskine's wit; and, after walking a mile or two perhaps, and long after Mr Erskine had forgotten the saying, Lord Balmuto would suddenly cry out, 'I have you now, Harry—I have you now, Harry!'—stopping, and bursting into an immoderate fit of laughter."

he was absent, the cause of the reformation received a great impulse from the execution of Walter Mill, an aged priest, who was dragged to the stake to expiate his attachment to the new doctrines. The people were inflamed with resentment at this outrage, and now longed for more decisive measures being taken on the subject of religion. To counteract this enthusiasm, the queen regent summoned the preachers to appear at Stirling, and undergo trial for their heretical doctrines. The protestant gentry, having resolved to protect them, met at Perth, and Erskine of Dun was employed to go to Stirling, to seek an accommodation with the queen. It is well known that he succeeded in obtaining a respite for the ministers, though not of long continuance. In the sterner measures which were afterwards taken to protect the reformed religion, he bore an equally distinguished part.

On the establishment of protestantism in 1560, Erskine of Dun resolved to assume the clerical office, for which he was fitted in a peculiar manner, by his mild and benignant character. He was accordingly appointed by the Estates of the Kingdom, to be one of the five superintendants of the church—an office somewhat akin to that of bishop, though subject to the control of the principal church court. Erskine became superintendant of the counties of Angus and Mearns, which he had already been the principal means of converting to the new faith. It was installed, in 1562, by John Knox, and it would appear, that he not only superintended the proceedings of the inferior clergy, but performed himself the usual duties of a clergyman. In every thing that he did, his amiable character was discernible : far from being inspired with those fierce and uncompromising sentiments, which were perhaps necessary in some of his brethren for the hard work they had to perform, he was always the counsellor of moderate and conciliatory measures, and thus, even the opponents of the reformed doctrines could not help according him their esteem. When Knox had his celebrated interview with queen Mary respecting her intended marriage with Darnley, and brought tears into her eyes by the freedom of his speech, Erskine, who was present, endeavoured with his characteristic gentleness, to sooth those feelings which the severity of his friend had irritated. Knox stood silent and unrelenting, while the superintendant was engaged in this courteous office. Erskine appears to have thus made a very favourable impression upon the mind of the youthful queen. When she deemed it necessary to show some respect to the protestant doctrines, in order to facilitate her marriage, she sent for the superintendants of Fife, Glasgow, and Lothian, to whom she said that she was not yet persuaded of the truth of their religion, but she was willing to hear conference upon the subject, and would gladly listen to some of their sermons. Above all others, she said she would gladly hear the superintendant of Angus, " for he was a mild and sweet-natured man, with true honesty and uprightness."

For many years after this period, the superintendant discharged his various duties in an irreproachable manner, being elected no fewer than five times to be moderator of the general assembly. Some encroachments, made on the liberties of the church in 1571, drew from him two letters addressed to his chief, the regent Marr, which, according to Dr M'Crie, " are written in a clear, spirited, and forcible style, contain an accurate statement of the essential distinction between civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and should be read by all who wish to know the early sentiments of the church of Scotland on this subject." Some years afterwards, he was engaged with some other distinguished ornaments of the church, in compiling what is called the Second Book of Discipline. At length, after a long and useful life, he died, March 12, 1591, leaving behind him a character which has been thus depicted by archbishop Spottiswoode : " He was a man famous for the services performed to his prince and country, and worthy to

be remembered for his travails in the church, which, out of the zeal he had for the truth, he undertook, preaching and advancing it by all means. A baron he was of good rank, wise, learned, liberal, of singular courage; who, for diverse resemblances, may well be said to have been another Ambrose."

ERSKINE, John, eighteenth lord Erskine, and eleventh earl of Marr, was the son of Charles, tenth earl of Marr, and lady Mary Maule, daughter of the earl of Panmure. He was born at Alloa, in the month of February, 1675. Having lost his father ere he had reached his fourteenth year, and his estates being greatly embarrassed, he devoted himself to civil affairs; and as soon as he came of age, entered upon public life under the patronage of the duke of Queensberry, whose interest and whose measures he seems to have uniformly supported till his grace's death, which happened in 1711. In 1702, queen Anne, then just raised to the throne, appointed the earl of Marr one of her privy councillors for Scotland, and gave him the command of a regiment of foot, and a riband of the most noble order of St Andrews.

Marr had been carefully educated in revolution principles, and from his first entrance upon public life, had been understood to be zealously affected to the new order of things; but in 1704, his patron Queensberry being dismissed from office, he headed the friends of that nobleman in opposition to the marquis of Tweeddale and the Squadron, who had succeeded to the administration of Scottish affairs, and this opposition he managed with so much dexterity as to gain over to his views almost all the tories, "who now," in the significant language of Lockhart, "believed him to be an honest man, and well inclined to the royal family." The Squadron, however, unable to carry on the affairs of the nation in the face of so much opposition, were compelled to resign; Queensberry again came into place, and Marr, according to Lockhart, "returned like the dog to his vomit, and promoted all the court of England's measures with the greatest zeal imaginable." In the business of the union he was certainly very active. He brought forward the draught of an act for appointing commissioners to carry it into effect, and was not only on all occasions at his post, publicly to support it, but was supposed to have secretly managed some of the bitterest of its enemies, particularly the duke of Hamilton, so as to render their opposition wavering, feeble, and in the end ineffective. For his signal services during this session of parliament, he was advanced to be secretary of state in room of the marquis of Annandale, who was dismissed on suspicion of carrying on a secret correspondence with the Squadron.

When the commissioners for treating of the union came to be named, which, principally through the influence of Marr and Argyle upon the duke of Hamilton, was left wholly to the queen, he was named third upon the list; and in all the public conferences with the English commissioners upon the articles to which they had separately agreed on the part of the Scots, Seafield, the chancellor, and Marr, the secretary, were alone employed. In the struggle that ensued in carrying the treaty through the Scottish parliament, Marr exerted all his oratory and all his influence in its behalf, which was the more honourable, that he had not a farthing of the money that was issued from the English treasury and divided among the Scottish nobility and gentry on that memorable occasion. From the whole history of Marr's life, however, it would be altogether ridiculous to ascribe his conduct to any thing like enlightened views of policy or even such patriotism as was common in those turbulent times. His motive was unquestionably of the most selfish character, most probably the preserving the good opinion of the queen, through whose favour he hoped to have his ambition gratified with the sole administration of the affairs of Scotland. With this view he attached himself in the outset of his career to the duke of Queensberry,

to whom he adhered so long as he enjoyed the confidence of the queen, which was as long as he lived; and, with this view, when her majesty had thrown herself into the arms of the tories, he had taken his measures so accurately that he was by them considered of first rate importance, employed upon the most important affairs and intrusted with the secret of their most dangerous and unmanageable speculations. In consequence of this address on his part, though he had been from the first active on the side of the whigs, he found himself in a situation to demand the secretaryship of Scotland from the tories on the death of Queensberry; and though Argyle, whom they were exceedingly willing to oblige and to confirm in his lately taken up attachment to their cause, applying for it for his brother Ilay at the same time, prevented an immediate compliance with his wishes, they durst not openly refuse him, but, for fear of offending Argyle, declined to make for a time any appointment on the subject. It is not a little amusing to contrast the character and conduct of these rivals for power, Marr and Argyle, at this period. Both were ambitious, and both were in a high degree selfish; but the selfishness of the latter was softened by something like a principle of honour and consistency; that of the former was unmitigated and unbroken by any higher conflicting principle. Accordingly, knowing it was gratifying to the queen, Marr stood up openly for Sacheverel, defended his absurdities, and along with the notorious Jacobites, the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Wemyss, and Northeske voted for his acquittal. Argyle condemned his absurdities, but made an atonement by voting for a lenient punishment. Argyle, to recommend himself to the queen and her peace-pursuing ministry, depreciated the services and undervalued the talents of the duke of Marlborough, hoping that some of the honours and a few of the places which that great man enjoyed, might be in the issue conferred upon himself. Marr, knowing how much her majesty was set upon obtaining peace, and that nothing was more pleasing to her ears than the assertion of her lineal descent from an ancient race of kings, and the praise of prerogative, procured from the Jacobite clans a loyal address, embracing these topics, and enlarging upon them in a higher strain than the boldest time-server at court had hitherto presumed to adopt. The peace was not yet made, but the "patriots, the faithful advisers of this great transaction," were largely applauded. The insolence of the press, which her majesty had recommended to the notice of the late parliament, was duly reprobated, and a hope expressed, that the ensuing one would work out a thorough reformation, that they might be no more scandalized, nor the blessed Son of God blasphemed, nor the sacred race of the Stuarts inhumanly traduced with equal malice and impiety. And they concluded with a hope, that "to complete their happiness and put an end to intestine division after the queen's late demise, the hereditary right and parliamentary sanction would meet in a lineal successor." The commissioners sent up to Marr with this address, were introduced to the queen, who commended the warmth of their loyalty, and most graciously rewarded them with pensions. After this, no one will wonder that the influence of Marr became among the Tories evidently paramount. Argyle, though he joined with him in an attempt to have the treaty of union dissolved, shrunk from the contest for superiority; and, apparently in disgust, dropped back into the ranks of the whigs. Marr, having now no competitor for power among his countrymen, succeeded, most unfortunately for himself, in his darling wish. The secretaryship for Scotland, which had lain in abeyance for two years, he now received; so that he and his brother, lord Grange, who was lord justice clerk, became the most influential men in Scotland. He was also, along with Bolingbroke and Harley, regarded by the Jacobites, especially those of Scotland, as holding the destiny of the exiled

family entirely in his own power, which no one among them doubted to be fully equal to the warmest wishes of his own heart. Nor for a considerable time does it appear that any of these gentlemen doubted of their own power. All the steps towards the unfortunate peace, which they were in so much haste to conclude, seems to have been taken with the fullest confidence, that it would infallibly lead to the restoration of James, and they seem to have been perfectly confounded to find, that after it was made, and the honour and the interests of the nation thrown away, they were just as near their object as when they began, few of the external difficulties being removed, while those of an internal or domestic kind were multiplied at least seven fold. It was the increase and the insurmountable nature of these difficulties, not at all foreseen when the attempt was first thought on, that produced so much ill will and disunion among the parties, disgusted Oxford, terrified the queen herself, and while they distracted the last miserable and melancholy years of her reign, brought her in the end prematurely to the grave. Their difficulties, indeed, from the beginning were prodigiously augmented. Scarcely had the arrangements for bringing in the friends of James been begun, than two of the firmest and most powerful of them, the earl of Anglesey and the earl of Jersey, were removed by death. The earl of Rochester died soon after, who was the Ahithophel of the party. The duke of Hamilton followed, and the sudden death of the queen herself completed the ruin of the project. The regency upon whom the supreme authority devolved in the interim between the death of the queen and the arrival of the new king, both those that had been appointed by act of parliament, and those who in virtue of that act had been named by himself, were whigs, and in common with all of their party, zealous for the protestant succession; of course the late ministers had neither countenance nor protection from them, and it was among the first of his majesty's regal acts to dismiss them to a man from all their offices, places, and powers. The resolution of parliament on its being convened, to prosecute the leading men among them, completed their misery. Oxford was sent to the Tower, where he was confined for years. Bolingbroke and Ormond fled to the continent, and, to confirm all that had been previously surmised against them, joined themselves to the few malecontents, who, with James, formed the miserable court of St Germains.

Oxford had, at an early stage of the business, discovered that it could scarcely be effected, and during the latter part of his administration, seems to have laboured to shake himself free of it, as well for his own honour and interest as to calm the terrors of his royal mistress. But he was beset on all hands. The wretched peace which he had concluded, and the enmity of the whigs, begirt him in perpetual alarm, against which the friendly aid of the tories was his only resource. In the end, however, the impatience of the tories, and their reckless contempt of consequences, became equally troublesome and dangerous, and his great aim seems to have been by breaking their measures to recommend himself to the elector of Hanover, through whose patronage he probably hoped to be able either to conciliate the whigs or to brave their resentment. The subject of this memoir was not by any means so sharp-sighted as Oxford, but he was equally selfish, and far more regardless of the interests of others; and he no sooner saw the scheme of the Jacobites broken by the death of the queen, than he took measures to ingratiate himself with the new dynasty. For this purpose he wrote a letter to his majesty George I., when he was on his way through Holland, to take possession of his new dominions; soliciting his particular notice, and promising the most dutiful obedience and faithful service in whatever his majesty might be pleased to employ him. In this letter, it is not unworthy of remark, that he appeals to the part he acted

in bringing about the union, when the succession was settled, as a proof of his sincerity and faithfulness to his majesty, as if his majesty had been ignorant of the attempts that had been made to dissolve that treaty, and of the hearty repentance that Marr himself had professed for the hand he had in bringing it about. Of his willingness to serve the king in the same capacity in which he served the queen, and with the same faithfulness, provided it did not interfere with services that he could turn to a more special account, we see no reason to doubt, and perhaps it had been not the worst policy of the king to have taken him at his word, and continued him in his place. Kings, however, are but men, and we do think he must have been something more or something less than man, who, situated as the king then was, could have looked on Marr, as he then presented himself, without a goodly mixture of suspicion and contempt. Which of the two predominated in the king's mind, history does not say, but the letter was certainly passed over without notice; and in consequence Marr durst not present a flaming address which he had procured from the disaffected clans, some one about the court having moreover told him that the king had been apprized of this address, and was highly offended, believing it to have been drawn up at St Germains for the purpose of affronting him. Though his proffers of service were not accepted, and though he was not on terms of much familiarity, he still continued to hang about the court, carrying on, at the same time, a close correspondence with the disaffected, both in Scotland and England, particularly in Scotland, till the beginning of August 1715, when the *habeas corpus* act being suspended, as also the act against wrongous imprisonment in Scotland, and warrants made out at the secretary of state's office for the immediate apprehension of all suspected persons, he thought it no longer safe to appear among his fellows, and with general Hamilton, a major Hay, and two servants, after being at court to pay his compliments to the king, took ship in the river, all of them being in disguise, and on the third day after landed at Newcastle, where they hired a vessel which set them ashore at Ely in Fife. Here they were joined by the lord lyon king at arms, Alexander Erskine, and other friends, along with whom they proceeded to Kinnoul, and on the 20th arrived at his lordship's castle of Braemar, where all the Jacobites in that county were summoned to meet him.

Under the feudal system, we may notice here that hunting possessed much of a military character, and was often made the pretext for the superior calling out his vassals, when hunting was but a small part of the object in view; and we find the kings of Scotland frequently calling out lords, barons, landward men, and freeholders, with each a month's provisions and all their best dogs, when the purpose was to daunt the thieves of the particular district where they were summoned to hunt. Often, during the previous years, had this expedient, joined with that of horse-racing, been resorted to, for collecting together the friends of the exiled family; and it was, on this occasion, again employed by Marr. It was but a few days that he had been at Braemar, when, under this pretence, he was waited on by a vast number of gentlemen of the first quality and interest, among whom were the marquises of Huntly and Tullibardine; the earls of Nithsdale, Marischal, Traquair, Errol, Southeske, Carnwath, Seaforth, Linlithgow, &c. &c.; the viscounts of Kilsyth, Kenmure, Kingston, and Stormont; the lords Rollo, Duffus, Drummond, Strathallan, Ogilvy, and Nairn; a number of chieftains from the Highlands, Glendaruel, Auldbair, Auchterhouse, Glengarry; with the two generals, Hamilton and Gordon, and many others of inferior name. To these gentlemen, previously prepared for the purposes of faction, Marr opened at large his whole scheme. He declaimed, with well affected sorrow, particularly upon his own misconduct, and the guilty hand he

had in effecting the "cursed union," which he was now resolved to spend his best blood to free them from—on the miseries attendant on a foreign succession; which, grievous as they already felt them to be, might be expected to increase till their liberties, civil and religious, were totally annihilated; but from which they had now the means of being delivered, by simply restoring James VIII. who had already promised them his presence for that end, with abundance of arms, ammunition, officers, and engineers, so soon as they should have resolved upon the proper place to land them. Money, the grand desideratum in all such undertakings, he assured them he had received, and would regularly receive in abundance, so that no gentleman would find any difficulty in subsisting his men, nor should the country be at all burdened on their account. Finally, he informed them that he had received a commission from the said king James, to act as his lieutenant-general, in consequence of which he intended immediately to set up the royal standard, and summon to attend it the whole fencible men in the kingdom. Though these statements were false, and foolish in the extreme, from the rank of the speaker, the confidence with which they were uttered, and especially from the previously formed habits and feelings of the hearers, they made a powerful impression; each hasted to bring forward his followers, and, on the 6th day of September, 1715, Marr set up the standard of James and proclaimed him king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &c., at his castle of Braemar. The same proclamation was repeated three days after at the village of Kirk-Michael, and the people summoned generally to attend him, —for, as yet, they were a very small handful. From Kirk-Michael he proceeded to Moulin, in Perthshire, and thence, by Logie Rait to Dunkeld, where he found his army swelled to upwards of two thousand men. At the two former of these places, James was proclaimed with proper solemnity; at the latter, he had been proclaimed by the marquis of Tullibardine, previous to Marr's arrival. At Perth, he was proclaimed by colonel Balfour and colonel John Hay, who, with two hundred and fifty horse, assisted by two hundred men, introduced into the town, by the duke of Athol, under the pretence of defending it, secured it for the earl of Marr, though the earl of Rothes, with five hundred well-appointed troops, was in the immediate vicinity, intending to take possession of it for the government. James was at the same time proclaimed at Aberdeen, by the earl Marischal; at Castle Gordon, by the earl of Huntly; at Brechin, by the earl of Panmure; at Montrose, by the earl of Southeske; at Dundee, by Graham of Duntroon, now, by the pretender, created viscount Dundee; and at Inverness, by Mackintosh of Borlum, who, with five hundred men, had taken possession of that important place for James; and, after giving it in charge to Mackenzie of Coul, proceeded to join the army under Marr.

While the whole north of Scotland, with the exception of Sutherland and Caithness, was thus, without any thing like opposition, taken possession of for the pretender, a scheme was laid for surprising and taking possession of the castle of Edinburgh, which would at once have put the rebels in possession of Scotland almost without stroke of sword. The prime agent in this affair was the lord Drummond, who, had he succeeded, was to have the governorship of the castle, and his companions, ninety gentlemen of his own selection, were to be rewarded with one hundred guineas each, and a commission in the rebel army. To accomplish their purpose, they corrupted a sergeant in the castle, of the name of Ainsley, with the promise of a lieutenancy; a corporal, with the promise of an ensigncy, and two soldiers, the one with eight, and the other with four guineas. They then provided a scaling ladder, made of ropes, and so constructed that two or three persons could ascend it abreast. This the traitor within drew up with pulleys, fastened it at the top, and a number of the rebel

party were in the act of ascending when an officer, who had been apprized of the plot, walking his rounds, observed the ladder, cut the ropes by which it was fastened above, and all that were upon it were precipitated to the bottom. The sentinel fired at the same time, and the party fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving their ladder, a number of firelocks, a Mr M'Lean, who had been an officer at Killiecranky, Mr Lesley and Mr Ramsay, writers in Edinburgh, and a Mr Boswell, who had been a page to the duchess of Gordon, severely bruised by their fall from the ladder, at the foot of the rock. Ainsley, who had engaged to betray the fortress, was hanged, his accomplices severely punished, and the governor lieutenant, David Stewart, displaced for negligence.

The failure of this undertaking was no doubt a serious disappointment to the rebels, but in all other respects their affairs were prosperous beyond any thing that could have been anticipated. Their numbers were rapidly augmenting, and their hopes were strongly excited by the arrival from St Germains, whither he had gone early in the spring, of Mr James Murray, second son to the viscount Stormont, who brought along with him patents from James, creating himself secretary of state for Scotland, and the earl of Marr a duke, by the title of duke of Marr, marquis of Stirling, and earl of Alloa. He brought also assurances of the presence of James himself, with a powerful army and abundant supplies, furnished him by the court of France. Large supplies had certainly been promised on the occasion, and they were, to a considerable extent, provided; but the death of Louis, on the 1st of September, was followed by a total change of measures, under the duke of Orleans, who acted as regent for Louis XV., then only five years of age; and though a considerable expedition had, by the zeal of individuals, been prepared at St Maloes, through the vigilance of admiral Byng at sea, and the influence of the earl of Stair at Versailles, except one or two, which sailed clandestinely, not a ship put to sea, and not one of them ever reached the Scottish shore. The news of the death of Louis was so discouraging to their hopes that a number of the chiefs insisted upon going home and waiting for a more favourable opportunity. They were, however, overruled, but a messenger was despatched to James, to solicit his presence to the enterprize with all possible expedition.

Every exertion was in the mean time made by the party to increase the number of their followers, and judging from what was done by the earl of Marr, these exertions were of no very gentle character. Writing on the 9th of September, to his bailie of Kildrummy, who had sent up to him the night before, one hundred men, when his lordship "expected four times the number." "I have sent," he says, "enclosed, an order for the lordship of Kildrummy, which you are immediately to intimate to all my vassals. If they give ready obedience it will make some amends, and if not, ye may tell them from me, that it will not be in my power to save them, were I willing, from being treated as enemies, by those who are ready soon to join me; and they may depend upon it, that I will be the first to propose and order their being so. Particularly let my own tenants of Kildrummy know this; if they come not forth with their best arms, that I will send a party immediately to burn what they shall miss taking from them, and they may believe this not only a threat; but, by all that's sacred, I'll put it into execution, let my loss be what it will, that it may be an example to others." This was logic, that, with the poor tenants of Kildrummy, was no doubt perfectly convincing; but it was necessary to use logic of a more soothing quality with others not so completely in his power, and for this purpose he had a manifesto prepared by some of his clerical followers, and printed at Edinburgh by his majesty's printer, Robert Freebairn, setting forth the absolutely indefeasible rights of the Stuarts; the total annihilation

of the ancient Scottish constitution; the incalculable mischiefs that had attended, and the inevitable ruin that must necessarily follow the "unhappy union, brought about by the mistaken notions of some, and the ruinous and selfish designs of others;" all of which was to be remedied by one single act of justice, the restoring of the Stuarts, through whom religion was to be revived, and plenty, tranquillity, and peace, interminably established. That James was a papist, this precious document did not deny; but, then there was no "reason to be distrustful of the goodness of God, the truth and purity of our holy religion, or the known excellency of his majesty's judgment," in consequence of which "in due time, good example and conversation with our learned divines, could not fail to remove those prejudices which this clear-headed junto knew, that, even being educated in a popish country had not riveted in his royal discerning mind; and with a parliament of his own selection, they had no doubt but he would enact such laws in behalf of the protestant religion, as should "give an absolute security to all future ages against the efforts of arbitrary power, popery, and all its other enemies." Such was the force of prejudice and pride, and deeply wounded national feeling, and so little were the benefits accruing from the revolution, either understood or appreciated, that this paper made a very great impression; and, Marr after resting a few days at Dunkeld, removed his head quarters to Perth, when he found himself at the head of an army of twelve thousand men.

So far this insurrection had been completely successful; and, but for Marr's entire ignorance of military affairs, it might have been still more so. Having possessed himself of Perth, not to speak of the Highlands, where his principal strength lay, he was master of all the Lowlands, on the east coast of Scotland, north of the Tay, containing the fruitful provinces of Angus, the Carse of Gowrie, Mearns, Moray, Aberdeen, Banff, as well as of the shire of Fife, which, from its maritime situation, afforded him peculiar advantages. By the complete possession of so much territory, he had cut off all communications between his majesty's friends in the south and those in the north, who could now neither act for his service, nor save themselves by flight. In all those places, too, he seized upon the public revenues, for which he granted receipts in the name of James VIII.; and arms and ammunition he laid hold of, wherever they could be found. Fourteen pieces of cannon he brought up to Perth, from the castle of Dunotter, and he surprised a king's ship laden with arms, that had for a night anchored in the road of Bruntisland, boarded her and carried off her whole cargo, which brought him considerable eclat, and a numerous accession of followers.

Nothing was now wanting on the part of Marr, but promptitude, and a little military knowledge. The castles of Edinburgh, Dumbarton, and Stirling, were in the hands of the government, and Argyle occupied the last mentioned place with a force which did not yet amount to two thousand men. But this was the whole force that could be opposed to him in Scotland at the time, and with one-half his troops, he might have shut up or forced these strengths, while with the other half, he subdued the whole open country. Instead of this, he lingered at Perth, where the number of his troops soon occasioned a want of provisions; to supply which, he had recourse to the impolitic measure of imposing assessments upon the country, to the amount of twenty shillings on the hundred pounds Scots, of property, upon those that had espoused his cause, but double the sum upon all who yet were faithful to the existing government, to be paid against a certain day, to collectors whom he had appointed, under the pain of military execution. Argyle in the meantime issued a proclamation, denouncing all who should submit to pay any such assessment as guilty of high treason, so that between the two, there was no alternative for plain country people, but either

submit to be robbed, or run the risk of being hanged. For more than a month did this war of words or manifestoes continue, neither party undertaking any enterprise of consequence, except that Marr, not daring to attempt the dislodging of Argyle from Stirling, conceived the foolish design of sending part of his troops across the Forth, and by strengthening a few malecontents which he expected they would find in arms in the south, create a diversion which might enable him to elude an army, not a fourth part of the number of his own. For this mad project, he selected upwards of two thousand of his best troops, and committed them to the charge of Mackintosh of Borlum, an old officer of unquestioned bravery, who executed apparently the most difficult part of his task with spirit and despatch. When he arrived on the coast of Fife, he was in sight of his majesty's fleet in the frith, which was stationed there for the very purpose of preventing all intercourse between the opposite shores, and which was perfectly well acquainted with his intentions; but, by a skilful marching and counter-marching, he in one day completely bewildered his enemy, and embracing the chance of a calm and an ebb tide, crossed over in their sight with the loss only of one boat with forty men. A few of his flotilla were cut off from the rest, but they escaped into the isle of May, and thence back to Fife. Borlum, after nearly surprising the city of Edinburgh, proceeded without any interruption to Kelso, when he was joined on the 22d of October, by the rebels from Northumberland, under Forster and Derwentwater, and from Dumfries-shire, Nithsdale, &c., under the viscount Kenmure, when their united forces, horse and foot, amounted to about two thousand men.

At Kelso they halted till the 27th; when, being informed that general Carpenter had advanced to Wooler, and intended to attack them next day, a council of war was called, in order to determine on a plan of operations. In the council there was much heat, and little unanimity. The gentlemen from England were anxious to return to that country, where they promised themselves (on what grounds does not appear) a vast accession of numbers. To this the Scots, particularly Borlum and the earl of Winton, were peculiarly averse, as they wished to return and join the clans, taking Dumfries and Glasgow in their way back. A third proposal was made to cross the Tweed, and, taking general Carpenter by surprise, cut him off with his army, before he should be able to obtain reinforcements. This was the only soldier-like proposal that had been made, and their neglecting to put it in practice can be accounted for on no rational principle; Carpenter had not more than nine hundred men under his command, the greater part of them raw troops, and the whole of them at the time excessively fatigued. The Highlanders under Borlum could not be much below fourteen hundred men, and there were besides, five troops of Scottish horse, and of English noblemen and gentlemen at least an equal number. Overlooking, or not aware of their superiority, it was determined to decamp, for it does not appear whether they understood themselves to be retreating, or advancing to Jedburgh, where they learned, that they were three days in advance of general Carpenter, and, upon the still continued importunity of the English gentlemen, resolved to march into that country. The reluctance of the Highlanders, however, was not abated, and though a captain Hunter and his troop of horse had been sent on to Tyndale to provide quarters for the whole army, it moved on for Hawick; on the road to which, the Highlanders, having been told by the earl of Winton that if they entered England they would be overpowered by numbers, and either cut to pieces, or taken and sold for slaves, refused to march, and when surrounded by the horse, cocked their muskets, faced about, and told them, that if they were to be made a sacrifice of, they would choose to have it done in their own country. They agreed,

however, at last to abide by the army as long as it remained in Scotland, and the march was continued. Next day they marched to Midholm, whence at midnight they pushed forward four hundred men to Ecclefechan for the purpose of blocking up Dumfries, till the main body could come up to attack it. On this day's march, five hundred refractory Highlanders departed for the heads of the Forth. . Next morning, learning that the town of Dumfries was prepared to give them a warm reception, and that Carpenter was come to Jedburgh in pursuit of them, the detachment was recalled from Ecclefechan, and the whole marched for Longtown. Having rested a night at Longtown, they proceeded, November the 1st, to Brampton, where Forster opened his commission from the earl of Marr, as commander-in-chief. On the second they marched for Penrith, the posse comitatus of Cumberland, to the number of fourteen thousand, being drawn out to stop their progress. Of the whole number, however, only lord Lonsdale and about twenty domestics waited to see them, the rest having thrown down their arms, and fled as soon as they heard the rebels were approaching, who gathered up the arms that had been thrown away in great quantities, and collected a number of horses. On the 3rd they proceeded to Appleby ; and, on the 5th, to Kendal, carrying along with them several persons whom they had apprehended as spies. On the 6th, they arrived at Kirby Lonsdale, the last market town of Westmoreland, and, though they had now traversed two populous counties, they had been joined by only two individuals. Now, however, the papists from Lancashire began to join them in great numbers. On the 7th, they occupied Lancaster, where they found in the custom house a quantity of arms, some claret and brandy, which, to encourage and keep up their spirits, was all bestowed upon the Highlandmen, who, with sixpence each a day and the good cheer they were enjoying, had now become in some degree reconciled to the service. Here they had a large accession to their number, but they were all catholics : and here, if they had been guided by any thing like judgment, they would have, for a time at least, fixed their head quarters. With the view of securing Warrington bridge and Manchester, they set forward for Preston on the 9th, where they arrived on the 11th ; and, as they had done at all the towns they passed, proclaimed the pretender, seized all the public money, and as many horses as they could lay their hands on. At this place, however, their progress ended. With fatal temerity they had pushed forward, taking no pains to ascertain the movements of his majesty's forces, and they had commenced their march on Saturday the 12th, for the bridge of Warrington, when their advance guard under Farquharson of Invercauld, was astonished to meet, at the bridge of Ribble, general Wills at the head of one full regiment of foot, and six regiments of horse. Since they were to be surprised, however, no place could be more favourable for them to be so ; Farquharson being fully able to defend the passage of the Ribble, till they had withdrawn their troops from the town into the open field, when they could have fought or retreated according to circumstances ; but with that sheer infatuation which marked all their measures, they withdrew their advanced columns, leaving Wills a free passage over the Ribble, and suffered themselves to be cooped up in a town, which afforded few facilities for defence, and where, at all events, they could easily be reduced by famine. Wills, perfectly aware of the advantage he had gained, lost not a moment in following it up ; and though the rebels made a brave and desperate resistance, general Carpenter, who was following upon their rear, coming up next morning, Sabbath, the 13th, reduced them to despair, and they made an unconditional surrender to the number of one thousand seven hundred and thirty-eight men.

In the meantime Marr continued to bustle, but to lose his time at Perth,

till at last, unable to keep his army together in such a state of inaction, he resolved on attacking Stirling, for which purpose he broke up from Perth on the 10th, was met at Dumblane on the same fatal 13th of November by Argyle, and, through the utter imbecility of his character, though his army was fourfold that of his adversary, and in part successful, was driven back to his former head-quarters, under circumstances as fatal as though he had met a total defeat. Argyle, however, was in no case to follow him, and he began to fortify the city, and to supply the wants of his numerous followers in the best manner he could. The fatal affair at Preston, which was soon known among them, and the loss of Inverness, which nearly at the same time was retaken for the government by the earl of Sutherland, threw a damp over his men, which all his address could not overcome. By the help of Mr Freebairn, his majesty's printer, who had now taken up his residence in Perth, he issued news of the most cheering description; he collected meal throughout all the adjacent country with the utmost industry; and as the frost was excessive, he levied upon the country people, for the use of his men, large contributions of blankets, and he compelled the gentlemen and farmers around him to supply them with coal, which, as the river was frozen, was done at an immense expense; yet, in spite of all he could do, and in spite of partial reinforcements, his army was daily diminishing, and it was resolved among the chiefs to furl for a time the standard of rebellion, and abandoning Perth, to reserve themselves, in the best manner they could, for a more favourable opportunity, when on the 22d of December, 1715, their spirits were for a few days revived, by the arrival of James himself. Instead, however, of those abundant supplies which he had promised to bring along with him, he escaped from France with difficulty in disguise, and was landed at Peterhead with only six attendants. Here he and his companions slept the first night, disguised as sea officers. The second night he lay at Newburgh, a seat of the earl Marischal's. Next day he passed through Aberdeen, still *incognito*, with two baggage horses, and the third night met at Fetteresso with Marr, the earl Marischal, and about thirty gentlemen from Perth. Here James assumed the forms of royalty, gave the gentlemen his hand to kiss, received loyal addresses from the clergy and citizens of Aberdeen, formed a court, appointing all the officers of state and household, created peers, made knights, appointed bishops, &c. A slight indisposition confined him to Fetteresso for some days, but having recovered, he advanced, January the 2nd, 1716, to Brechin, where he remained till the 4th; and proceeding by Kinnaird and Glammis, he made his public entry into Dundee on Friday the 6th, accompanied by about three hundred horsemen. On Saturday he dined at Castle Lyon, and slept in the house of Sir David Threipland; and on Sabbath the 8th, took possession of the royal palace of Scoon. Here he formed a council, and began to exercise the functions of government. He had been already proclaimed at Fetteresso, and had issued another declaration, dated at Cromercy in Lorrain; now all at once he issued six proclamations,—one ordering a thanksgiving for his safe arrival—a second, ordering public prayers to be put up for him in all the churches—a third, giving currency to foreign coins—a fourth, summoning a convention of estates—a fifth, ordering all fencible men to repair to his standard—and a sixth, fixing his coronation for the 23d of the current month. At the same time he obstinately refused to attend any protestant place of worship, and he would allow no protestant to say grace at his table. His own confessor, father Innes, constantly repeated the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria* for him, and he had an invincible repugnancy to the usual form of the coronation oath, obliging the sovereign to maintain the established religion. This avowed bigotry occasioned wide divisions among his few councillors, and greatly cooled

the affection of his female friends, many of whom had incited their husbands to take arms on his behalf, under an idea that he had turned protestant. It would also have created some difficulty on the approaching coronation, had not circumstances before the day arrived rendered his funeral a more likely occurrence.

On the 16th, he assembled a grand council of all the insurgent chiefs, where he delivered a most melancholy speech, every sentiment of which seems to have been the offspring of weakness and fear, and every word of it to have been steeped in tears; yet it was put into the hands of Freebairn, and industriously circulated among the rebels, though it could have no effect but to damp their spirits. It was indeed pretty evident, that this grand council had no other purpose, but to cover for a little the determination that had been formed, to abandon the enterprise as speedily as was consistent with the safety of those who had been the prime agents in the whole affair. They well knew that they were in no condition to stand an attack from the royal army, now provided with a powerful artillery and strengthened by numerous reinforcements; but it was proper to conceal this knowledge from the troops, lest they might have been so dispirited as to have been incapable of taking the necessary steps for securing a retreat, or perhaps provoked, as was like to have been the case at Preston, to take summary vengeance on their leaders, who had by so many misrepresentations and so many blunders, brought them into a situation of so much danger. There was nothing of course to be seen among them but bustling activity, and nothing heard but the dreadful note of preparation. Every where there was planting of guns, throwing up breast works, and digging trenches, and in short, every thing to induce the belief that they intended to make the most desperate resistance to the king's troops. To confirm this view of the matter still further, an order was issued on the 17th, the day after the council, for burning the whole country between Perth and the king's troops, and otherwise destroying every thing that could be of any use to an enemy. This order was the last that James issued in Scotland, and it was in a few days executed to the very letter.

Hearing that Argyle and Cadogan were on the march to attack him, the Chevalier once more called a council to deliberate whether they should await his coming or save themselves by a timely retreat? Nothing appears to have been more terrible to the Chevalier than a battle in his present circumstances; but the principal part of the officers, especially the highlanders, who thought they had had far too little fighting, were unanimous for instant warfare and would not be restrained. Marr, seeing no prospect of an agreement, adjourned the council till next morning, and shortly after selected a few of the most influential among them, upon whom he urged the necessity of a retreat, and procured their consent, giving out at the same time that they only waited a more favourable opportunity to engage and cut off Argyle, which they stated they should have at Aberdeen, where they would be strengthened by auxiliaries from abroad. Matters being thus accommodated, James, by a strong feeling of danger awakened from his dream of empire, hastened from his palace of Scoon to Perth, where he supped with provost Hay, and after attempting to sleep for a few hours, early next morning, with his army, abandoned Perth, marching over the Tay upon the ice. He left Perth in company with Marr and his principal adherents, dissolved in tears, and saying, "that instead of bringing him to a crown they had brought him to his grave."

Having abandoned their artillery, which they threw into the Tay, with all their waggons and heavy baggage, the insurgents marched with great celerity, and were soon two days a head of the royal army, taking the road by Dundee, Aberbrothock, and Montrose, for Aberdeen. At Montrose they had a vessel

prepared to carry off the Chevalier and the principal part of the chieftains. This intention, however, was carefully concealed from the army; and, at eight o'clock at night, the Chevalier, having ordered his horse to the door of the house in which he lodged, with all his guards mounted in the usual manner, went from his lodgings by a back door to those of the earl of Marr, and thence, in company with the earl and one domestic, by a private footpath to the waterside, where a boat was in waiting, which carried them aboard the Maria Teresa of St Maloes, a ship of about ninety tons burden. The same boat returned, and about two o'clock in the morning carried on board the same ship the earl of Melford, the lord Drummond, generals Bulkley and Sheldon, with others of the first rank in the household or in the army, to the number of seventeen persons in all. The ship immediately set sail for the coast of Norway, and having a fresh gale, made land the next evening; and coasting along the German and Dutch shores, in seven days landed her passengers safely at Waldam, near Gravelines, between Dunkirk and Calais. The rebel army, in the meantime, went on to Aberdeen, general Gordon leading the front, and the earl Marischal, with the horse, bringing up the rear. Arrived at Aberdeen, general Gordon showed them a letter from the Chevalier, in which he acquainted his friends that the disappointments he had met with, especially from abroad, had obliged him to leave the country, that he thanked them for their services, and desired them to advise with general Gordon and consult their own security, either by keeping in a body or separating; and encouraging them to expect to hear from him in a short time. The general acquainted them at the same time that they were to expect no more pay; and though he, as well as the other leaders were in the secret before leaving Perth, yet now he pretended to be in a transport of rage and despair because the pretender and Marr had deserted them. Many of the people, too, threw down their arms, crying out that they were basely betrayed, they were all undone, they were left without king or general. They were, however, conducted west through Strathspey and Strathdon to the hills of Badenoch, where they separated, the foot dispersing into the mountains on this side the Lochy, and the horse going into Lochaber, all of them promising to reassemble as they should have warning from the Chevalier to that effect.

Marr continued to direct the management of the Chevalier's affairs, and to enjoy his sole confidence for a number of years, during which he seems to have been indefatigable in his mistaken attempts to destroy the peace of his country, though he only destroyed his own and that of his imbecile and unfortunate master. Scarcely was he safe on the continent, and the blood of his less fortunate companions was yet reeking on the sword of justice, than he attempted to induce the king of Sweden, the frantic Charles XII., by the present of five or six thousand bolls of oatmeal from the Scottish Jacobites, to invade Great Britain in behalf of the chevalier. The persons to whom the proposal was made, captain Straiton, the bishop of Edinburgh, lord Balmerino, and Lockhart of Carnwath, seem to have given it a serious entertainment, and to have been sincerely grieved when they found it beyond their power to execute. Failing in this, his next object was to raise among them a sum of money, for the same purpose; and the earl of Eglinton was so enthusiastic in the cause, as to offer three thousand guineas to such a fund. Many others were willing to contribute "round sums," but they wanted "the plan first to be well concerted, and the blow ready to be struck." He then set about corrupting Argyle, but, fearing in him a rival for emolument and power, he shortly after repented of the attempt, and was at some pains to prevent it taking effect. In the Spanish affair, which was planned by cardinal Alberoni, and closed at Glenshiel in the month of June, 1719, he

does not seem to have been so particularly concerned, which may have set him on those other methods of advancing his own interest, to which he shortly afterwards resorted. By this time, indeed, his influence with the Chevalier, who was almost compelled by his situation, to manifest a disposition to favouritism, had excited the envy of every Jacobite, for every Jacobite reckoned his own merit so great as to deserve the special and particular attention of his divinely consecrated master; yet every one wondered at the unreasonableness of another for aiming at the same things as himself; hence Lockhart of Carnwath, one of the most zealous of them at that day, speaking of the troubles and crosses the Chevalier met with, describes them as "the natural consequences of having to deal with a set of men whom no rules of honour or ties of society can bind." Lockhart had planned a new scheme of managing the Chevalier's affairs in Scotland, by a number of persons, whom he called trustees, and of which he himself was named one. This gave offence to not a few of the Chevalier's friends, and to none more than the earl of Marr, whose ambition from the beginning of his career was to be sole director of the affairs of Scotland. He began also about this time to be supplanted in the affections of his master by James Murray, afterwards created by the Chevalier earl of Dunbar and made tutor to the young prince Charles; in consequence of which he left the Chevalier at Rome, and took up his residence at Paris, where he appears to have been as restless and as mischievously employed as ever; sometimes appearing to be diligent for the one side and sometimes for the other. He obtained money from the earl of Stair, under the pretence of friendship, and liberty from the British government to reside for his health in France, provided he kept himself free of any plots against the government of Britain; likewise, on a renewal of the same promise, an offer of the family estate to be restored to his son, and in the interim, till an act of parliament could be procured to that effect, he himself was to receive a yearly pension of two thousand pounds sterling, over and above one thousand five hundred pounds sterling of jointure paid to his wife and daughter. The Chevalier now began to withdraw his confidence from him, and a general suspicion of his fidelity seems to have been entertained among one party of his Jacobite associates, who charged him with betraying, not only the interests of individuals, but the cause in general, by a system of deep laid and deliberate villany. By Atterbury he was abhorred and charged as the person who discovered his correspondence with the Chevalier to the British government, which procured his banishment. A laboured scheme for the restoration of James, presented by Marr without his authority, to the regent of France, the duke of Orleans, a little before his death, was also by the same personage charged as a deep laid design to render him odious to the English people, and so to cut off all hopes of his ever being restored. He was also said to have embezzled two thousand pounds sterling, which he had collected for general Dillon, for the purpose of purchasing arms at the time of Atterbury's conspiracy. He was by the same party charged with being the author of that schism in the king's family, which exposed him to the pity or to the contempt of all Europe, by stirring up the queen against colonel Hay and his lady, a daughter of the earl of Stormont, and sister to James Murray, created about this time earl of Dunbar. This colonel Hay was brother to the earl of Kinnoul, and on Marr's loss of favour was by James promoted to his place in the cabinet, and created earl of Inverness, which was supposed sufficient to excite his utmost malice. Possessing the ear of Mrs Sheldon, mistress to general Dillon, who was wholly at his devotion, and who possessed an entire ascendency over the queen, James's wife, he so operated upon her feelings, that when she found her authority insufficient to enforce the dismissal of Inverness and his lady, and to retain Mrs Sheldon,

whom James would no longer endure, she drove off in one of the king's coaches, and took refuge in the convent of St Cecilia on the 15th of November, 1725. Inverness in his account of this affair says, "it is a matter the king is very easy about, since he sees plainly that the queen has been drawn into this step, and made subservient to a project of Marr's which has been laid these several years." Whatever opinion the king might have of the causes which had brought about this strange resolution of the queen, it evidently, and indeed it could not be otherwise, gave him no little trouble. "The queen is still in the convent," he writes to one of his correspondents, "and her advisers continue still under a false pretence of religion, to procure my uneasiness from the pope to such a degree, that I wish myself out of his country, and I won't fail to do my endeavours to leave it, which I am persuaded will tend to the advantage of my affairs." This, however, is evidently the sputter of a weak mind, attempting to hide from itself its own weakness, and there can be no doubt, as one of his best friends remarked at the time, that this extraordinary proceeding gave a terrible shock to his affairs, lowered his character in the judgment both of friends and foes, and highly displeased the continental princes, many of whom were nearly related to the queen. At the same time, whether Marr, as was given out by one side of the Jacobite interest, was really the author of all this mischief, is a question that we think admits of being very fairly disputed. That Inverness and his lady had attained to the absolute sway of James's affections, does not appear to admit of a doubt. How they attained to this envied superiority is not so easily to be accounted for. "His lordship," according to Lockhart of Carnwath, "was a cunning, false, avaricious creature, of very ordinary parts, cultivated by no sort of literature, altogether void of experience in business, and his insolence prevailing often over his little stock of prudence, he did and said many unadvised ridiculous things, that with any other master would soon have stript him of that credit which, without any merit, at the expense of the king's character and the peace of his family, he maintained, in opposition to the remonstrances of several potentates, and his majesty's best friends at home and abroad. His lady was a mere coquette, tolerably handsome, but withal prodigiously vain and arrogant"—and he adds, what appears to be the true solution of the mystery, though he affects at the same time to make light of it, —"It was commonly reported and believed, that she was the king's mistress, and that the queen's jealousy was the cause of the rupture." That it was so we have the testimony of the queen herself:—"Mr Hay and his lady are the cause," she says, writing to her sister, "that I am retired into a convent. I received your letter in their behalf, and returned you an answer only to do you a pleasure, and to oblige the king, but it all has been to no purpose, for instead of making them my friends, all the civilities I have shown them have only served to render them more insolent. Their unworthy treatment of me has in short reduced me to such an extremity, and I am in such a cruel situation, that I had rather suffer death than live in the king's palace with persons that have no religion, honour, nor conscience, and who, not content with having been the authors of such a fatal separation betwixt the king and me, are continually teasing him every day to part with all his best friends and most faithful subjects. This at length determined me to retire into a convent, there to spend the rest of my days in lamenting my misfortunes, after having been fretted for six years together by the most mortifying indignities and insults that can be imagined." That Marr, beholding such conduct on the part of these worthless favourites, and the uneasiness of the queen under it, should have laboured for the preventing of such a fatal catastrophe, to have them removed, is rather a bright spot upon a character which, it must be owned, had few redeeming qualities.

With regard to the money he received from Stair, and the pensions in lieu of his estate, we cannot think there will be two opinions. The British ministry were the most consummate fools if they bestowed such a boon upon such a man without something profitable in return; and James was just such another fool, if he ever after put any confidence in him. The money transaction with Stair has never been, and perhaps from the nature of the service, could not be cleared up. The discovery of the plot in 1722, and the consequent banishment of Atterbury, was, we apprehend the return for his pensions; and it was not unworthy of them, especially as, by bringing together three such spirits as himself, Inverness, and Atterbury, he put it out of the power of the chevalier to bring any one scheme to bear during their lives.

His character in consequence seems to have utterly sunk, and in the latter days of his life he seems to have been little regarded by any party. In 1729 he went for his health to reside at Aix-la-Chapelle, where he died in the month of May, 1732.

His lordship was twice married; first, to lady Margaret Hay, daughter to the earl of Kinnoul, by whom he had two sons; John, who died in infancy, and Thomas, lord Erskine. He married secondly, lady Frances Pierrepont, daughter of Evelyn, duke of Kingston, by whom he had one daughter, lady Frances Erskine, who married her cousin James Erskine, son of lord Grange, through whom the line of the family is kept up, and to whose posterity the honours of the house of Marr have been by his late majesty restored.

ERSKINE, John, of Carnock, afterwards of Cardross, professor of Scots law in the university of Edinburgh, was born in the year 1695. His father was the honourable colonel John Erskine of Carnock, the third son of lord Cardross, whose family now holds the title of earl of Buchan. The zeal which colonel Erskine had manifested for the cause of the presbyterian religion and of liberty, constrained him to retire into Holland, where he obtained the command of a company in a regiment of foot, in the service of the prince of Orange. He afterwards accompanied that prince to England, at the revolution of 1688, and received as a reward for his services and attachment, the appointments of lieutenant-governor of Stirling castle, a lieutenant-colonelcy of a regiment of foot, and, afterwards, the governorship of the castle of Dumbarton. He was chosen, in 1695, a director of the African and Indian company of Scotland, and, in the following year, was sent to Holland and other parts of the continent, to manage the affairs of the company. He was representative of the town of Stirling in the last Scottish parliament, and was a great promoter of the legislative union of the kingdoms. When the treaty of union was effected, he was nominated, in the year 1707, to a seat in the limited parliament of Britain, and, in the general election of 1708, he was chosen member for the Stirling district of burghs. He died in Edinburgh, January, 1743, in the 82d year of his age. He was four times married; first, to Jane, daughter and heiress of William Mure of Caldwell, in Renfrewshire, by whom he had no issue; secondly, on the 5th of January, 1691, to Anne, eldest daughter and co-heiress of William Dundas of Kincavel, who was the mother of John Erskine of Carnock, the subject of this notice, and of other three sons and a daughter; thirdly, on the 18th of April, 1725, to Lilias, daughter of Stirling of Keir, who died leaving no issue; and, fourthly, to Mary, daughter of Charles Stuart of Dunearn, by whom he had one son.

John Erskine of Carnock having been educated for the profession of the law, became a member of the faculty of advocates, in the year 1719, and continued for some years to discharge the duties of his profession without having been remarkably distinguished. In 1737, on the death of Alexander Bain, professor of Scots law in the university of Edinburgh, Mr Erskine became a candidate

for that chair. The patronage of this professorship is nominally in the town council of Edinburgh, but virtually in the faculty of advocates; the election, under an act of parliament passed in the reign of George I., being made in the following manner:—The faculty, by open suffrage of all the members, send a *leet*, (as it is called,) or *list*, containing the names of two of their number, to the town council; one of whom the patrons must choose. The candidate favoured by his brother is of course joined in the *leet* with another member of of the body, who, it is known, will not accept; and although, in case of collision, this arrangement might occasion embarrassment, practically the effect is, to place the nomination to this chair in the body best qualified to judge of the qualifications of the candidates. Hence this preferment is, generally speaking, a very fair test of the estimation in which the successful candidate is held by his brethren; and their choice has seldom been more creditable to themselves than it was in the case of Mr Erskine. The list presented to the town council contained the names of Erskine and of Mr James Balfour, advocate, a gentleman who had no desire for the appointment, and Mr Erskine was consequently named professor. The emoluments of the office consist of a salary of £100 per annum, payable from the revenue of the town, in addition to the fees paid by the students.

Mr Erskine entered on the discharge of his academical duties with great ardour; and, from the ability which he displayed as a lecturer, his class was much more numerously attended, than the Scots law class had been at any former period. The text book which he used for many years was Sir George Mackenzie's Institutions of the Law of Scotland; but, in the year 1754, Mr Erskine published his own "Principles of the Law of Scotland," 8vo, which he intended chiefly for the use of his students, and which, from that time forward, he made his text-book. In this work, Mr Erskine follows the order of Sir George Mackenzie's Institutions, supplying those omissions into which Sir George was betrayed by his desire for extreme brevity, and making such farther additions as the progress of the law since Sir George's time rendered necessary. The book is still very highly esteemed on account of the precision and accuracy, and, at the same time, the conciseness, with which the principles of the law are stated; nor is it an inconsiderable proof of its merit, that, notwithstanding the very limited circulation of Scottish law books, this work has already reached the eleventh edition.

After having taught the Scots law class with great reputation for twenty-eight years, Mr Erskine, in 1765, resigned his professorship, and retired from public life. For three years after his resignation, he occupied himself chiefly in preparing for publication his larger work, "The Institutes of the Law of Scotland." It was not published, however, nor, indeed, completed, during his life. The work, in the state in which Mr Erskine left it, was put into the hands of a legal friend, who, after taking the aid of some of his associates at the bar, published it in 1773, in folio. Although marked with some of the defects incident to a posthumous publication, Erskine's Institutes has been, for the last sixty years, a book of the very highest authority in the law of Scotland. It is remarkable for the same accuracy and caution which distinguish the Principles; and as additions have been made in every successive impression, suitable to the progressive changes in the law, there is perhaps no authority which is more frequently cited in the Scottish courts, or which has been more resorted to, as the ground-work of the several treatises on subordinate branches of the law, which have appeared within the last fifty years. It has been said, that the Institutes partakes somewhat of the academical seclusion in which it was written, and indicates occasionally that the author was not

familiar with the every-day practice of the law. But this is a defect, which, if it exists at all, would require keener eyes than ours to discover. On the contrary, without presuming to dogmatise on such a subject, we should be inclined to say, that we have met with no Scottish law book, which appears to us to contain a more clear and intelligible exposition, both of the theory and practice of the law, or in which the authorities cited are digested and analysed with more care and success.

Mr Erskine died at Cardross on the 1st of March, 1768, in the 73d year of his age. He had been twice married; first to Miss Melville, of the noble family of Leven and Melville, by whom he left the celebrated John Erskine, D. D., one of the ministers of Edinburgh; secondly, to Anne, second daughter of Mr Stirling of Keir, by whom he had four sons and two daughters. In the year 1746, Mr Erskine had purchased, at a judicial sale, the estate of Cardross, which formerly had belonged to his grandfather, lord Cardross, and he was possessed, besides, of very considerable landed property, the greater part of which devolved on James Erskine of Cardross, the eldest son of his second marriage, who died at Cardross on the 27th of March, 1802.

ERSKINE, Rev. Dr John, was born on the 2nd of June, 1721. He was the eldest son of John Erskine of Carnock, the celebrated author of the Institutes of the Law of Scotland, a younger branch of the noble family of Buchan. His mother was Margaret, daughter of the honourable James Melville of Bargarvie, of the family of Leven and Melville. Young Erskine was taught the elementary branches of his education by private tuition, and was placed, towards the close of the year 1734, at the university of Edinburgh, where he acquired a great fund of classical knowledge, and made himself master of the principles of philosophy and law. He was originally intended for the profession of the law, in which his father had been so much distinguished; but a natural meditative and religious disposition inclined him towards the church. This peculiar turn of mind had displayed itself at a very early age, when, instead of joining in the games and amusements suitable to the period of boyhood, he was retired and solitary, and preferred the more exalted pleasures of religious meditation; so that while his companions were pursuing their youthful sports, he would be found shut up in his closet, employed in the study of the scriptures, and in exercises of devotion. Although his taste thus led him towards the sacred profession, yet in compliance with the wishes of his parents, he repressed his own inclinations, and passed through the greater part of that course of discipline prescribed in Scotland, in former times, as preparatory to entering the faculty of advocates. But at length, deeply impressed with the conviction that it was his duty to devote himself to the service of religion, he communicated to his father his intention to study divinity. This resolution met with the decided opposition of his family. They conceived that the clerical office was at best but ill suited for the display of those talents which they knew him to possess, while the very moderate provision made for the clergy of the church of Scotland, has always been a prudential obstacle with the parents and guardians of young men of family or consideration in this country. In spite, however, of every opposition, Erskine persevered in the prosecution of his theological studies, and on their completion, in the year 1743, he was licensed to preach, by the presbytery of Dumblane.

Prior to the commencement of Dr Erskine's classical education, an ardent desire to cultivate literature and philosophy had manifested itself in Scotland, and the professors of the college of Edinburgh, some of them men of the most distinguished talents, had contributed greatly to promote and cherish the spirit which animated the nation. Among those early benefactors of Scottish litera-

ture, the most conspicuous were Sir John Pringle, and Mr Stevenson, professors of moral philosophy and of logic, in the university of Edinburgh. One mode which these eminent men adopted in order to stimulate the exertions of their students, was to prescribe topics connected with the subject of their respective prelections, on which their pupils were required to write short dissertations; when these exercises were to be read, numbers attended from the different classes, and we are informed by Dr Erskine, that Dr William Wishart, principal of the college, "that great encourager of the study of the classics, and of moral and political sciences, would often honour those discourses with his presence, listen to them with attention, criticise them with candour; and when he observed indications of good dispositions, and discerned the blossoms of genius, on these occasions, and afterwards, as he had opportunity, testified his esteem and regard." Professor Stevenson selected a number of the best of the essays which were read in his class, and bound them up in a volume, which is now preserved in the college library. They are in the hand-writing of their authors; and in this curious repository are to be found the productions of Erskine and Robertson, together with those of many young men who afterwards rose to eminence in their several paths of life. We have Dr Erskine's authority for saying, that during the time he was at the university, "Edinburgh college then abounded with young men of conspicuous talents, and indefatigable application to study; many of whom afterwards rose to high eminence in the state, in the army, and in the learned professions, especially in the law department." Amongst those we may name as his intimate friends, Sir Thomas Miller of Glenlee, afterwards lord president of the court of session, and those distinguished lawyers who were promoted to the bench under the titles of lords Elliock, Alva, Kennet, Gardenston, and Braxfield.

In May, 1744, Dr Erskine was ordained minister of Kirkintilloch, in the presbytery of Glasgow, where he remained until the year 1753, when he was presented to the parish of Culross, in the presbytery of Dunfermline. In June, 1758, he was translated to the new Grey Friars, one of the churches of Edinburgh. In November, 1766, the university of Glasgow conferred on him the honorary degree of doctor of divinity, and in July, 1767, he was promoted to the collegiate charge of old Grey Friars, where he had for his colleague Dr Robertson.

In the different parishes in which Dr Erskine had ministered, he had enjoyed the esteem and affection of his parishioners. They were proud of him for his piety, learning, and rank;—they were delighted and improved by his public and private instructions, and they deeply lamented his removal when called from them to undertake the more important charges to which his merit successively promoted him. His attention to the duties of the pastoral office was most exemplary, and his benevolent consolation and advice, which were at the service of all who required them, secured him the respect and affection of his flock, who long remembered him with feelings of the warmest gratitude. No man ever had a keener relish for the pleasures of conversation; but in these he considered, that he ought not to indulge, conceiving his time and talents to be entirely the the property of his parishioners. At college, he had made great attainments in classical learning, and through life, he retained a fondness for the cultivation of literature and philosophy, in which his great talents fitted him to excel; he refrained, however, from their pursuit, restricting himself in a great measure, to the discharge of his important religious duties. But although literature was not allowed to engross a large share of his attention, nor to interfere with his more sacred avocations, still, by much exertion, and by economizing his time, he was enabled to maintain a perfect acquaintance with the progress of the arts and sciences.

Perhaps, no country in the world ever made more rapid progress in literature than Scotland did during the last half of the eighteenth century. And it is to Dr Erskine chiefly, that the nation is indebted for that improvement which took place in our theological writings, and in the manner in which the services of the pulpit were performed. Previous to the time when he was licensed, sermons abounded with discursive and diffuse illustrations, and were disgraced by colloquial impertinences and vulgar provincialisms; and although the discourses of such men as Robertson, Home, and Logan, and others of their cotemporaries, were conspicuous for their beauty, still it is to the published sermons of Dr Erskine, that the perspicuity and good taste now displayed in the addresses from the pulpit have been justly traced. Even before the publication of his sermons, however, Dr Erskine had been favourably known to the public. His first publication was a pamphlet against certain of the doctrines contained in Dr Campbell's work, on the "necessity of revelation." In this production, Erskine had occasion to advocate some of the opinions maintained in Dr Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses; and having presented that distinguished prelate with a copy of the pamphlet, a correspondence ensued, highly creditable to Erskine, from the terms in which Warburton addresses him; more particularly when it is considered that at this time Erskine had not attained his 21st year.*

* The works written by Dr Erskine are,

1st, The Law of Nature sufficiently promulgated to the Heathen World; or, an Inquiry into the ability of the Heathens to discover the being of a God, and the immortality of human souls, in some miscellaneous reflections occasioned by Dr Campbell's (professor of Divinity at St Andrews) Treatise on the necessity of Revelation. Edinburgh, 1741. Republished in "Theological Dissertations." London, 1765.

2d, The Signs of the Times considered; or, the high probability that the present appearances in New England, and the West of Scotland, are a prelude to the glorious things promised to the Church in the latter ages. Edinburgh, 1742. Anonymous.

3d, The People of God considered as all righteous; or, three Sermons, preached at Glasgow, April, 1745. Edinburgh, 1745. Republished in the first volume of Dr Erskine's Discourses.

4th, Meditations and Letters of a Pious Youth, lately deceased, (James Hall, Esq., son of the late Sir John Hall, Bart. of Dunglass), to which are prefixed, Reflections on his death and character, by a friend in the country. Edinburgh, 1746.

5th, An account of the Debate in the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, October 6th, 1748; respecting the employment of Mr Whitefield to preach in the pulpits of the Synod. Edinburgh, 1748. Anonymous.

6th, An humble attempt to promote frequent Communicating. Glasgow, 1749. Republished in "Theological Dissertations."

7th, The Qualifications necessary for Teachers of Christianity; a Sermon before the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, 2d October, 1750. Glasgow, 1750. Republished in Discourses, vol. II.

8th, The Influence of Religion on National Happiness; a sermon preached at the anniversary meeting of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, in the High Church of Edinburgh, January, 1756.

9th, Ministers of the Gospel cautioned against giving offence; a sermon before the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, November 3d, 1763; to which is added, A Charge at the Ordination of the late Mr Robertson, minister of Ratho. Edinburgh, 1764. Republished in Discourses, vol. I.

10th, Mr Wesley's Principles detected; or, a defence of the Preface to the Edinburgh edition of "Aspasio Vindicated," written by Dr Erskine in answer to Mr Kershaw's Appeal —to which is prefixed the Preface itself. Edinburgh, 1765.

11th, Theological Dissertations, (1) On the Nature of the Sinai covenant, (2) On the Character and Privileges of the Apostolic churches, (3) On the Nature of Saving Faith, (4) See 1st, (5) See 6th. London, 1765.

12th, Shall I go to War with my American Brethren? A discourse on Judges xx. 28, addressed to all concerned in determining that important question. London, 1769. Anonymous. Reprinted in Edinburgh with a Preface and Appendix, and the author's name, 1776.

13th, The Education of the poor children recommended; a sermon before the Managers of the Orphan Hospital, 1774.

14th, Reflections on the Rise, and Progress, and probable Consequences of the present contentions with the Colonies: by a Freeholder. Edinburgh, 1776.

About the time when Dr Erskine obtained his license, a remarkable concern for religion had been exhibited in the British colonies of North America. In order to obtain the earliest and most authentic religious intelligence from those provinces, he commenced a correspondence with those chiefly concerned in

15th, The Equity and Wisdom of the Administration, on measures that have unhappily occasioned the American Revolt—tried by the Sacred Oracles. Edinburgh, 1776.

16th, Considerations on the Spirit of Popery, and the intended Bill for the relief of the Papists in Scotland. Edinburgh, 1778.

17th, A Narrative of the Debate in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, May 25th, 1779. Occasioned by the apprehensions of an intended repeal of the penal statutes against Papists. With a dedication to Dr George Campbell, principal of the Marischal College, Aberdeen. Edinburgh, 1780.

18th, Prayer for those in civil and military offices, recommended from a view of the influence of Providence on their character, conduct, and success; a sermon preached before the election of the Magistrates of Edinburgh, October 5th, 1779, and published at the request of the Magistrates and Town council.

19th, Sketches and Hints of Church History and Theological Controversy, chiefly translated and abridged from modern foreign writers, vol. I. Edinburgh, 1790.

20th, Letters, chiefly written for comforting those bereaved of Children and Friends. Collected from books and manuscripts. Edinburgh, 1790. 2d edition with additions. Edinburgh, 1800.

21st, The fatal Consequences and the General Sources of Anarchy; a discourse on Isaiah, xxiv. 1, 5; the substance of which was preached before the Magistrates of Edinburgh, September, 1792; published at their request, and that of the members of the Old Grey Friars Kirk Session. Edinburgh, 1793.

22d, A Supplement to Two Volumes, published in 1754, of Historical Collections, chiefly containing late remarkable instances of Faith working by Love; published from the Manuscript of the late Dr John Gillies, one of the ministers of Glasgow. With an account of the Pious Compiler, and other additions. Edinburgh, 1796.

23d, Sketches and Hints of Church History and Theological Controversy, chiefly translated and abridged from modern foreign writers, vol. II. Edinburgh, 1797.

24th, Discourses preached on several occasions, vol. I. 2d edition, 1798. Volume II. posthumous, prepared for the press and published by Sir H. Moncrieff Wellwood, 1804.

25th, Dr Erskine's reply to a printed Letter, directed to him by A. C.; in which the gross misrepresentations in said letter, of his Sketches of Church History, in promoting the designs of the infamous sect of the Illuminati, are considered. Edinburgh, 1798.

Those Works which were edited by Dr Erskine, or for which he wrote prefaces are,

1st, Aspasio Vindicated, or the Scripture doctrine of imputed righteousness defended against the animadversions, &c. of Mr Wesley; with a preface of ten pages by Dr Erskine. Edinburgh, 1765.

2d, An Account of the Life of the late Rev. Mr David Brainerd, &c. by Jonathan Edwards. Edinburgh, 1765.

3d, An Essay on the continuance of immediate Revelations of Facts and Future Events, in the Christian church, by the Rev. Thomas Gillespie, minister of the Gospel at Dunfermline; together with a Letter by the late Mr Cuthbert, minister of Culross, on the danger of considering the influence of the Spirit as a rule of Duty; with a Preface by Dr Erskine. Edinburgh, 1774.

4th, A Treatise on Temptation, by the Rev. Thomas Gillespie. Prefaced by Dr Erskine, 1771.

5th, A History of the work of Redemption, by the late Jonathan Edwards, 8vo. Edinburgh, 1774.

6th, Sermons on various important subjects, by Jonathan Edwards, 12mo. Edinburgh, 1785.

7th, Dying Exercises of Mrs Deborah Prince, and Devout Meditations of Mrs Sarah Gill, daughters of the late Rev. Thomas Prince, minister of South church Boston, New England. 1785.

8th, Six Sermons, by the late Rev. Thomas Prince, A. M., one of the ministers in the South Church, Boston. Published from his manuscript, with a Preface by Dr Erskine, containing a very interesting account of the Author, of his Son who pre-deceased him, and of three of his daughters.

9th, Practical Sermons, by the Rev. Thomas Prince, 8vo, 1788.

10th, Twenty Sermons, by the Rev. Thomas Prince, on various subjects. Edinburgh, 1789.

11th, A Reply to the Religious Scruples against Innoculating the Small-pox, in a letter to a friend, by the late Rev. William Cooper of Boston, New England. Edinburgh, 1791.

12th, The safety of appearing at the Day of Judgment in the Righteousness of Christ, opened and applied, by Solomon Stoddart, pastor to the church of Northampton, in New England, the grandfather and predecessor of Mr Jonathan Edwards. Edinburgh, 1792.

bringing about this change; nor was this correspondence confined to America. He also opened a communication with several divines of the most distinguished piety on the continent of Europe. This intercourse he assiduously cultivated and carried on during the whole of his life. One bad consequence of it was the toil which it necessarily entailed on him, not only in answering his numerous correspondents, but in being called upon by the friends of deceased divines, to correct and superintend the publication of posthumous works. To his voluntary labours in this way, the religious world is indebted for the greater part of the works of president Edwards, and Dickson, and of Stoddart, and Fraser of Alness. Such was Dr Erskine's thirst for information concerning the state of religion, morality, and learning on the continent, that in his old age, he undertook and acquired a knowledge of the Dutch and German languages. The fruits of the rich field which was thus thrown open to him appeared in "The Sketches and Hints of Church History and Theological Controversy, chiefly translated or abridged from modern Foreign Writers. Edinburgh, vol. 1st, 1790, vol. 2nd, 1799." These volumes contain the most extensive and interesting body of information respecting the state of religion on the continent, which has been presented to the world.

One of the objects professed by the promoters of those revolutionary principles, which, towards the close of the last century threatened the subversion of social order in Europe, was the destruction of all christian church establishments; and an association was actually formed on the continent for this purpose. Dr Erskine, however, having in the course of his researches into the state of religion, discovered the existence of this association, gave the alarm to his countrymen; and professor Robinson and the Abbe Barruel soon after investigated its rise and progress, and unfolded its dangers. The patriotic exertions of those good men were crowned with success. Many of those who had been imposed upon by the specious arguments then in vogue, were recalled to a sense of reason and duty; and even the multitude were awakened to a sense of the impending danger, when the true character of the religion and morality of those political regenerators, who would have made them their dupes, were disclosed and illustrated by the practical commentary which the state of France afforded. The consideration that he had assisted to save this country from the horrors to which the French nation had been subjected, was one of the many gratifying reflections which solaced Dr Erskine on looking back, in his old age, on his laborious and well spent life.

Dr Erskine's zeal in the cause of religion led him to take a large share in the business of the society for the propagation of christian knowledge; and even when, through the infirmities of bad health and old age, he was unable to

Fourth edition, with a Preface, containing some account of him, and an acknowledgment of the unscripturalness of some of his sentiments.

13th, Miscellaneous Observations on Important Theological Subjects, by the late Jonathan Edwards. Edinburgh, 1793.

14th, Sermons and Tracts, separately published at Boston, Philadelphia, and now first collected into one volume, by Jonathan Dickenson, A. M., late President of the College of New Jersey. Edinburgh, 1793.

15th, A Sermon preached on the Fast Day, 28th February, 1794, at the French Chapel Royal, at St James's, and at the Royal Crown Court, Soho, by Mr Gilbert. Translated from the French by a young Lady, Dr Erskine's grand-daughter, lately dead (daughter of Charles Stuart, M. D.), with a short Preface by Dr Erskine. Edinburgh, 1794,

16th, Remarks on Important Theological Controversies, by Mr Jonathan Edwards, 1796.

17th, Select Discourses, by eminent ministers in America. 2 volumes. Edinburgh, 1796.

18th, Religious Intelligence and seasonable Advice from Abroad, concerning lay preaching and exhortation, in four separate Pamphlets. Edinburgh, 1801.

19th, Discourses on the Christian Temper, by J. Evans, D. D., with an account of the Life of the author, by Dr Erskine. Edinburgh, 1802.

20th, New Religious Intelligence, chiefly from the American States. Edinburgh, 1802.

attend the meetings of that body, such was the dependence of the directors on his information and sound judgment, that on any difficulty occurring in the management of their affairs, they were in the habit of consulting him at his own house. In the general assembly of the church of Scotland, he was for many years the leader of the popular party; there the openness and integrity of his character secured him the confidence and affection of his friends and the esteem and respect of his opponents. The friendship which subsisted between him and principal Robertson, the leader of the moderate party, has been objected to by some of his more rigid admirers, as displaying too great a degree of liberality—a fact strongly illustrative of the rancour which existed in former times among the high church party. The courtesy which marked Dr Erskine's conduct to principal Robertson throughout their lives, and the candour which led him to bear testimony to the high talents and many estimable qualities of the historian, in the funeral sermon which he preached on the death of that great man, did equal honour to Dr Erskine's head and his heart. The following anecdote has been told of one rupture of the friendship which subsisted in early life between principal Robertson and Dr Erskine. Mr Whitefield, who was sent by the English methodists as a missionary into Scotland, at first formed a connexion with the *Seceders*, a sect which had left the established church; but when he refused to confine his ministrations to them, they declared enmity against him, and his character became a controversial topic. Mr Erskine, some time before he obtained the living of Kirkintilloch, appears to have been a great admirer of the character of this celebrated preacher, and to have been strongly impressed with the force of his powerful eloquence and the usefulness and efficacy of his evangelical doctrines. It unfortunately happened, that at the time when the friends and enemies of Mr Whitefield were keenly engaged in discussing his merits, the question as to his character and usefulness was made the subject of debate in a literary society which Robertson and Erskine had formed. Conflicting opinions were expressed and the debate was conducted with so much zeal and asperity that it occasioned not only the dissolution of the society, but it is said to have led to a temporary interruption of the private friendship and intercourse which subsisted between Erskine and Robertson. There is another anecdote of these two great men, which tells more favourably for Dr Erskine's moderation and command of temper, and at the same time shows the influence which he had acquired over the Edinburgh mob. During the disturbances in Edinburgh in the years 1778 and 1779, occasioned by the celebrated bill, proposed at that time to be introduced into parliament, for the repeal of the penal statutes against the Roman catholics in Scotland, the populace of Edinburgh assembled in the College court, with the intention of demolishing the house of principal Robertson, who had taken an active part in advocating the abolition of these penal laws; and there seems to be little doubt that the mob would have attempted to carry their threats into execution in defiance of the military, which had been called out, had not Dr Erskine appeared, and by his presence and exhortations, dispersed them.

Dr Erskine's opinions, both in church and state politics, will be best understood from the following short account of the side which he took on several of the important discussions which divided the country during his life. In the year 1769, on the occasion of the breach with America, he entered into a controversy with Mr Wesley, and published more than one pamphlet, deprecating the contest. He was an enemy to the new constitution given to Canada, by which he considered the catholic religion to be too much favoured. In 1778, when the attempt was made to repeal certain of the penal enactments against the Roman catholics of Great Britain, he testified his apprehensions of the conse-

quences in a correspondence between him and Mr Burke, which was published. And finally, we have already seen, that he took an active and prominent part, in his old age, in support of conservative principles, when threatened by the French revolution.

Having attained to the 82d year of his age, Dr Erskine was suddenly struck with a mortal disease, and died at his house in Lauriston Lane, Edinburgh, on the 19th of January, 1803, after a few hours' illness. He had been from his youth of a feeble constitution, and for many years previous to his death, his appearance had been that of one in the last stage of existence; and during many winters he had been unable to perform his sacred duties with regularity; nor did he once preach during the last sixteen months of his life. Before he was entirely incapacitated for public duty, his voice had become too weak to be distinctly heard by his congregation. Still, however, the vivacity of his look and the energy of his manner, bespoke the warmth of his heart and the vigour of his mind. His mental faculties remained unimpaired to the last; and, unaffected by his bodily decay, his memory was as good, his judgment as sound, his imagination as lively, and his inclination for study as strong, as during his most vigorous years, and to the last he was actively engaged in those pursuits which had formed the business and pleasure of his life. Even the week before his death, he had sent notice to his publisher, that he had collected materials for the 6th number of the periodical pamphlet he was then publishing, entitled, "Religious intelligence from abroad."

In his temper, Dr Erskine was ardent and benevolent, his affections were warm, his attachments lasting; and his piety constant and most sincere. He was remarkable for the simplicity of his manners, and for that genuine humility which is frequently the concomitant and brightest ornament of high talents. In his beneficence, which was great but unostentatious, he religiously observed the Scripture precept in the distribution of his charity and in the performance of his many good and friendly offices. We cannot close this short sketch of Dr Erskine more appropriately than in the graphic words of our great novelist, who, in his Guy Mannering, has presented us, as it were, with a living picture of this eminent divine. "The colleague of Dr Robertson ascended the pulpit. His external appearance was not prepossessing. A remarkably fair complexion, strangely contrasted with a black wig, without a grain of powder; a narrow chest and a stooping posture; hands which, placed like props on either side of the pulpit, seemed necessary rather to support the person than to assist the gesticulation of the preacher,—no gown, not even that of Geneva, a tumbled band, and a gesture which seemed scarcely voluntary, were the first circumstances which struck a stranger. 'The preacher seems a very ungainly person,' whispered Mannering to his new friend.

"'Never fear, he is the son of an excellent Scottish lawyer, he'll show blood, I'll warrant him.'

"The learned counsellor predicted truly. A lecture was delivered, fraught with new, striking, and entertaining views of Scripture history—a sermon in which the Calvinism of the Kirk of Scotland was ably supported, yet made the basis of a sound system of practical morals, which should neither shelter the sinner under the cloak of speculative faith or of peculiarity of opinion, nor leave him loose to the waves of unbelief and schism. Something there was of an antiquated turn of argument and metaphor, but it only served to give zest and peculiarity to the style of elocution. The sermon was not read—a scrap of paper, containing the heads of the discourse, was occasionally referred to, and the enunciation, which at first seemed imperfect and embarrassed, became, as the preacher warmed in his progress, animated and distinct: and although

the discourse could not be quoted as a correct specimen of pulpit eloquence, yet Mannering had seldom heard so much learning, metaphysical acuteness, and energy of argument brought into the service of christianity. 'Such,' he said, going out of the church, 'must have been the preachers, to whose unfearing minds, and acute though sometimes rudely exercised talents, we owe the reformation.'

"'And yet that reverend gentleman,' said Pleydell, 'whom I love for his father's sake and his own, has nothing of the sour or pharisaical pride which has been imputed to some of the early fathers of the Calvinistic kirk of Scotland. His colleague and he differ, and head different parties in the kirk, about particular points of church discipline; but without for a moment losing personal regard or respect for each other, or suffering malignity to interfere in an opposition, steady, constant, and apparently conscientious on both sides.'"

Dr Erskine was married to Christian Mackay, third daughter of George, third lord Ray, by whom he had a family of fourteen children, but of whom only four survived him, David Erskine, Esq. of Carnock, and three daughters.

ERSKINE, Ralph, the well known author of Gospel Sonnets, and other highly esteemed writings, was a young son of Henry Erskine, some time minister of Cornhill, in Northumberland, and, after the revolution, at Chirnside, Berwickshire, and was born at Monilaws, in Northumberland, on the eighteenth day of March, 1685. Of his childhood, little has been recorded, but that he was thoughtful and pious, and was most probably by his parents devoted to the work of the ministry from his earliest years. Of his earlier studies, we know nothing. Like his brother Ebenezer, he probably learned his letters under the immediate eye of his father, and like his brother, he went through a regular course of study in the University of Edinburgh. During the latter years of his studentship, he resided as tutor and chaplain in the house of Colonel Erskine, near Culross, where he was gratified with the evangelical preaching, and very often the edifying conversation of the Rev. Mr Cuthbert, then minister of Culross. He had here also frequent opportunities of visiting his brother Ebenezer, but, though younger in years and less liberally endowed with the gifts of nature, he was a more advanced scholar in the school of Christ, and his brother, if we may believe his own report, was more benefited by him than he was by his brother. Residing within its bounds, he was, by the presbytery of Dunfermline, licensed as a preacher, on the eighth day of June, 1709. He continued to be a probationer nearly two years, a somewhat lengthened period in the then desolate state of the church, when the field, at least, was large, whatever might be the harvest, and the labourers literally few. At length, however, he received a unanimous call from the parish of Dunfermline, to serve as colleague and successor to the Rev. Mr Buchanan, which he accepted, and to which he was ordained in the month of August, 1711, his friend Mr Cuthbert of Culross, presiding on the occasion. In common with all the churches of the reformation, the church of Scotland was from her earliest dawn of returning light, distinguished for her attachment to the doctrines of grace. There, as elsewhere, it was the doctrine of grace in giving thorough righteousness unto eternal life by Jesus Christ our Lord, preached in its purity, freedom, and fulness, by Hamilton, Wishart, and Knox, which shook from his firm base the dagon of idolatry, and levelled the iron towers of papal superstition with the dust, and it was in the faith of the same doctrines that the illustrious list of martyrs and confessors under the two Charleses, and the Jameses sixth and seventh, endured such a great fight of affliction and resisted unto blood, striving against sin. At the happy deliverance from the iron yoke of persecution through the instrumentality of William, prince of Orange, in the year 1688, the ecclesiastical constitution of the country was happily restored with the whole

system of doctrine entire. When her scattered ministry began to be assembled, however, it was found that the sword of persecution, or the scythe of time, had cut off the chief of her strength. The few that had escaped were men, generally speaking, of inferior attainments. Some of them had been protected purely by their insignificancy of character, some by compliances, real or affected, with the system of prelacy, and not a few of them had actually officiated as the bishops' underlings, but for the sake of the benefice, were induced to transfer their respect and obedience from the bishop to the presbytery, and to sign the Confession of Faith as a proof of their sincerity. This was the more unfortunate that there was among them no commanding spirit, who, imbued with the love of truth, and living under the powers of the world to come, might have breathed through the body an amalgamating influence, and have insensibly assimilated the whole into its own likeness. So far from this, their leading men, under the direction of the courtly Carstairs, were chiefly busied in breaking down to the level of plain worldly policy any thing that bore the shape of really disinterested feeling, and regulating the pulse of piety by the newly graduated scale of the court thermometer. In consequence of this state of matters, there was less attention paid, both to doctrine and discipline than might have been expected, and even with the better and more serious part of the clergy, considerable confusion of ideas on the great subject of the gospel, with no inconsiderable portion of egotism, were prevalent. A spirit of inquiry was, however, at this time awakened, and the diffusion of Trail's works, with the works of some of the more eminent of the English nonconformists had a powerful effect in correcting and enlarging the views of not a few of the Scottish clergy, among whom, was the subject of this memoir, who, from a very early period of life, seems to have felt strongly, and apprehended clearly, the great scheme of the gospel. Mr Ralph Erskine had been a most diligent student, and had made very considerable progress in the different branches of science, which were commonly studied at that time, but among his people he determined to know nothing, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified. Having been exercised to godliness from his earliest years, he, by the grace of God, manifested himself to be a scribe instructed unto the kingdom of heaven, bringing forth out of his treasures things new and old. He continued to be a hard student even to his old age, generally writing out his sermons in full, and for the most part in the delivery, keeping pretty close to what he had written. For the pulpit, he possessed excellent talents, having a pleasant voice and an agreeable winning manner. He peculiarly excelled in the full and free offers of Christ which he made to his hearers, and in the persuasive and winning manner in which he urged their acceptance of the offer so graciously made to them on the authority of the divine word. He possessed also, from his own varied and extensive experience, a great knowledge of the human heart, and had a singular gift of speaking to the varied circumstances of his hearers, which rendered him more than ordinarily popular. On sacramental occasions, he was always waited upon by large audiences, who listened to his discourses with more than ordinary earnestness. During his incumbency, Dunfermline, at the time of dispensing the sacrament, was crowded by strangers from all parts of the kingdom, many of whom, to the day of their death, spoke with transport of the enlargement of heart they had there experienced. To all the other duties of the ministry he was equally attentive as to those of the pulpit. His diligence in exhorting from house to house was most unwearied, his diets of public catechising, regular; and he was never wanting at the side of the sick bed when his presence was desired. Ardently attached to divine truth, he was on all occasions its dauntless advocate. In the case of professor Simpson, he stood up manfully for the regular exercise of discipline, both in his first and second pro-

cess; and in the case of the Marrow, had his own share of the toil, trouble, and opprobrium cast upon the few ministers who at that time had the hardihood to make an open appearance for the genuine faith of the Gospel. Before the commencement of the secession, he was engaged, along with his copresbyters, of the presbytery of Dunfermline, in a dispute with the general assembly, in behalf of the liberties of the presbyterian church of Scotland, in which, however, they failed. This was in the case of Mr Stark, who had been most shamefully intruded upon the burgh and parish of Kinross, and whom, in consequence, the presbytery of Dunfermline refused to admit as one of their members. The case was brought before the assembly, 1732, and summarily decided by ordering the presbytery to assemble immediately, and enrol Mr Stark as one of their members, give him the right hand of fellowship, and by all means in their power, to strengthen his hands, and hold him up against the opposition that was raised against him by the parish, under the pain of being visited with the church's highest displeasure. Against this decision, protests were offered by Mr Ralph Erskine and others, but they were peremptorily refused. Another act of the same assembly became the ostensible cause of the secession. In this controversy, however, Mr Ralph Erskine had no part, farther than that he adhered to the protests that were offered in behalf of the four brethren who carried it on, took their part on all occasions, attended many of their meetings, and maintained the closest communion with them, both christian and ministerial; but he did not withdraw from the judicatures of the established church, till the month of February, 1737, when seeing no hope of any reformation in that quarter, he gave in a declaration of secession to the presbytery of Dunfermline, and joined the associate presbytery.

The fame of Mr Ralph Erskine was now, by his taking part with the secession, considerably extended; for the circumstances attending it were making a great noise in every corner of the country. It particularly attracted the notice of Wesley and Whitefield, who at this time were laying the foundations of Methodism in England. The latter of these gentlemen entered shortly after this period into correspondence with Mr Ralph Erskine, in consequence of which he came to Scotland, paid a visit to Mr Erskine, and preached the first sermon he delivered in that country, from that gentleman's pulpit in Dunfermline. The professed object of Mr Whitefield was the same as that of the secession, viz. the reformation of the church, and the promoting of the interests of holiness, and one mode of doing so, he held in common with seceders, namely, the preaching of the doctrines of the cross; in every thing else they were directly opposed to each other. Equally or even more decidedly attached to the doctrines of free grace, the seceders considered the settlement of nations and churches as of the last importance for preserving, promoting, and perpetuating true and undefiled religion. Nations, in consequence of the baptismal engagements of the individuals of which they may be composed, they held to be under indispensible obligations to make a national profession of religion; to cause that all their laws be made to accord with its spirit, and to provide for the due celebration of all its ordinances. Oaths, bonds, and civil associations, they held to be, in their own proper places, legitimate means of attaining, promoting, and preserving reformation. Hence they maintained the inviolable obligations of the national covenant of Scotland, and of the solemn league and covenant of the three kingdoms, and issued their testimony as a testimony for the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the church of Scotland. Of all these matters, Whitefield was utterly ignorant, and utterly careless. He had received priest's orders in the English church, and had sworn the oath of supremacy, which one would suppose a pretty strong declaration of his being episcopal in his views. Of government in the church, however, he made little

account, for he wandered about from land to land, acknowledging no superior, and seems to have regarded all the forms in which christianity has been embodied with equal favour, or rather, perhaps, with equal contempt. Of course, Mr Whitefield and Mr Erskine had no sooner met, and begun to explain their views, than they were mutually disgusted, and they parted in a manner which, we think, has left no credit to either of the parties.

The associate presbytery was at this time preparing for what they considered the practical completion of their testimony, the renewal of the national covenants, in a bond suited to their circumstances, which they did at Stirling, in the month of December, 1743; Mr Ralph Erskine being the second name that was subscribed to the bond. The swearing of this bond necessarily introduced the discussion of the religious clause of some burgess oaths, which led to a breach in the secession body, an account of which the reader will find in a previous article [the life of Ebenezer Erskine]. In this controversy Mr Ralph Erskine took a decided part, being a violent advocate for the lawfulness of the oath. He, however, did not long survive that unhappy rupture, being seized with a nervous fever, of which he died after eight days' illness, on the 6th of November, 1752, being in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the forty-second of his ministry.

Mr Ralph Erskine was twice married; first, to Margaret Dewar, daughter to the laird of Lassodie, who died in the month of November, 1780; having lived with him sixteen years, and born him ten children. He married, secondly, Margaret Simpson, daughter to Mr Simpson, writer to the signet, Edinburgh, who bore him four children, and survived him several years. Three of his sons lived to be ministers of the secession church, but they all died in the prime of life, to the grief of their relatives and friends, who had formed the highest expectations of their future usefulness.

Of the character of Mr Ralph Erskine there can be, and, in fact, we believe there is, but one opinion. Few greater names belong to the church of Scotland, of which, notwithstanding of his secession, he considered himself, and must by every fair and impartial man, be considered to have been a most dutiful son to the day of his death. During the days of Ralph Erskine, dissenterism was a name and thing unknown in the secession. Seceders had dissented from some unconstitutional acts of the judicature of the established church, and were compelled to secede, but they held fast her whole constitution, entered their appeal to her first free and reforming assembly, to which every genuine seceder is looking forward with deep anxiety, ready to plead his cause before it, and willing to stand or fall by its judgment. Of Mr Ralph Erskine's writings, it is scarcely necessary to speak, any more than of his character. They have already, several of them, stood a century of criticism, and are just as much valued by pious and discerning readers, as they were on the day when they were first published. Models of composition they are not, nor do we believe that they ever were; but they are rich with the ore of divine truth, and contain many passages that are uncommonly vigorous and happy. Of his poetical works we have not room to say much; some of them are all that the author intended, which is more than can be said of many poetical productions that have a much higher reputation in the world. His Gospel Sonnets, by far the best of his poems, he composed when he had but newly entered on his ministry, as a compend of the scheme of the gospel, and we know few books that in a smaller compass contain one more perfect. The composition is very homely, but it is just so much better fitted for the serious and not highly instructed reader, whose benefit alone the author had in view. Of his versions of the Song of Solomon, of the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and of the Book of Job, it must be admitted

that they are utterly unworthy of the gloriously divine originals; but it ought to be remembered, that he was put upon these labours by the urgency of his brethren, with a view to their being added to the psalmody, and that in this case, plainness and simplicity has always been aimed at, to a degree bordering on the bold, not to say the profane. Nor are these attempts, after all, beneath several of the same kind by the greatest names in English poetry.

ERSKINE, Thomas Alexander, sixth earl of Kellie, a distinguished musical genius, was born on September 1st, 1732. He was the eldest son of Alexander, fifth earl of Kellie, by Janet Pitcairn, daughter of the celebrated physician and poet. The earls of Kellie were a branch of the Marr family, ennobled through the favour of James VI. and I., which was acquired by the services of Sir Thomas Erskine of Gogar, in protecting his majesty from the machinations of the earl of Gowry and his brother. The father of the subject of this memoir, though possessed of a kind of rude wit, was always deemed a person of imperfect intellect, of which he seems to have been himself aware. Being confined in Edinburgh castle for his concern in the insurrection of 1745, he one morning came into the room occupied by his brethren in misfortune, showing a paper in his hand. This was a list of persons whom the government had resolved to prosecute no further, and while his lordship's name stood at the head, on account of his rank, it was closed by the name of a Mr William Fidler, who had been an auditor in the Scottish exchequer. "Oh, is not this a wise government?" cried the earl, "to begin wi' a fule and end wi' a fiddler!" On his lordship's death, in 1756, he was succeeded by his eldest son, who seems to have inherited the wit of his father, along with the more brilliant genius of his mother's family.

The earl of Kellie displayed, at an early period of life, a considerable share of ability; and it was anticipated that he would distinguish himself in some public employment worthy of his exalted rank. He was led, however, by an overmastering propensity to music, to devote himself almost exclusively to that art. We are informed by Dr Burney, in his History of Music, that "the earl of Kellie, who was possessed of more musical science than any dilletante with whom I was ever acquainted, and who, according to Pinto, before he travelled into Germany, could scarcely tune his fiddle, shut himself up at Manheim with the elder Stamitz, and studied composition, and practised the violin with such serious application, that, at his return to England, there was no part of theoretical or practical music, in which he was not equally well versed with the greatest professors of his time. Indeed, he had a strength of hand on the violin, and a genius for composition, with which few professors are gifted." In the age during which the earl of Kellie flourished, it was unfortunately deemed an almost indispensible mark of a man of genius, either in literature or music, to devote himself much to the service of Bacchus. Hence this young nobleman, whose talents might have adorned almost any walk of life, identified himself with the dissolute fraternity who haunted the British metropolis, and of whom there was a considerable off-shoot even in Edinburgh. Thus he spent, in low buffooneries and debaucheries, time which might have been employed to the general advantage of his country. He, nevertheless, composed a considerable quantity of music, which, in its day, enjoyed a high degree of celebrity, though it is generally deemed, in the present age, to be deficient in taste and feeling. "In his works," says a late writer, "the *fervidum ingenium* of his country bursts forth, and elegance is mingled with fire. From the singular ardour and impetuosity of his temperament, joined to his German education, under the celebrated Stamitz, and at a time when the German overture, or symphony, consisting of a grand chorus of violins and wind instruments, was in its highest

vogue, this great composer has employed himself chiefly in symphonies, but in a style peculiar to himself. While others please and amuse, it is his province to rouse and almost overset his hearer. Loudness, rapidity, enthusiasm, announced the earl of Kellie. His harmonies are acknowledged to be accurate and ingenious, admirably calculated for the effect in view, and discovering a thorough knowledge of music. From some specimens, it appears that his talents were not confined to a single style, which has made his admirers regret that he did not apply himself to a greater variety of subjects. He is said to have composed only one song, but that an excellent one. What appears singularly peculiar in this musician, is what may be called the velocity of his talents, by which he composed whole pieces of the most excellent music in one night. Part of his works are still unpublished, and not a little is probably lost. Being always remarkably fond of a concert of wind instruments, whenever he met with a good band of them, he was seized with a fit of composition, and wrote pieces in the moment, which he gave away to the performers, and never saw again; and these, in his own judgment, were the best he ever composed."[1]

Having much impaired his constitution by hard living, the earl of Kellie visited Spa, from which he was returning to England, when he was struck with a paralytic shock upon the road. Being advised to stop a few days at Brussels, he was attacked by a putrid fever, of which he died at that city, on the 9th of October, 1781, in the fifty-first year of his age.

ERSKINE, Thomas, lord Erskine, was the youngest son of David Henry, tenth earl of Buchan. He was born in the year 1750, and, after having passed through the high school classes at Edinburgh, was sent to the university of St Andrews to finish his education. At a very early age he had imbibed a strong predilection for a naval life; and the limited means of his family rendering an early adoption of some profession necessary, he was allowed to enter the service as a midshipman, under Sir John Lindsay, nephew to the celebrated earl of Mansfield. Young Erskine embarked at Leith, and did not put foot again on his native soil until a few years before his death. He never, it is believed, held the commission of lieutenant, although he acted for some time in that capacity by the special appointment of his captain, whose kindness in this instance ultimately led to his eleve's abandoning the service altogether, when required to resume the inferior station of a midshipman. After a service of four years, he quitted the navy, and entered the army as an ensign, in the royals, or first regiment of foot, in 1768. In 1770, he married an amiable and accomplished woman, and shortly afterwards went with his regiment to Minorca, where he spent three years. While in the army, he acquired great reputation for the versatility and acuteness of his conversational powers. Boswell, who met with the young officer in a mixed company in London, mentions the pleasure which Dr Johnson condescended to express on hearing him,—an approbation which assures us that the young Scotsman's colloquial talents were of no ordinary kind, and possessed something more than mere brilliancy or fluency, even at that early period of life. It was the knowledge of these qualities of mind, probably, which induced his mother—a lady whose uncommon acquirements we have already had occasion to eulogise in a memoir of another son—to urge him to devote the great energies of his mind to the study of the law and jurisprudence of his country. Her advice, seconded by the counsel of a few judicious friends, was adopted; and, in his 27th year, Thomas Erskine renounced the glittering profession of arms for the graver studies of law.

He entered as a fellow-commoner, at Trinity College, Cambridge, in the

[1] Robertson of Dalmeny's Inquiry into the Fine Arts, vol. i.

year 1777, merely to obtain a degree, to which he was entitled as the son of a nobleman, and thereby shorten his passage to the bar; and, at the same time, he inserted his name in the books of Lincoln's inn, as a student at law. One of his college declamations is still extant, as it was delivered in Trinity college chapel. The thesis was the revolution of 1688, and the first prize was awarded to its author; but, with that nobleness of feeling which always characterized the subject of our memoir, he refused to accept of the reward, alleging as an excuse, that he had merely declaimed in conformity with the rules of college, and, not being a resident student, was not entitled to any honorary distinction. A burlesque parody of Gray's Bard which appeared about this time in the Monthly Magazine, were generally attributed to Mr Erskine. The origin of this production was a circumstance of a humorous nature. The author had been prevented from taking his place at dinner in the college hall, by the neglect of his barber, who failed to present himself in proper time. In the moment of supposed disappointment, hunger, and irritation, the bard pours forth a violent malediction against the whole tribe of hair-dressers, and, in a strain of prophetic denunciation, foretells the overthrow of their craft in the future taste for cropped hair and unpowdered heads. The ode is little remarkable for poetical excellence, but displays a lively fancy and keen perception of the ludicrous. In order to acquire that knowledge of the technical part of his profession, without which a barrister finds himself hampered at every step; Mr Erskine became a pupil of Mr, afterwards judge Buller, then an eminent special pleader, and discharged his laborious and servile avocation at the desk with all the persevering industry of a common attorney's clerk. Upon the promotion of his preceptor to the bench, he entered into the office of Mr, afterwards baron Wood, where he continued for some months after he had obtained considerable business at the bar.

At this time, his evenings were often spent in a celebrated debating association then held in Coach-maker's hall. These spouting clubs, at the period of which we speak, were regarded with a jealous eye by the government; and it was considered discreditable, or at least prejudicial to the interests of any young man, who looked forward to patronage at the bar, to be connected with them. The subjects usually discussed were of a political nature, and the harangues delivered in a motley assembly of men of all ranks and principles, were often highly inflammatory in sentiment, and unguarded in expression. But it was in such schools as these, that the talents of a Burke and a Pitt, and an Erskine, were nursed into that surpassing strength and activity which afterwards enabled them to 'wield at will' not the 'fierce democracy' but even the senate of Great Britain. While engaged in these preparatory studies, Mr Erskine was obliged to adhere to the most rigid economy in the use of his very limited finances,—a privation which the unvarying cheerfulness and strong good sense of his amiable consort enabled him to bear with comparative ease.

Mr Erskine, having completed the probationary period allotted to his attendance in the Inns of court, was called to the bar in 1778; and in the very outset of his legal career, while yet of only one term's standing, made a most brilliant display of professional talent, in the case of captain Baillie, against whom the attorney general had moved for leave to file a criminal information in the court of king's bench, for a libel on the earl of Sandwich. In the course of this his first speech, Mr Erskine displayed the same undaunted spirit which marked his whole career. He attacked the noble earl in a strain of severe invective; Lord Mansfield, observing the young counsel heated with his subject, and growing personal on the first lord of the admiralty, told him that lord Sandwich was not before the court: "I know," replied the undaunted

orator, "that he is not formally before the court; but for that very reason I will bring him before the court. He has placed there men in the front of the battle, in hopes to escape under their shelter; but I will not join in battle with them; *their* vices, though screwed up to the highest pitch of human depravity, are not of dignity enough to vindicate the combat with *me;* I will drag *him* to light who is the dark mover behind this scene of iniquity. I assert that the earl of Sandwich has but one road to escape out of this business without pollution and disgrace: and that is, by publicly disavowing the acts of the prosecutors, and restoring captain Baillie to his command."

Mr Erskine's next speech was for Mr Carnan, a bookseller, at the bar of the house of commons, against the monopoly of the two universities, in printing almanacs. Lord North, then prime minister, and chancellor of Oxford, had introduced a bill into the house of commons, for re-vesting the universities in their monopoly, which had fallen to the ground by certain judgments which Carnan had obtained in the courts of law; the opposition to the premier's measure was considered a desperate attempt, but, to the honour of the house, the bill was rejected by a majority of 45 votes.

But long after having gained their original triumph, Mr Erskine made a most splendid appearance for the man of the people, lord George Gordon, at the Old Bailey. This great speech, and the acquittal which it secured to the object of it, have been pronounced by a competent judge, the deathblow of the tremendous doctrine of constructive treason. The monster, indeed, manifested symptoms of returning life at an after period; but we shall see with what noble indignation its extirpator launched a second irresistible shaft at the reviving reptile. Lord George's impeachment arose out of the following circumstances. Sir George Saville had introduced a bill into parliament for the relief of the Roman catholics of England from some of the penalties they were subject to by the test laws. The good effects of this measure, which only applied to England, were immediately felt, and in the next session it was proposed to extend the operation of similar measures to Scotland. This produced many popular tumults in Scotland, particularly in Edinburgh, where the mob destroyed some popish chapels. The irritation of the public mind in Scotland soon extended itself to England, and produced a reaction of feeling in that country also. A number of protestant societies were formed in both parts of the kingdom for the purpose of obtaining the repeal of Saville's act, as a measure fraught with danger to the constitution, both of church and state. In November, 1779, lord George Gordon, the younger brother of the duke of Gordon, and at that time a member of the house of commons, became president of the associated protestants of London; and on the memorable 2d of June, 1780, while proceeding to present a petition against concession to Roman catholics, signed by 44,000 protestants, was attended by a mob so numerous, and who conducted themselves so outrageously, as for a moment to extinguish all police and government in the city of London. For this indignity offered to the person of royalty itself, lord George and several others were committed to the tower. Upon his trial, Mr Erskine delivered a speech less remarkable, perhaps, for dazzling eloquence, than for the clear texture of the whole argument maintained in it. A singularly daring passage occurs in this speech, which the feeling of the moment alone could prompt the orator to utter; after reciting a variety of circumstances in lord George Gordon's conduct, which tended to prove that the idea of resorting to absolute force and compulsion by armed violence, never was contemplated by the prisoner, he breaks out with this extraordinary exclamation: "I say, BY GOD, that man is a ruffian who shall, after this, presume to build upon such honest, artless conduct as an evidence of guilt!" But for the sympathy

which the orator must have felt to exist at the moment, between himself and his audience, this singular effort must have been fatal to the cause it was designed to support; as it was, however, the sensation produced by these words, and the look, voice, gesture, and whole manner of the speaker, were tremendous. The result is well known; but it may not be equally well known that Dr Johnson himself, notwithstanding his hostility to the test laws, was highly gratified by the verdict which was obtained: "I am glad," said he, "that lord George Gordon has escaped, rather than a precedent should be established of hanging a man for constructive treason."

In 1783, Mr Erskine received the honour of a silk gown: his majesty's letter of precedency being conferred upon him at the suggestion of the venerable lord Mansfield. In the same year he was elected member of parliament for Portsmouth.

The defence of John Stockdale, who was tried for publishing a libel against the commons house of parliament, has been pronounced the first in oratorical talent, and is certainly not the last in importance of Mr Erskine's speeches. This trial may be termed the case of libels, and the doctrine maintained and expounded in it by Stockdale's counsel is the foundation of that liberty which the press enjoys in this country. When the house of commons ordered the impeachment of Warren Hastings, the articles were drawn up by Mr Burke, who infused into them all that fervour of thought and expression which ever characterized his compositions. The articles, so prepared, instead of being confined to the records of the house until they were carried up to the lords for trial, were printed and allowed to be sold in every bookseller's shop in the kingdom, before the accused was placed upon his trial; and undoubtedly, from the style and manner of their composition, made a deep and general impression upon the public mind against Mr Hastings. To repel or neutralize the effect of the publication of the charges, Mr Logan, one of the ministers of Leith, wrote a pamphlet, which Stockdale published, containing several severe and unguarded reflections upon the conduct of the managers of the impeachments, which the house of commons deemed highly contemptuous and libellous. The publisher was accordingly tried, on an information filed by the attorney-general. In the speech delivered by Mr Erskine upon this occasion, the very highest efforts of the orator and the rhetorician were united to all the coolness and precision of the *nisi prius* lawyer. It was this rare faculty of combining the highest genius with the minutest attention to whatever might put his case in the safest position, which rendered Mr Erskine the most consummate advocate of the age. To estimate the mightiness of that effort by which he defeated his powerful antagonists in this case, we must remember the imposing circumstances of Mr Hastings' trial,—the "terrible, unceasing, exhaustless artillery of warm zeal, matchless vigour of understanding, consuming and devouring eloquence, united with the highest dignity,"—to use the orator's own language—which was then daily pouring forth upon the man, in whose defence Logan had written and Stockdale published. It was "amidst the blaze of passion and prejudice," that Mr Erskine extorted that verdict, which rescued his client from the punishment which a whole people seemed interested in awarding against the reviler of its collective majesty. And be it remembered, that in defending Stockdale, the advocate by no means identified his cause with a defence of Hastings. He did not attempt to palliate the enormities of the governor-general's administration; he avowed that he was neither his counsel, nor desired to have any thing to do with his guilt or innocence; although in the collateral defence of his client, he was driven to state matters which might be considered by many as hostile to the impeachment. Our gifted countryman never perverted his transcendant talents

by devoting them to screen villany from justice, or to the support of any cause which he did not conscientiously approve. His speech for the defendant at the trial of a case of adultery in the court of king's bench, may be considered as an exception to this remark. It must not be forgotten that it was delivered in behalf of a gentleman of high family who had been attached to a young lady, his equal in years and birth, but was prevented from marrying her by the sordid interference of her relatives, who induced or rather constrained her to an alliance with a nobler house. The marriage was, as might have been anticipated, a most unhappy one, and the original attachment seems never to have been replaced by any other, and ultimately produced the elopement which occasioned the action. Mr Erskine does not affect to palliate the crime of seduction; on the contrary, he dwells at length on the miserable consequences occasioned by this crime; but, after having adverted with exquisite delicacy to the sacrifice of affection and enjoyment which had been made in this case, he charges the plaintiff with being the original seducer of a woman, whose affections he knew to be irretrievably bestowed upon and pledged to another.

In the state trials of 1794, Mr Erskine stood almost singly opposed to the whole array of professional talents in the country, backed by the influence of the crown, and supported by the violence of popular commotion; but he triumphed gloriously over this fearful odds, and established the liberation of his country, on a broad and solid basis, from which the most venal ministry will in vain attempt to displace it.

In 1807, Mr Erskine was exalted to the peerage by the title of lord Erskine of Restormal castle, in Cornwall, and accepted of the seals as lord high chancellor; but resigned them on the dissolution of the short lived administration of that period, and retired upon a pension of £4000 per annum. Since that time to the period of his death, his lordship steadily devoted himself to his duties in parliament, and never ceased to support, in his high station, those measures and principles which he had advocated in his younger years. It is deeply to be regretted, that, by an unhappy second marriage and some eccentricities of conduct, very incompatible with his years and honours, this nobleman should have at once embittered the declining years of his own life, and tarnished that high and unsullied character which he had formerly borne in public estimation. His death was produced by an inflammation of the chest, with which he was seized while on the voyage betwixt London and Edinburgh. He was landed at Scarborough, and proceeded to Scotland by short stages, but died on the 17th of November, 1823, at Ammondell house. Mr Erskine's peculiar sphere seems to have been oratorical advocacy; his appearance as a senator never equalled that which he made at the bar. Nor is he entitled, as a political writer, to much distinction. His pamphlet, entitled "A View of the Causes and Consequences of the War with France," which he published in support of Mr Fox's principles, indeed, ran through forty-eight editions; but owed its unprecedented sale more to the spirit of the times and the celebrity of its author's name, than to its own intrinsic merit. The preface to Mr Fox's collected speeches was also written by him, as well as a singular political romance, entitled "Armaba," and some spirited pamphlets in support of the Greek cause.

By his first wife, lord Erskine had three sons and five daughters. The eldest of his sons, David Montague, now lord Erskine, was for some time member plenipotentiary to the United States, and afterwards president at the court of Wirtemberg.

FALCONER, William, author of "The Shipwreck, a poem," was born in Edinburgh about the year 1730. His father was a barber and wig-maker, in a

well-known street called the Netherbow, where he ultimately became insolvent. A brother and sister of the tuneful Falconer—the only individuals who stood in that relation to him—were born deaf and dumb; and the latter, on account of her infirmities, was a constant inmate of the royal infirmary of Edinburgh, some time after the beginning of the present century. The father of the poet was a cousin-german of the Rev. Mr Robertson, minister of the parish of Borthwick; so that this humble bard was a very near relation of the author of the History of Scotland, and also of lord Brougham and Vaux. Old Falconer being reduced to insolvency, was enabled by his friends to open a grocer's shop; but being deprived of his wife, who was a prudent and active woman, his affairs once more became deranged, and he terminated his life in extreme indigence.

The education of young Falconer was of that humble kind which might have been expected from his father's circumstances. A teacher of the name of Webster gave him instructions in reading, writing, and arithmetic. He used to say that this was the whole amount of his school education. It appears that he possessed, even in early youth, an ardour of genius, and a zeal in the acquisition of knowledge, which in a great measure supplied his deficiences. In his poem of the Shipwreck, he evidently alludes to his own attainments, in the following lines:—

"On him fair science dawned in happier hour,
Awakening into bloom young fancy's flower;
But soon adversity, with freezing blast,
The blossom withered and the dawn o'ercast;
Forlorn of heart, and, by severe decree,
Condemned, reluctant, to the faithless sea;
With long farewell, he left the laurel grove,
Where science and the tuneful sisters rove."

When very young, he was torn from his self-pursued studies, and entered as an apprentice on board a merchant vessel belonging to Leith. He afterwards became servant to Mr Campbell, the author of Lexiphanes, who was purser of the ship to which he belonged, and who, finding in him an aptitude for knowledge, kindly undertook to give him some instructions in person. He subsequently became second mate in the Britannia, a vessel in the Levant trade, which, on her passage from Alexandria to Venice, was shipwrecked off Cape Colonna, on the coast of Greece. Only three of the crew were saved, and Falconer was of the number. The event furnished him with the material of a poem, by which it is probable his name will be for ever remembered.

The poet was at this time about eighteen years of age. In 1751, when two or three years older, he is found residing in his native city, where he published his first known work, a poem, "Sacred to the Memory of his Royal Highness, Frederick, Prince of Wales." He is said to have followed up this effort by several minor pieces, which he transmitted to the Gentleman's Magazine. Mr Clarke, the editor of a respectable edition of his poems, points out "The Chaplain's Petition to the Lieutenants in the Ward-room," the "Description of a Ninety Gun Ship," and some lines "On the Uncommon Scarcity of Poetry," as among these fugitive productions. Mr Clarke has likewise presented his readers with a whimsical little poem, descriptive of the abode and sentiments of a midshipman, which was one of the poet's early productions; and offers some reasons for supposing that he was the author of the popular song, "Cease, rude Boreas."

Little is known of Falconer during this period of his life, except that he must have been making considerable additions to his stock of knowledge and ideas. His poem, "The Shipwreck," was published in 1762, being dedicated

to Edward, duke of York, brother of George III. This composition displays a degree of polish, and an array of classical allusions, which could only have been acquired by extensive reading. It was at once placed in the first rank of descriptive poetry, where it has ever since continued. "The distant ocean," says an eminent critic, "and its grand phenomena, have employed the pens of the most eminent poets, but they have generally produced an effect by indefinite outlines and imaginary incidents. In Falconer, we have the painting of a great artist, taken on the spot, with such minute fidelity, as well as picturesque effect, that we are chained to the scene with all the feelings of actual terror. In the use of imagery, Falconer displays original powers. His sunset, midnight, morning, &c., are not such as have descended from poet to poet. He beheld these objects under circumstances in which it is the lot of few to be placed. His images, therefore, cannot be transferred or borrowed; they have an appropriation which must not be disturbed, nor can we trace them to any source but that of genuine poetry." Another writer remarks, "The Shipwreck is didactic as well as descriptive, and may be recommended to a young sailor, not only to excite his enthusiasm, but improve his knowledge of the art. It is of inestimable value to this country, since it contains within itself the rudiments of navigation: if not sufficient to form a complete seaman, it may certainly be considered as the grammar of his professional science. I have heard many experienced officers declare, that the rules and maxims delivered in this poem, for the conduct of a ship in the most perilous emergency, form the best, indeed, the only opinions which a skilful mariner should adopt." Against such a poem it forms no proper objection, that much of the language, being technical, is only perfectly understood by a class.

By his dedication, the poet gained the notice and patronage of the duke of York, who, it will be recollected, was himself a seaman. Almost immediately after the poem was published, his royal highness induced Falconer to leave the merchant service, and procured him the rank of a midshipman in Sir Edward Hawke's ship, the Royal George. In gratitude, Falconer wrote an "Ode on the duke of York's second departure from England as rear-admiral," which was published, but displays a merit more commensurate with the unimportance of the subject than the genius of the author. It is said that Falconer composed this poem "during an occasional absence from his messmates, when he retired into a small space formed between the cable tiers and the ship's side."

In 1763, the war being brought to a close, Falconer's ship was paid off,—long before he had completed that period of service which could have entitled him to promotion. He then exchanged the military for the civil department of the naval service, and became purser of the Glory frigate of 32 guns. Either in the interval between the two services, or before his appointment as a midshipman, he paid a visit to Scotland, and spent some time in the manse of Gladsmuir, with Dr Robertson, the historian, who, we are told, was proud to acknowledge the relationship that existed between him and this self-instructed and ingenious man.

Soon after this period, Falconer married a Miss Hicks, daughter of the Surgeon of Sheerness Yard. She has been described as "a woman of cultivated mind, elegant in her person, and sensible and agreeable in conversation."[1] It is said that the match was entered into against the will of her parents, who, looking only to the external circumstances of the poet, thought her thrown away upon a poor Scottish adventurer. Notwithstanding this painful circumstance, and, there is reason to fear, real poverty besides, the pair lived happily.

[1] Letter by Joseph Moser, *European Magazine*, 1803, p. 424

Falconer endeavoured to support himself by literature. He compiled a "Universal Marine Dictionary," which, from its usefulness as a book of reference, soon became generally used in the navy. Like most other literary Scotsmen of that period, he was a zealous partisan of the Bute administration, and endeavoured to defend it against the attacks of its jealous and illiberal enemies. For this purpose, he published a satire, called "the Demagogue," which was more particularly aimed at lord Chatham, Wilkes, and Churchill. We have not learned that it was attended with any particular effect. Falconer, at this time, lived in a manner at once economical, and highly appropriate to his literary character. "When the Glory was laid in ordinary at Chatham, commissioner Hanway, brother to the benevolent Jonas Hanway, became delighted with the genius of its purser. The captain's cabin was ordered to be fitted up with a stove, and with every addition of comfort that could be procured; in order that Falconer might thus be enabled to enjoy his favourite propensity, without either molestation or expense."—*Clark's Life of Falconer.*

In 1769, the poet had removed to London, and resided for some time in the former buildings of Somerset house. From this place he dated the last edition of the Shipwreck published in his own life-time. That Falconer must have possessed the personal qualities of a man of the world, rather than those of an abstracted student or child of the muses, seems to be proved by Mr Murray, the bookseller, having proposed to take him into partnership. He is supposed to have been only prevented from acceding to this proposal by receiving an appointment to the pursership of the Aurora frigate, which was ordered to carry out to India, Messrs Vansittart, Scrofton, and Forde, as supervisors of the affairs of the company. He was also promised the office of private secretary to those gentlemen, a situation from which his friends conceived hopes that he might eventually obtain lasting advantages. It had been otherwise ordered. The Aurora sailed from England on the 30th of September, 1769, and, after touching at the Cape, was lost during the remainder of the passage, in a manner which left no trace by which the cause of the calamity could be discovered. It was conjectured that the vessel took fire at sea; but the more probable supposition is that she foundered in the Mosambique channel. The widow of Falconer (who eventually died at Bath,) resided for some years afterwards in his apartments at Somerset house, partly supported by Mr Miller, the bookseller, who, in consideration of the rapid sale of the Marine Dictionary, generously bestowed upon her sums not stipulated for in his contract with the author. Mr Moser, whom we have already quoted, mentions that he once met her walking in the garden, near her lodging, and, without knowing who she was, happened, in conversation, to express his admiration of "the Shipwreck." She was instantly in tears. "She presented me," says Mr M. "with a copy of the Shipwreck, and seemed much affected by my commiseration of the misfortunes of a man, whose work appears in its catastrophe prophetic." They had never had any children.

"In person," says Mr Clarke, "Falconer was about five feet seven inches in height; of a thin light make, with a dark weather-beaten complexion, and rather what is termed hard-featured, being considerably marked with the small pox; his hair was of a brownish hue. In point of address, his manner was blunt, awkward, and forbidding; but he spoke with great fluency; and his simple yet impressive diction was couched in words which reminded his hearers of the terseness of Swift. Though he possessed a warm and friendly disposition, he was fond of controversy, and inclined to satire. His observation was keen and rapid; his criticisms on any inaccuracy of language or expression, were frequently severe; yet this severity was always intended to

create mirth, and not by any means to show his own superiority, or to give the smallest offence. In his natural temper, he was cheerful, and frequently used to amuse his messmates by composing acrostics on their favourites, in which he particularly excelled. As a professional man, he was a thorough seaman; and, like most of that profession, was kind, generous, and benevolent."

FERGUSON, Dr Adam, was the son of the Rev. Adam Ferguson, parish minister of Logie Rait, in Perthshire, descended of the respectable family of Dunfallandy; his mother was from the county of Aberdeen. He was born in the year 1724, in the manse of his father's parish, and was the youngest of a numerous family. He received the rudiments of his education at the parish school; but his father, who had devoted much of his time to the tuition of his son, became so fully convinced of the superior abilities of the boy, that he determined to spare no expense, but to afford him every advantage in the completion of his education. He was accordingly sent to Perth and placed under the care of Mr Martin, who enjoyed great celebrity as a teacher. At this seminary Ferguson greatly distinguished himself, as well in the classical branches of education, as in the composition of essays; an exercise which his master was in the habit of prescribing to his pupils. His theses were not only praised at the time of their being delivered, but were long preserved and shown with pride by Mr Martin, as the production of a youthful scholar. In October, 1539, Ferguson was, at the age of fifteen, removed to the university of St Andrews, where he was particularly recommended to the notice of Mr Tullidelph, who had been lately promoted to the office of Principal of one of the colleges. At St Andrews, there is an annual *exhibition* for four bursaries, when the successful competitors, in writing and translating Latin, obtain gratuitous board at the college table, during four years. Ferguson stood first among the competitors of the under-graduate course for the year he entered the college. At that period the Greek language was seldom taught in the grammar schools in Scotland; and although young Ferguson had thus honourably distinguished himself by his knowledge of Latin, he seems to have been unacquainted with Greek. By his assiduity, however, he amply regained his lost time; for so ardently did he apply himself to the study of that language, that, before the close of the session, he was able to construe Homer; nor did his ardour cease with his attendance at college, for during the vacation, he tasked himself to prepare one hundred lines of the Iliad every day, and facility increasing as he advanced in knowledge, he was enabled to enlarge his task, so that by the commencement of the succeeding session, or term, he had gone through the whole poem. This laborious course of study enabled him to devote the succeeding years of his attendance at college to the attainment of a knowledge of mathematics, logic, metaphysics, and ethics.

From St Andrews, on the close of his elementary studies, Mr Ferguson removed to Edinburgh to mix with, and form a distinguished member of that galaxy of great men which illustrated the northern metropolis about the middle of the 18th century. Nor was it long before his acquaintance among those who were thus to shed a lustre over Scotland commenced, for soon after his arrival in Edinburgh, he became a member of a philosophical society, which comprehended Dr Robertson, Dr Blair, Mr John Home, the author of "Douglas," and Mr Alexander Carlyle. A society composed of young men of abilities so eminent, it may easily be believed, was an institution peculiarly well adapted to promote intellectual improvement and the acquisition of knowledge. This society afterwards merged in the Speculative Society, which still exists, and has been the favourite resort of most of the young men of talent who have been educated in Edinburgh during the last sixty years.

"In his private studies," (we are informed by one of his most intimate friends,)

Mr Ferguson, while in Edinburgh, devoted his chief attention "to natural, moral, and political philosophy. His strong and inquiring unprejudiced mind, versed in Grecian and Roman literature, rendered him a zealous friend of rational and well-regulated liberty. He was a constitutional whig, equally removed from republican licentiousness and tory bigotry. Aware that all political establishments ought to be for the good of the whole people, he wished the means to vary in different cases, according to the diversity of character and circumstances; and was convinced with Aristotle that the perfection or defect of the institutions of one country does not necessarily imply either perfection or defect of the similar institutions of another; and that restraint is necessary, in the inverse proportion of general knowledge and virtue. These were the sentiments he cherished in his youth; these the sentiments he cherished in his old age."

Mr Ferguson was intended for the church, and had not pursued the study of divinity beyond two years, when, in 1744, Mr Murray, brother to Lord Elibank, offered him the situation of deputy chaplain, under himself, in the 42d regiment. In order, however, to obtain a license as a preacher in the church of Scotland, it was necessary at that time to have studied divinity for six years, and although the fact of Ferguson having some slight knowledge of the Gaelic language, might have entitled him to have two of these years discounted, still no presbytery was authorized to have granted him his license. He was therefore obliged to apply to the general assembly of the church of Scotland, when in consideration of the high testimonials which he produced from several professors, a dispensation was granted in his favour, and having passed his trials, he obtained his license as a preacher; immediately after which he joined his regiment, then in active service in Flanders. In a short time he had the good fortune to be promoted to the rank of principal chaplain.

Mr Gibbon has declared that the manœuvres of a battalion of militia, of which he was colonel, had enabled him to comprehend and describe the evolutions of the Roman legion; and no doubt Mr Ferguson owed his knowledge of military affairs by which he was enabled to give such distinctness and liveliness to his descriptions of wars and battles, to the experience which he acquired while with his regiment on the continent. Nor did his service prove less beneficial to him by throwing open a wide and intensive field of observation of the human character, and imparting a practical knowledge of the mainspring of political events.

On the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Mr Ferguson obtained leave of absence when he visited his native country. At home, he spent his time partly in Perthshire, wandering about in comparative idleness, enjoying the beautiful scenery which surrounded his father's manse, and partly in the capital where he renewed his acquaintance with the friends of his youth. About this period he solicited the Duke of Athol for the living of Caputh, a beautiful and retired parish near Dunkeld, in Perthshire; he was, however, unsuccessful in his application, and it was owing, perhaps, to this disappointment that he did not ask the living of Logie Rait, on the death of his father, which took place shortly after. Having rejoined his regiment, he seems thenceforward to have abandoned all intention of undertaking a parochial charge. Indeed, his talents did not peculiarly fit him for the office of a preacher; for although he had acquired a great facility in writing, his sermons were rather moral essays than eloquent discourses. This, in a great measure, disqualified him for becoming a favourite with a presbyterian congregation, in which, from the want of a liturgy, so much always depends on the preacher's capacity to excite and sustain a spirit of devotion among his hearers, by the warmth and energy of his exhortations. Although thus unfitted by the nature of his genius to shine as a preacher, Mr Ferguson's great abilities,

his polished manners, and the benevolence of his disposition, peculiarly fitted him for taking a prominent part in literature and in private society.

In the year 1757, Mr Ferguson resigned the chaplainey of the 42d regiment, after which he was employed for upwards of two years as private tutor in the family of the earl of Bute; and in the year 1759, he was chosen professor of natural philosophy, in the university of Edinburgh; which chair he retained until the year 1764, when he obtained the professorship of moral philosophy—a chair much better suited to his genius, and to the course of study which he had pursued.

In 1766, he published his Essays on Civil Society. The object of this work is,—according to the favourite mode of the literary men with whom Ferguson associated,—to trace men through the several steps in his progress from barbarism to civilization. This, which was his first publication, contributed not a little to raise Mr Ferguson in public estimation, and the university of Edinburgh hastened to confer on him the honorary degree of LL. D. In the same year, he revisited the scenes of his youth, and delighted the old parishioners of his father by recollecting them individually, while they were no less proud that their parish had produced a man who was held in such estimation in the world. During this year, also, he was married to Miss Burnet, from Aberdeenshire, the amiable niece of the distinguished professor Black, of Edinburgh. In order to render his lectures more useful to his pupils, Dr Ferguson, about this time, published "*his institutes or synopsis of his lectures.*"

Dr Ferguson continued to enjoy the literary society of Edinburgh, interrupted only by the recreation of cultivating a small farm in the neighbourhood of the city, until the year 1773; when he was induced by the liberal offers of lord Chesterfield, nephew to the celebrated earl, to accompany him in his travels. After a tour through most of the countries of Europe, Dr Ferguson returned in 1775, to the duties of his chair, which, during his absence, had been ably performed by the well known Dugald Stewart. This relief from his academical duties, proved not only highly advantageous to Dr Ferguson in a pecuniary point of view, but contributed considerably to his improvement. His lectures on his return were not only numerously attended by the usual routine of students, but by men of the first rank and talents in the country. We have the testimony of one, who, although young at the time, seems to have been well able to appreciate his talents, as to Dr Ferguson's manner as a lecturer.—"The doctor's mode of communicating knowledge, was firm, manly, and impressive, but mild and elegant; he was mild, but justly severe in his rebukes to the inattentive and negligent. One day that he was engaged in that part of his course that treated of the practical application of the moral qualities which he had before described, and was speaking of the folly of idleness and inattention to the business in hand, some thoughtless young men were whispering and trifling in the gallery. 'Gentlemen,' said he, 'please to attend, this subject peculiarly concerns you.'" In the year 1776, Dr Ferguson answered Dr Price's production on civil and religious liberty. The ground on which he differed with Dr Price, was on the applicability of his doctrine to society and to imperfect man.

We have an early notice of Dr Ferguson's being engaged in the composition of his History of the Roman Republic in the following valuable letter, addressed by him to Edward Gibbon, dated Edinburgh, 18th April, 1776:—"Dear sir, I should make some apology for not writing you sooner, an answer to your obliging letter; but if you should honour me frequently with such requests, you will find that, with very good intentions, I am a very dilatory and irregular correspondent. I am sorry to tell you, that our respectable friend, Mr Hume, is still declining in his health; he is greatly emaciated, and loses strength. He talks

familiarly of his near prospect of dying. His mother, it seems, died under the same symptoms; and it appears so little necessary, or proper, to flatter him, that no one attempts it. I never observed his understanding more clear, or his humour more pleasant or lively. He has a great aversion to leaving the tranquillity of his own house, to go in search of health among inns and hostlers. And his friends here gave way to him for some time; but now think it necessary that he should make an effort to try what change of place and air, or anything else Sir John Pringle may advise, can do for him. I left him this morning in the mind to comply in this article, and I hope, that he will be prevailed on to set out in a few days. He is just now sixty-five."

"I am very glad that the pleasure you give us, recoils a little on yourself, through our feeble testimony. I have, as you suppose, been employed, at any intervals of leisure or rest I have had for some years, in taking notes or collecting materials for a history of the destruction that broke down the Roman republic, and ended in the establishment of Augustus and his immediate successors. The compliment you are pleased to pay, I cannot accept of, even to my subject. Your subject now appears with advantages it was not supposed to have had, and I suspect, that the magnificence of the mouldering ruin will appear more striking, than the same building, when the view is perplexed with scaffolding, workmen, and disorderly lodgers, and the ear is stunned with the noise of destructions and repairs, and the alarms of fire. The night which you begin to describe is solemn, and there are gleams of light superior to what is to be found in any other time. I comfort myself, that as my trade is the study of human nature, I could not fix on a more interesting corner of it, than the end of the Roman republic. Whether my compilations should ever deserve the attention of any one besides myself, must remain to be determined after they are farther advanced. I take the liberty to trouble you with the enclosed for Mr Smith, (Dr Adam Smith,) whose uncertain stay in London makes me at a loss how to direct for him. You have both such reason to be pleased with the world just now, that I hope you are pleased with each other. I am, with the greatest respect, dear sir, your most obedient and humble servant, Adam Ferguson." This letter is not only valuable from its intrinsic worth and the reference it has to the composition of the History of the Roman Republic, but from its presenting, connected by one link, four of the greatest names in British literature. Mr Ferguson, however, was interrupted in the prosecution of his historical labours, having been, through the influence of his friend Mr Dundas, afterwards lord Melville, appointed secretary to the commissioners sent out to America in the year 1778, to negotiate an arrangement with our revolted colonies in that continent. The following historical detail will show the success of this mission:—

"In the beginning of June, 1778, the new commissioner arrived at Philadelphia, more than a month after the ratification of the treaty with France had been formally exchanged. The reception they met with was such as men the most opposite in their politics had foreseen and foretold. Dr Ferguson, secretary to the commission, was refused a passport to the Congress, and they were compelled to forward their papers by the common means.

"The commissioners, at the very outset, made concessions far greater than the Americans, in their several petitions to the king, had requested or desired—greater, indeed, than the powers conferred upon them by the act seemed to authorize. Amongst the most remarkable of these, was the engagement to agree that no military force should be kept up in the different states of America, without the consent of the general congress of the several assemblies—to concur in measures calculated to discharge the debts of America, and to raise the credit and value of the paper circulation—to admit of representatives from the several states,

who should have a seat and voice in the parliament of Great Britain—to establish a freedom of legislation and internal government, comprehending every privilege short of a total separation of interest, or consistent with that union of force in which the safety of the common religion and liberty depends.

"These papers, when laid before the Congress, were read with astonishment and regret, but from the declaration of INDEPENDENCE, they had neither the will, nor the power to recede. An answer, therefore, brief but conclusive, was returned by the president, Henry Laurens, declaring, 'that nothing but an earnest desire to spare the farther effusion of human blood could have induced them to read a paper containing expressions so disrespectful to his most christian majesty, their ally, or to consider of propositions so derogatory to the honour of an independent nation. The commission under which they act, supposes the people of America to be still subject to the crown of Great Britain, which is an idea utterly inadmissible.' The president added, 'that he was directed to inform their excellencies of the inclination of the congress to peace, notwithstanding the unjust claims from which this war originated, and the savage manner in which it had been conducted. They will, therefore, be ready to enter upon the consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconsistent with treaties already subsisting, when the king of Great Britain shall demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose; and the only solid proof of this disposition, will be an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies.'" Conduct so haughty on the part of the Americans, necessarily put a stop to all farther negotiation, and the commissioners having, in a valedictory manifesto, appealed to the people, returned home.

On his return to Scotland, Dr Ferguson resumed the charge of his class and continued the preparation of the Roman History. That work made its appearance in the year 1783; and two years afterwards, he resigned the chair of moral philosophy in favour of Mr Dugald Stewart; while he was himself permitted to retire on the salary of the mathematical class which Mr Stewart had held. Dr Ferguson then took up his residence at Manor, in the county of Peebles, where he passed his time in literary ease and in farming; an occupation for which he had a peculiar taste, but which he ultimately found so unprofitable, that he was glad to relinquish it. He seems also to have devoted his attention to the correction of his lectures, which he published in 1793.

While exempt from all cares and in the enjoyment of good health, and of a competent fortune, Dr Ferguson, in his old age, conceived the extraordinary project of visiting Rome. He accordingly repaired once more to the continent, visiting the cities of Berlin and Vienna, where he was received with great attention. His progress southward was, however, stopped by the convulsions consequent on the French revolution. To this great political phenomenon, Dr Ferguson's attention had been earnestly directed, and it is curious to know, that he had drawn up (although he did not publish it) a memorial, pointing out the dangers to which the liberties of Europe were exposed, and proposing a congress with objects similar to those which occupied the congress of Vienna, in 1814.

On his return home, Dr Ferguson retired for the remainder of his life to St Andrews, a place endeared to him by early habits and admirably fitted for the retreat of a literary man in easy circumstances. There, in addition to the professors of that ancient university, he enjoyed the society of the patriotic George Dempster, of Dunnichen; and having had almost uninterrupted good health up to the patriarchal age of ninety-three, he died on the 22d of February, 1816. "He was," to use the words of an intimate friend of the family, "the last great man of the preceding century, whose writings did honour to the age in which

they lived, and to their country; and none of them united in a more distinguished degree the acquirements of ancient learning, to a perfect knowledge of the world, or more eminently added to the manners of a most accomplished gentleman the principles of the purest virtues."

In his person, Dr Ferguson was well formed, active, and muscular; his complexion fair, his eyes blue, his features handsome, intelligent, and thoughtful. There is a very fine and correct portrait of him in an anti-room at Brompton Grove, the seat of Sir John Macpherson. Unlike many who have devoted themselves to the abstruse study of philosophy, he had an intimate knowledge of the world; having mixed much with courtiers, statesmen, politicians, and the learned and accomplished, not only in Great Britain, but throughout Europe. His knowledge of the human character was consequently accurate and extensive; his manners were polished, simple, and unostentatious; while his conversation was agreeable and instructive. Warned by an illness with which he was seized when about the age of fifty, resembling in its character an apoplectic fit, he abstained from the use of wine, and during the remainder of his life, lived most abstemiously, and enjoyed an uninterrupted course of good health. His fortune was affluent; besides the fees and salaries of his class and the price of his works, he held two pensions, one from government of £400, and another from lord Chesterfield of £200 a year. By these means, aided by a munificent gift from his pupil, Sir John Macpherson, he was enabled to purchase a small estate near St Andrews; he was also possessed of a house and garden in that city, on which he expended a thousand pounds.

Bred in the tenets of the church of Scotland, he was a respectful believer in the truths of revelation; he did not, however, conceive himself excluded from cultivating the acquaintance of those who were directly opposed to him in their religious opinions, and his intimate friendship with David Hume subjected him to the reprehension of the more rigid professors of christianity. A list of those with whom Dr Ferguson maintained an intimate acquaintance and intercourse, would include all who rose to eminence during the last half of the 18th, and the early part of the present century. Dr Ferguson left six children; three sons, and three daughters: Adam, in the army, John, in the navy, and the third son in the East India Company's service.*

FERGUSON, James, an ingenious experimental philosopher, mechanist, and astronomer. Of this miracle of self-instruction and native genius, we cannot do better than give his own account, as drawn up by himself a very few years before his death, and prefixed to his "Select Mechanical Exercises." It is one of the most interesting specimens of autobiography in the language.

"I was born in the year 1710, a few miles from Keith, a little village in Banffshire, in the north of Scotland; and can with pleasure say, that my parents, though poor, were religious and honest; lived in good repute with all who knew them; and died with good characters.

As my father had nothing to support a large family but his daily labour, and the profits arising from a few acres of land which he rented, it was not to be expected that he could bestow much on the education of his children: yet they

* The following is a list of Dr Ferguson's works.

"The History of Civil Society," in one volume, published 1766

"His Institutes of Moral Philosophy," 8vo, 1769.

His answer to Dr Price's celebrated observations on Civil and Political Liberty, 1776. This pamphlet is peculiarly remarkable for the liberality and delicacy with which he treats the principles and intentions of his antagonist.

"The History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic," 3 vols. 4to, 1783.

And lastly, his celebrated work, entitled, the "Principles of Moral and Political Science, being chiefly a retrospect of Lectures delivered in the College of Edinburgh," 2 vols. 4to, 1792.

were not neglected; for, at his leisure hours, he taught them to read and write. And it was while he was teaching my elder brother to read the Scottish catechism that I acquired my reading. Ashamed to ask my father to instruct me, I used, when he and my brother were abroad, to take the catechism, and study the lesson which he had been teaching my brother; and when any difficulty occurred, I went to a neighbouring old woman, who gave me such help as enabled me to read tolerably well before my father had thought of teaching me.

Some time after, he was agreeably surprised to find me reading by myself: he thereupon gave me further instruction, and also taught me to write; which, with about three months I afterwards had at the grammar-school at Keith, was all the education I ever received.

My taste for mechanics arose from an odd accident.—When about seven or eight years of age, a part of the roof of the house being decayed, my father, desirous of mending it, applied a prop and lever to an upright spar to raise it to its former situation; and, to my great astonishment, I saw him, without considering the reason, lift up the ponderous roof as if it had been a small weight. I attributed this at first to a degree of strength that excited my terror as well as wonder: but thinking further of the matter, I recollected, that he had applied his strength to that end of the lever which was furthest from the prop; and finding, on inquiry, that this was the means whereby the seeming wonder was effected, I began making levers (which I then called bars); and by applying weights to them different ways, I found the power gained by my bar was just in proportion to the lengths of the different parts of the bar on either side of the prop.—I then thought it was a great pity, that, by means of this bar, a weight could be raised but a very little way. On this I soon imagined, that, by pulling round a wheel, the weight might be raised to any height by tying a rope to the weight, and winding the rope round the axle of the wheel; and that the power gained must be just as great as the wheel was broader than the axle was thick; and found it to be exactly so, by hanging one weight to a rope put round the wheel, and another to the rope that coiled round the axle. So that, in these two machines, it appeared very plain, that their advantage was as great as the space gone through by the working power exceeded the space gone through by the weight. And this property I also thought must take place in a wedge for cleaving wood; but then I happened not to think of the screw. —By means of a turning lathe which my father had, and sometimes used, and a little knife, I was enabled to make wheels and other things necessary for my purpose.

I then wrote a short account of these machines, and sketched out figures of them with a pen, imagining it to be the first treatise of the kind that ever was written: but found my mistake, when I afterwards showed it to a gentleman, who told me that these things were known long before, and showed me a printed book in which they were treated of: and I was much pleased when I found, that my account (so far as I had carried it) agreed with the principles of mechanics in the book he showed me. And from that time my mind preserved a constant tendency to improve in that science.

But as my father could not afford to maintain me while I was in pursuit only of these matters, and I was rather too young and weak for hard labour, he put me out to a neighbour to keep sheep, which I continued to do for some years; and in that time I began to study the stars in the night. In the day-time I amused myself by making models of mills, spinning-wheels, and such other things as I happened to see.

I then went to serve a considerable farmer in the neighbourhood, whose name was James Glashan. I found him very kind and indulgent: but he soon ob-

served, that in the evenings, when my work was over, I went into a field with a blanket about me, lay down on my back, and stretched a thread with small beads upon it, at arms-length, between my eye and the stars, sliding the beads upon it till they hid such and such stars from my eye, in order to take their apparent distances from one another, and then, laying the thread down on a paper, I marked the stars thereon by the beads, according to their respective positions, having a candle by me. My master at first laughed at me, but when I explained my meaning to him, he encouraged me to go on; and that I might make fair copies in the day-time of what I had done in the night, he often worked for me himself. I shall always have a respect for the memory of that man.

One day he happened to send me with a message to Rev. Mr John Gilchrist, minister at Keith, to whom I had been known from my childhood. I carried my star-papers to show them to him, and found him looking over a large parcel of maps, which I surveyed with great pleasure, as they were the first I had ever seen. He then told me, that the earth is round like a ball, and explained the map of it to me. I requested him to lend me that map, to take a copy of it in the evenings. He cheerfully consented to this, giving me at the same time a pair of compasses, a ruler, pens, ink, and paper; and dismissed me with an injunction not to neglect my master's business by copying the map, which I might keep as long as I pleased.

For this pleasant employment, my master gave me more time than I could reasonably expect; and often took the threshing-flail out of my hands, and worked himself, while I sat by him in the barn, busy with my compasses, ruler, and pen.

When I had finished the copy, I asked leave to carry home the map; he told me I was at liberty to do so, and might stay two hours to converse with the minister. — In my way thither, I happened to pass by the school at which I had been before, and saw a genteel-looking man, whose name I afterwards learnt was Cantley, painting a sun-dial on the wall. I stopt a while to observe him, and the schoolmaster came out, and asked me what parcel it was that I had under my arm. I showed him the map, and the copy I had made of it, wherewith he appeared to be very well pleased; and asked me whether I should not like to learn of Mr Cantley to make sun-dials? Mr Cantley looked at the copy of the map, and commended it much; telling the schoolmaster, Mr John Skinner, that it was a pity I did not meet with notice and encouragement. I had a good deal of conversation with him, and found him to be quite affable and communicative; which made me think I should be extremely happy if I could be further acquainted with him.

I then proceeded with the map to the minister, and showed him the copy of it. While we were conversing together, a neighbouring gentleman, Thomas Grant, esq. of Achoynaney, happened to come in, and the minister immediately introduced me to him, showing him what I had done. He expressed great satisfaction, asked me some questions about the construction of maps, and told me, that if I would go and live at his house, he would order his butler, Alexander Cantley, to give me a great deal of instruction. Finding that this Cantley was the man whom I had seen painting the sun-dial, and of whom I had already conceived a very high opinion, I told 'squire Grant, that I should rejoice to be at his house as soon as the time was expired for which I was engaged with my present master. He very politely offered to put one in my place, but this I declined.

When the term of my servitude was out, I left my good master, and went to the gentleman's house, where I quickly found myself with a most humane

good family. Mr Cantley the butler soon became my friend, and continued so till his death. He was the most extraordinary man that I ever was acquainted with, or perhaps ever shall see; for he was a complete master of arithmetic, a good mathematician, a master of music on every known instrument except the harp, understood Latin, French, and Greek, let blood extremely well, and could even prescribe as a physician upon any urgent occasion. He was what is generally called self-taught; but I think he might with much greater propriety have been termed, God Almighty's scholar.

He immediately began to teach me decimal arithmetic, and algebra; for I had already learnt vulgar arithmetic, at my leisure hours from books. He then proceeded to teach me the elements of geometry; but, to my inexpressible grief, just as I was beginning that branch of science, he left Mr Grant, and went to the late earl Fife's, at several miles distance. The good family I was then with could not prevail with me to stay after he was gone; so I left them, and went to my father's.

He had made me a present of Gordon's Geographical Grammar, which, at that time, was to me a great treasure. There is no figure of a globe in it, although it contains a tolerable description of the globes, and their use. From this description I made a globe in three weeks at my father's, having turned the ball thereof out of a piece of wood; which ball I covered with paper, and delineated a map of the world upon it, made the meridian ring and horizon of wood, covered them with paper, and graduated them; and was happy to find, that by my globe, which was the first I ever saw, I could solve the problems.

But this was not likely to afford me bread; and I could not think of staying with my father, who, I knew full well could not maintain me in that way, as it could be of no service to him; and he had, without my assistance, hands sufficient for all his work.

I then went to a miller, thinking it would be a very easy business to attend the mill, and that I should have a great deal of leisure time to study decimal arithmetic and geometry. But my master, being too fond of tippling at an ale-house, left the whole care of the mill to me, and almost starved me for want of victuals; so that I was glad when I could have a little oat-meal mixed with cold water to eat. I was engaged for a year in that man's service; at the end of which I left him, and returned in a very weak state to my father's.

Soon after I had recovered my former strength, a neighbouring farmer, who practised as a physician in that part of the country, came to my father's, wanting to have me as a labouring servant. My father advised me to go to Dr Young, telling me that the doctor would instruct me in that part of his business. This he promised to do, which was a temptation to me. But instead of performing his promise, he kept me constantly at very hard labour, and never once showed me one of his books. All his servants complained that he was the hardest master they had ever lived with; and it was my misfortune to be engaged with him for half a year. But at the end of three months I was so much overwrought, that I was almost disabled, which obliged me to leave him; and he was so unjust as to give me nothing at all for the time I had been with him, because I did not complete my half year's service; though he knew that I was not able, and had seen me working for the last fortnight as much as possible with one hand and arm, when I could not lift the other from my side. And what I thought was particularly hard, he never once tried to give me the least relief, further than once bleeding me, which rather did me hurt than good, as I was very weak, and much emaciated. I then went to my father's, where I was confined for two months on account of my hurt, and despaired of ever recovering the use of my left arm. And during all that time the doctor never

once came to see me, although the distance was not quite two miles. But my friend Mr Cantley hearing of my misfortune, at twelve miles' distance, sent me proper medicines and applications, by means of which I recovered the use of my arm; but found myself too weak to think of going into service again, and had entirely lost my appetite, so that I could take nothing but a draught of milk once a day, for many weeks.

In order to amuse myself in this low state, I made a wooden clock, the frame of which was also of wood; and it kept time pretty well. The bell on which the hammer struck the hours was the neck of a broken bottle. Having then no idea how any time-keeper could go but by a weight and a line, I wondered how a watch could go in all positions, and was sorry that I had never thought of asking Mr Cantley, who could very easily have informed me. But happening one day to see a gentleman ride by my father's house, which was close by a public road, I asked him what o'clock it then was: he looked at his watch, and told me. As he did that with so much good-nature, I begged of him to show me the inside of his watch; and though he was an entire stranger, he immediately opened the watch, and put it into my hands. I saw the spring-box with part of the chain round it, and asked him what it was that made the box turn round; he told me that it was turned round by a steel spring within it. Having then never seen any other spring than that of my father's gun-lock, I asked how a spring within a box could turn the box so often round as to wind all the chain upon it. He answered that the spring was long and thin, that one end of it was fastened to the axis of the box, and the other end to the inside of the box, that the axis was fixed, and the box was loose upon it. I told him I did not yet thoroughly understand the matter:—'Well, my lad,' says he, 'take a long thin piece of whalebone, hold one end of it fast between your finger and thumb, and wind it round your finger, it will then endeavour to unwind itself; and if you fix the other end of it to the inside of a small hoop, and leave it to itself, it will turn the hoop round and round, and wind up a thread tied to the outside of the hoop.'—I thanked the gentleman, and told him that I understood the thing very well. I then tried to make a watch with wooden wheels, and made the spring of whalebone: but found that I could not make the watch go when the balance was put on, because the teeth of the wheels were rather too weak to bear the force of a spring sufficient to move the balance; although the wheels would run fast enough when the balance was taken off. I enclosed the whole in a wooden case very little bigger than a breakfast tea-cup; but a clumsy neighbour one day looking at my watch, happened to let it fall, and turning hastily about to pick it up, set his foot upon it, and crushed it all to pieces; which so provoked my father, that he was almost ready to beat the man, and discouraged me so much that I never attempted to make such another machine again, especially as I was thoroughly convinced I could never make one that would be of any real use.

As soon as I was able to go abroad, I carried my globe, clock, and copies of some other maps besides that of the world, to the late Sir James Dunbar of Durn, about seven miles from where my father lived, as I had heard that Sir James was a very good-natured, friendly, inquisitive gentleman. He received me in a very kind manner, was pleased with what I showed him, and desired I would clean his clocks. This, for the first time, I attempted; and then began to pick up some money in that way about the country, making Sir James's house my home at his desire.

Two large globular stones stood on the top of his gate; on one of them I painted with oil colours a map of the terrestrial globe, and on the other a map of the celestial, from a planisphere of the stars which I copied on paper from a

celestial globe belonging to a neighbouring gentleman. The poles of the painted globes stood toward the poles of the heavens; on each the twenty-four hours were placed around the equinoctial, so as to show the time of the day when the sun shone out, by the boundary where the half of the globe at any time enlightened by the sun, was parted from the other half in the shade; the enlightened parts of the terrestrial globe answering to the like enlightened parts of the earth at all times. So that whenever the sun shone on the globe, one might see to what places the sun was then rising, to what places it was setting, and all the places where it was then day or night, throughout the earth.

During the time I was at Sir James's hospitable house, his sister, the honourable lady Dipple came there on a visit, and Sir James introduced me to her. She asked me whether I could draw patterns for needle-work on aprons and gowns. On showing me some, I undertook the work, and drew several for her; some of which were copied from her patterns, and the rest I did according to my own fancy. On this, I was sent for by other ladies in the country, and began to think myself growing very rich by the money I got for such drawings, out of which I had the pleasure of occasionally supplying the wants of my poor father.

Yet all this while I could not leave off star-gazing in the nights, and taking the places of the planets among the stars by my above-mentioned thread. By this, I could observe how the planets changed their places among the stars, and delineated their paths on the celestial map, which I had copied from the above-mentioned celestial globe.

By observing what constellations the ecliptic passed through in that map, and comparing these with the starry heaven, I was so impressed as sometimes to imagine that I saw the ecliptic in the heaven, among the stars like a broad circular road for the sun's apparent course; and fancied the paths of the planets to resemble the narrow ruts made by cart-wheels, sometimes on one side of a plain road, and sometimes on the other, crossing the road at small angles, but never going far from either side of it.

Sir James's house was full of pictures and prints, several of which I copied with pen and ink; this made him think I might become a painter.

Lady Dipple had been but a few weeks there when William Baird, Esq. of Auchmedden came on a visit; he was the husband of one of that lady's daughters, and I found him to be very ingenious and communicative; he invited me to go to his house, and stay some time with him, telling me that I should have free access to his library, which was a very large one, and that he would furnish me with all sorts of implements for drawing. I went thither, and stayed about eight months; but was much disappointed in finding no books of astronomy in his library, except what was in the two volumes of Harris's Lexicon Technicum, although there were many books on geography and other sciences. Several of these indeed were in Latin, and more in French, which being languages that I did not understand, I had recourse to him for what I wanted to know of these subjects, which he cheerfully read to me; and it was as easy for him at sight to read English from a Greek, Latin, or French book, as from an English one. He furnished me with pencils and Indian ink, showing me how to draw with them; and although he had but an indifferent hand at that work, yet he was a very acute judge, and consequently a very fit person for showing me how to correct my own work. He was the first who ever sat to me for a picture; and I found it was much easier to draw from the life than from any picture whatever, as nature was more striking than any imitation of it.

Lady Dipple came to his house in about half a year after I went thither; and as they thought I had a genius for painting, they consulted together about

what might be the best way to put me forward. Mr Baird thought it would be no difficult matter to make a collection for me among the neighbouring gentlemen, to put me to a painter at Edinburgh; but he found, upon trial, that nothing worth the while could be done among them: and as to himself, he could not do much that way, because he had but a small estate, and a very numerous family.

Lady Dipple then told me that she was to go to Edinburgh next spring, and that if I would go thither, she would give me a year's bed and board at her house, gratis; and make all the interest she could for me among her acquaintance there. I thankfully accepted of her kind offer; and instead of giving me one year, she gave me two. I carried with me a letter of recommendation from the lord Pitsligo, a near neighbour of 'squire Baird's, to Mr John Alexander, a painter in Edinburgh, who allowed me to pass an hour every day at his house, for a month, to copy from his drawings; and said he would teach me to paint in oil-colours if I would serve him seven years, and my friends would maintain me all that time; but this was too much for me to desire them to do, nor did I choose to serve so long. I was then recommended to other painters, but they would do nothing without money; so I was quite at a loss what to do.

In a few days after this, I received a letter of recommendation from my good friend 'squire Baird, to the Rev. Dr Robert Keith at Edinburgh, to whom I gave an account of my bad success among the painters there. He told me, that if I would copy from nature, I might do without their assistance, as all the rules for drawing signified but very little when one came to draw from the life; and by what he had seen of my drawings brought from the north, he judged I might succeed very well in drawing pictures from the life, in Indian ink, on vellum. He then sat to me for his own picture, and sent me with it, and a letter of recommendation, to the right honourable the lady Jane Douglas, who lived with her mother, the marchioness of Douglas, at Merchiston-house, near Edinburgh. Both the marchioness and lady Jane behaved to me in the most friendly manner, on Dr Keith's account, and sat for their pictures, telling me at the same time, that I was in the very room in which lord Napier invented and computed the logarithms; and that if I thought it would inspire me, I should always have the same room whenever I came to Merchiston. I stayed there several days, and drew several pictures of lady Jane, of whom it was hard to say, whether the greatness of her beauty, or the goodness of her temper and disposition, was the most predominant. She sent these pictures to ladies of her acquaintance, in order to recommend me to them; by which means I soon had as much business as I could possibly manage, so as not only to put a good deal of money in my own pocket, but also to spare what was sufficient to help to supply my father and mother in their old age. Thus a business was providentially put into my hands, which I followed for six and twenty years.

Lady Dipple, being a woman of the strictest piety, kept a watchful eye over me at first, and made me give her an exact account at night of what families I had been in throughout the day, and of the money I had received. She took the money each night, desiring I would keep an account of what I had put into her hands; telling me, that I should duly have out of it what I wanted for clothes, and to send to my father. But in less than half a year, she told me that she would thenceforth trust me with being my own banker; for she had made a good deal of private inquiry how I had behaved when I was out of her sight through the day, and was satisfied with my conduct.

During my two years' stay at Edinburgh, I somehow took a violent inclination to study anatomy, surgery, and physic, all from reading of books, and conversing with gentlemen on these subjects, which for that time put all thoughts of

astronomy out of my mind; and I had no inclination to become acquainted with any one there who taught either mathematics or astronomy, for nothing would serve me but to be a doctor.

At the end of the second year I left Edinburgh, and went to see my father, thinking myself tolerably well qualified to be a physician in that part of the country, and I carried a good deal of medicines, plaisters, &c. thither; but to my mortification I soon found that all my medical theories and study were of little use in practice. And then, finding that very few paid me for the medicines they had, and that I was far from being so successful as I could wish, I quite left off that business, and began to think of taking to the more sure one of drawing pictures again. For this purpose I went to Inverness, where I had eight months' business.

When I was there, I began to think of astronomy again, and was heartily sorry for having quite neglected it at Edinburgh, where I might have improved my knowledge by conversing with those who were very able to assist me. I began to compare the ecliptic with its twelve signs, through which the sun goes in twelve months, to the circle of twelve hours on the dial-plate of a watch, the hour-hand to the sun, and the minute hand to the moon, moving in the ecliptic, the one always overtaking the other at a place forwarder than it did at their last conjunction before. On this, I contrived and finished a scheme on paper, for showing the motions and places of the sun and moon in the ecliptic on each day of the year, perpetually; and consequently, the days of all the new and full moons.

To this I wanted to add a method for showing the eclipses of the sun and moon; of which I knew the cause long before, by having observed that the moon was for one half of her period on the north side of the ecliptic, and for the other half on the south. But not having observed her course long enough among the stars by my above-mentioned thread, so as to delineate her path on my celestial map, in order to find the two opposite points of the ecliptic in which her orbit crosses it, I was altogether at a loss how and where in the ecliptic, in my scheme, to place these intersecting points: this was in the year 1739.

At last, I recollected that when I was with 'squire Grant of Auchoynaney, in the year 1730, I had read, that on the 1st of January, 1690, the moon's ascending node was in the 10th minute of the first degree of Aries; and that her nodes moved backward through the whole ecliptic in 18 years and 224 days, which was at the rate of 3 minutes 11 seconds every 24 hours. But as I scarce knew in the year 1730 what the moon's nodes meant, I took no farther notice of it at that time.

However, in the year 1739, I set to work at Inverness; and after a tedious calculation of the slow motion of the nodes from January 1690, to January 1740, it appeared to me, that (if I was sure I had remembered right) the moon's ascending node must be in 23 degrees 25 minutes of Cancer at the beginning of the year 1740. And so I added the eclipse part to my scheme, and called it, the Astronomical Rotula.

When I had finished it, I showed it to the Rev. Mr Alexander Macbean, one of the ministers at Inverness; who told me he had a set of almanacs by him for several years past, and would examine it by the eclipses mentioned in them. We examined it together, and found that it agreed throughout with the days of all the new and full moons and eclipses mentioned in these almanacs; which made me think I had constructed it upon true astronomical principles. On this, Mr Macbean desired me to write to Mr Maclaurin, professor of mathematics at Edinburgh, and give him an account of the methods by which I had

formed my plan, requesting him to correct it where it was wrong. He returned me a most polite and friendly answer, although I had never seen him during my stay at Edinburgh, and informed me, that I had only mistaken the radical mean place of the ascending node by a quarter of a degree; and that if I would send the drawing of my rotula to him, he would examine it, and endeavour to procure me a subscription to defray the charges of engraving it on copper-plates, if I chose to publish it. I then made a new and correct drawing of it, and sent it to him: who soon got me a very handsome subscription, by setting the example himself, and sending subscription papers to others.

I then returned to Edinburgh, and had the rotula-plates engraved there by Mr Cooper.[1] It has gone through several impressions; and always sold very well till the year 1752, when the style was changed, which rendered it quite useless. Mr Maclaurin received me with the greatest civility when I first went to see him at Edinburgh. He then became an exceeding good friend to me, and continued so till his death.

One day I requested him to show me his orrery, which he immediately did; I was greatly delighted with the motions of the earth and moon in it, and would gladly have seen the wheel-work, which was concealed in a brass box, and the box and planets above it were surrounded by an armillary sphere. But he told me, that he never had opened it; and I could easily perceive that it could not be opened but by the hand of some ingenious clock-maker, and not without a great deal of time and trouble.

After a good deal of thinking and calculation, I found that I could contrive the wheel-work for turning the planets in such a machine, and giving them their progressive motions; but should be very well satisfied if I could make an orrery to show the motions of the earth and moon, and of the sun round its axis. I then employed a turner to make me a sufficient number of wheels and axles, according to patterns which I gave him in drawing; and after having cut the teeth in the wheels by a knife, and put the whole together, I found that it answered all my expectations. It showed the sun's motion round its axis, the diurnal and annual motions of the earth on its inclined axis, which kept its parallelism in its whole course round the sun; the motions and phases of the moon, with the retrograde motion of the nodes of her orbit; and consequently, all the variety of seasons, the different lengths of days and nights, the days of the new and full moons, and eclipses.

When it was all completed except the box that covers the wheels, I showed it to Mr Maclaurin, who commended it in presence of a great many young gentlemen who attended his lectures. He desired me to read them a lecture on it, which I did without any hesitation, seeing I had no reason to be afraid of speaking before a great and good man who was my friend. Soon after that, I sent it in a present to the reverend and ingenious Mr Alexander Irvine, one of the ministers at Elgin, in Scotland.

I then made a smaller and neater orrery, of which all the wheels were of ivory, and I cut the teeth in them with a file. This was done in the beginning of the year 1743; and in May, that year, I brought it with me to London, where it was soon after bought by Sir Dudley Rider. I have made six orreries since that time, and there are not any two of them in which the wheel-work is alike, for I could never bear to copy one thing of that kind from another, because I still saw there was great room for improvements.

I had a letter of recommendation from Mr Baron Eldin at Edinburgh, to the right honourable Stephen Poyntz, Esq. at St James's, who had been precep-

[1] Cooper was master to the justly celebrated Sir Robert Strange, who was at that time his apprentice.

tor to his royal highness the late duke of Cumberland, and was well known to be possessed of all the good qualities that can adorn a human mind. To me, his goodness was really beyond my power of expression; and I had not been a month in London till he informed me, that he had written to an eminent professor of mathematics to take me into his house, and give me board and lodging, with all proper instructions to qualify me for teaching a mathematical school he (Mr Poyntz) had in view for me, and would get me settled in it. This I should have liked very well, especially as I began to be tired of drawing pictures; in which, I confess, I never strove to excel, because my mind was still pursuing things more agreeable. He soon after told me, he had just received an answer from the mathematical master, desiring I might be sent immediately to him. On hearing this, I told Mr Poyntz that I did not know how to maintain my wife during the time I must be under the master's tuition. What, says he, are you a married man? I told him I had been so ever since May, in the year 1739. He said he was sorry for it, because it quite defeated his scheme, as the master of the school he had in view for me must be a bachelor.

He then asked me what business I intended to follow? I answered, that I knew of none besides that of drawing pictures. On this he desired me to draw the pictures of his lady and children, that he might show them, in order to recommend me to others; and told me, that when I was out of business I should come to him, and he would find me as much as he could; and I soon found as much as I could execute, but he died in a few years after, to my inexpressible grief.

Soon afterward, it appeared to me, that although the moon goes round the earth, and that the sun is far on the outside of the moon's orbit, yet the moon's motion must be in a line, that is, always concave toward the sun; and upon making a delineation representing her absolute path in the heavens, I found it to be really so. I then made a simple machine for delineating both her path and the earth's on a long paper laid on the floor. I carried the machine and delineation to the late Martin Folkes, Esq. president of the royal society, on a Thursday afternoon. He expressed great satisfaction at seeing it, as it was a new discovery; and took me that evening with him to the royal society, where I showed the delineation, and the method of doing it.

When the business of the society was over, one of the members desired me to dine with him next Saturday at Hackney, telling me that his name was Ellicott, and that he was a watchmaker.

I accordingly went to Hackney, and was kindly received by Mr John Ellicott, who then showed me the very same kind of delineation, and part of the machine by which he had done it; telling me that he had thought of it twenty years before. I could easily see by the colour of the paper, and of the ink lines upon it, that it must have been done many years before I saw it. He then told me what was very certain, that he had neither stolen the thought from me, nor had I from him. And from that time till his death, Mr Ellicott was one of my best friends. The figure of this machine and delineation is in the 7th plate of my book of Astronomy.

Soon after the style was changed, I had my rotula new engraved; but have neglected it too much, by not fitting it up and advertising it. After this, I drew out a scheme, and had it engraved, for showing all the problems of the rotula except the eclipses; and in place of that, it shows the times of rising and setting of the sun, moon, and stars; and the positions of the stars for any time of the night.

In the year 1747, I published a dissertation on the phenomena of the Harvest Moon, with the description of a new orrery, in which there are only four

wheels. But having never had grammatical education, nor time to study the rules of just composition, I acknowledge that I was afraid to put it to the press; and for the same cause I ought to have the same fears still. But having the pleasure to find that this my first work was not ill received, I was emboldened to go on, in publishing my Astronomy, Mechanical Lectures, Tables and Tracts relative to several arts and sciences, the Young Gentleman and Lady's Astronomy, a small treatise on Electricity, and the following sheets.

In the year 1748, I ventured to read lectures on the eclipse of the sun that fell on the 14th of July in that year. Afterwards I began to read astronomical lectures on an orrery which I made, and of which the figures of all the wheel-work are contained in the 6th and 7th plates of this book. I next began to make an apparatus for lectures on mechanics, and gradually increased the apparatus for other parts of experimental philosophy, buying from others what I could not make for myself, till I brought it to its present state. I then entirely left off drawing pictures, and employed myself in the much pleasanter business of reading lectures on mechanics, hydrostatics, hydraulics, pneumatics, electricity, and astronomy; in all which, my encouragement has been greater than I could have expected.

The best machine I ever contrived is the eclipsareon, of which there is a figure in the 13th plate of my Astronomy. It shows the time, quantity, duration, and progress of solar eclipses, at all parts of the earth. My next best contrivance is the universal dialing cylinder, of which there is a figure in the 8th plate of the supplement to my Mechanical Lectures.

It is now thirty years since I came to London, and during all that time I have met with the highest instances of friendship from all ranks of people, both in town and country, which I do here acknowledge with the utmost respect and gratitude; and particularly the goodness of our present gracious sovereign, who, out of his privy purse, allows me fifty pounds a year, which is regularly paid without any deduction."

To this narrative we shall add the few particulars which are necessary to complete the view of Ferguson's life and character.[1]

Ferguson was honoured with the royal bounty, which he himself mentions, through the mere zeal of king George III. in behalf of science. His majesty had attended some of the lectures of the ingenious astronomer, and often sent for him, after his accession, to converse upon scientific and curious topics. He had the extraordinary honour of being elected a member of the royal society, without paying either the initiatory or the annual fees, which were dispensed with in his case from a supposition of his being too poor to pay them without inconvenience. From the same idea, many persons gave him very handsome presents. But to the astonishment of all who knew him, he died worth about six thousand pounds.

"Ferguson," says Charles Hutton, in his Mathematical Dictionary, "must be allowed to have been a very uncommon genius, especially in mechanical con-

[1] The following is a succinct list of his published works:—1. Astronomical Tables, and Precepts for calculating the true times of New and Full Moons, &c. 1763. 2. Tables and Tracts relative to several arts and sciences, 1767. 3. An Easy Introduction to Astronomy, for young gentlemen and ladies, 2nd edit. 1769. 4. Astronomy explained upon Sir Isaac Newton's Principles, 5th edit. 1772. 5. Lectures on select subjects in Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Pneumatics and Optics, 4th edit. 1772. 6. Select Mechanical Exercises, with a short account of the life of the author, by himself, 1773. 7. The Art of Drawing in Perspective Made Easy, 1775. 8. An Introduction to Electricity, 1775. 9. Two Letters to the Rev. Mr John Kennedy, 1775. 10. A Third Letter to the Rev. Mr John Kennedy, 1775. He communicated also several letters to the Royal Society, which are printed in their Transactions. In 1805, a very valuable edition of his lectures was published at Edinburgh by Dr Brewster, in 2 vols. 8vo, with notes and an appendix, the whole adapted to the present state of the arts and sciences.

trivances and inventions, for he constructed many machines himself in a very neat manner. He had also a good taste in astronomy, as well as in natural and experimental philosophy, and was possessed of a happy manner of explaining himself in a clear, easy, and familiar way. His general mathematical knowledge, however, was little or nothing. Of algebra he understood but little more than the notation; and he has often told me that he could never demonstrate one proposition in Euclid's Elements; his constant method being to satisfy himself as to the truth of any problem, with a measurement by scale and compasses." He was a man of very clear judgment in any thing that he professed, and of unwearied application to study: benevolent, meek, and innocent in his manners as a child: humble, courteous, and communicative: instead of pedantry, philosophy seemed to produce in him only diffidence and urbanity—a love for mankind and for his Maker. His whole life was an example of resignation and christian piety. He might be called an enthusiast in his love of God, if religion founded on such substantial and enlightened grounds as his was, could be like enthusiasm. After a long and useful life, unhappy in his family connections, in a feeble and precarious state of health, worn out with study, age, and infirmities, he died on the 16th of November, 1776.

"Ferguson's only daughter," says Mr Nichols in his life of Bowyer, "was lost in a very singular manner, at about the age of eighteen. She was remarkable for the elegance of her person, the agreeableness and vivacity of her conversation, and in philosophic genius and knowledge, worthy of such a father. His son, Mr Murdoch Ferguson, was a surgeon, and attempted to settle at Bury, staid but a little while, went to sea, was cast away, and lost his all, a little before his father's death, but found himself in no bad plight after that event. He had another son, who studied at Marischal college, Aberdeen, from 1772 to 1777, and afterwards, it is believed, applied to physic."

The astronomer has been thus elegantly noticed in "Eudosia, a poem on the universe" by Mr Capel Lloft:

> "Nor shall thy guidance but conduct our feet,
> O honoured shepherd of our later days!
> Thee, from the flocks, while thy untutored soul,
> Mature in childhood, traced the starry course,
> Astronomy, enamoured, gently led
> Through all the splendid labyrinths of heaven,
> And taught thee her stupendous laws; and clothed
> In all the light of fair simplicity,
> Thy apt expression."

FERGUSSON, Robert, an ingenious poet, like his successor Burns, drew his descent from the country north of the Forth. His father, William Fergusson, after serving an apprenticeship to a tradesman in Aberdeen, and having married Elizabeth Forbes, by whom he had three children, removed, in 1746, to Edinburgh, where he was employed as a clerk by several masters in succession. It appears that the father of the poet had himself in early life courted the muses, and was at all periods remarkable as a man of taste and ingenuity. When acting as clerk to Messrs Wardrop and Peat, upholsterers in Carrubber's close, he framed a very useful book of rates; and he eventually attained the respectable situation of accountant to the British Linen Company, but whether in its ultimate capacity of a bank has not been mentioned. Previous to his arrival in Edinburgh, he had two sons and a daughter, born in the following order: Henry, 1742; Barbara,[1] 1744; John (who seems to have died young), 1746.

[1] Afterwards the wife of Mr David Inverarity, joiner.

After removing thither, he had at least two other children, Robert, born 1750, and Margaret,[2] 1753.

The subject of this memoir was born on the 17th of October,[3] 1750, and was an exceedingly delicate child. Owing to the state of his health, he was not sent to school till his sixth year, though it is likely that his parents gave him a good deal of private instruction before that time. What renders this the more probable is, that he had not been six months under his first teacher, (a Mr Philp in Niddry's Wynd,) when he was judged fit to be transferred to the high school, and entered in the first Latin class. Here he went through the usual classical course of four years, under a teacher named Gilchrist. What degree of proficiency he might have attained under ordinary circumstances, it is impossible to determine; but it is to be related to his credit, that, though frequently absent for a considerable period, in consequence of bad health, he nevertheless kept fully abreast of his companions, a temporary application being sufficient to bring him up to any point which the class had attained in his absence. At the same time he acquired, in the leisure of confinement, a taste for general reading, and it is stated that the Bible was his favourite book. A remarkable instance of the vivid impressions of which he was susceptible, occurred at an early period. In perusing the proverbs of Solomon, one passage struck his infant mind with peculiar force; and hastening to his mother's apartment in tears, he besought her to chastise him. Surprised at a request so extraordinary, she inquired the cause of it, when he exclaimed—"O mother! he that spareth the rod, hateth the child!" So ingenuous by nature was the mind of this boy, and such the pure source whence his youth drew instructions, which, disregarded but not forgotten amid the gayeties of a long course of dissipation, at last re-asserted in a fearful manner their influence over him.

Fergusson finished his elementary education at the grammar school of Dundee, which he attended for two years. His parents had resolved to educate him for the church; and with that view removed him in his thirteenth year to the university of St Andrews, which he entered with the advantage of a bursary, endowed by a Mr Fergusson, for the benefit of young men of the same name. Here his abilities recommended him to the notice of Dr Wilkie, author of the Epigoniad, then professor of natural philosophy, and it has even been said, that learned person made choice of him to read his lectures to his class, when sickness or other causes prevented his own performance of the duty. Dr Irving ridicules the idea of a youth of sixteen "mounting," as he expresses it, "the professorial rostrum;" and besides the inadequacy of years, Fergusson possessed none of that gravity of demeanour which was calculated to secure the respectful attention of his compeers. His classical attainments were respectable, but for the austerer branches of scholastic and scientific knowledge he always expressed, with the petulance of a youth of lively parts, who did not wish to be subjected to the labour of hard study, a decided contempt. Dr Wilkie's regards must therefore have been attracted by other qualifications than those of the graver and more solid cast—namely, by the sprightly humour and uncommon powers of conversation, for which Fergusson was already in a remarkable degree distinguished. The story of his reading the lectures in public arose from his having been employed to transcribe them. Professor Vilant, in a letter to Mr Inverarity on this subject, says, "A youthful frolicsome exhibition of your uncle first directed Dr Wilkie's attention to him, and he afterwards employed

[2] Afterwards the wife of Mr Alexander Duval, purser in the navy.

[3] The date usually given is 5th September, which appears, however, from a list by Mrs Duval, to have been the birth-day of the elder sister, Barbara. The above is the date given by Mrs Duval.

him one summer and part of another in transcribing a fair copy of his academical lectures." On the doctor's death, in 1772, Fergusson showed his gratitude in a poem dedicated to his memory. In this composition, which assumed the form of a Scottish eclogue, Wilkie's success as an agricultural improver was not forgotten. He had cultivated, with a very remarkable degree of skill, a farm in the vicinity of St Andrews; and we must go back to the time when our fathers were contented to raise small patches of stunted corn here and there, on the unenclosed moor, in order to appreciate fully the enterprise which merited the youthful poet's compliment—

> Lang had the thristles and the dockans been
> In use to wag their taps upo' the green,
> Whare now his bonny rigs delight the view,
> And thriving hedges drink the cauler dew.

Among his fellow students, Fergusson was distinguished for vivacity and humour, and his poetical talents soon began to display themselves on subjects of local and occasional interest, in such a way as to attract the notice both of his companions and of their teachers. We are warranted in concluding, that the pieces to which he owed this celebrity were distinguished by passages of no ordinary merit, for professors are not a set of men upon whom it is easy to produce an impression. It is indeed said, that the youthful poet chose the ready instrument of sarcasm with which to move their calm collectedness; but if this were true, the satire must have been of a playful nature; for, from all that has appeared, these gentlemen manifested nothing but kindly feelings towards their pupil, and he a corresponding affection and respect for them. Besides the tribute which he paid to the memory of Wilkie, he wrote an elegy on the death of Mr Gregory, the professor of mathematics, in which, though the prevailing tone is that of respectful regret, we probably have an example of the length to which he ventured in his satirical effusions. Bewailing the loss that the scientific world had sustained by the decease of this learned person, and enumerating various instances of his sagacity, he says, with irrepressible waggery,

> By numbers, too, he could divine
> That three times three just made up nine;
> But now he's dead!

Another effusion, of which the occasion may be referred to the time of Fergusson's attendance at college, is his elegy on John Hogg, porter to the university; in this piece he alludes with some humour to the unwillingness with which he was wont to quit his comfortable bed in a morning after some frolic, when that functionary was sent to summon him before the college tribunal. The familiarity of the old door-keeper, together with the demi-professorial strain of his admonitions, is not unhappily pourtrayed in the stanza—

> When I had been fu' laith to rise,
> John then begude to moralize—
> "'The tither nap,'—the sluggard cries,
> And turns him round;
> Sae spak auld Solomon the wise,
> Divine profound!"

If Fergusson thus remembered in a kindly manner the species of intercourse which his exploits had rendered necessary between him and the servants of the university, they seem on their part to have cherished a corresponding degree of

partiality for him. Mr James Inverarity, a nephew of the poet, had the curiosity to ask one of them if he recollected Robert Fergusson. "Bob Fergusson!" exclaimed the man; "that I do! Many a time I've put him to the door—ah, he was a tricky callant; but," he added, "a fine laddie for a' that." He seemed to feel great pleasure in the recollection of so lively and so amiable a boy.

While at college, the young poet used to put in practice a frolic which marks the singular vivacity of his character. Whenever he received a remittance from his friends at Edinburgh, he hung out the money in a little bag attached by a string to the end of a pole fixed in his window; and there he would let it dangle for a whole day in the wind. He is supposed to have done this partly from puerile exultation in the possession of his wealth, and partly by way of making a bravado in the eyes of his companions; among whom, no doubt, the slenderness of their funds and the failure of supplies, would be frequent subjects of raillery.

His talents of mimicry were great, and his sportive humour was ever too exuberant, and sometimes led him to overstep the bounds of justifiable indulgence. "An instance of this," says Mr Tennant, in the Edinburgh Literary Journal, (No. 164,) "was communicated to me by the late Rev. Dr James Brown, his fellow-student at St Andrews, who was also a poet,* and who, from kindred delights and sympathies, enjoyed much of Fergusson's society. On the afternoon of a college-holiday, they took a walk together into the country, and, after perambulating many farms, and tripping with fraternal glee over field and hillock, they at last, being desirous of a little rest, bethought themselves of calling at a small farm house, or *pendicle*, as it is named, on the king's muirs of Denino. They approached the house, and were kindly invited to a seat by the rustic and honest-hearted family. A frank and unceremonious conversation immediately took place, in the course of which, it was discovered, that a young person, a member of the family, was lying ill of fever. The playful Fergusson instantly took it into his head, to profess himself a medical practitioner;—he started to his feet, begged to be shown to the sick-bed; approached, and felt the pulse of the patient; assumed a serious air; put the usual pathological interrogatories; and pronounced his opinion with a pomp and dignity worthy of a true doctor of physic. In short, he personated his assumed character so perfectly, that his friend Brown, though somewhat vexed, was confounded into silent admiration of his dexterity. On leaving the house, however, Mr Brown expostulated with him on the indefensibility of practising so boldly on the simplicity of an unsuspecting family, and of misleading their conceptions as to the cure of the distemper, by a stratagem, on which, however witty, neither of them could congratulate themselves."

The impulse of the moment seems to have been at all times irresistible with Fergusson, without any dread or consideration of the consequences which his levity might produce. His voice being good, he was requested, oftener than was agreeable to him, to officiate as precentor at prayers. His wicked wit suggested a method of getting rid of the distasteful employment, which he did not scruple to put in practice, though there was great danger that it would incense the heads of the college against him. It is customary in the Scottish churches for persons who are considered to be in a dangerous state of illness, to request the prayers of the congregation, which it is the duty of the precentor publicly to intimate. One morning, when Fergusson occupied the desk, he rose up, and, with the solemnity of tone usual upon such occasions, pronounced,—"Remember

* "Dr Brown, who was for thirty years rector of a considerable parish in the neighbourhood of London, was the author of a poem called 'Britain Preserved,' written about 1793, in reference to, and commendation of, Mr Pitt's plan of policy, then adopted."

in prayer, ———, a young man (then present) of whom, from the sudden effects of inebriety, there appears but small hope of recovery."

A proceeding so indecorous could not but be frowned upon by the professors; and another incident, which it was still less in their power to overlook, soon occurred. The circumstances attending the expulsion of the poet from the university have occasioned some controversy, and we therefore deem it best to give the account drawn up in 1801, by Dr Hill, and attested by professor Vilant, who was unable from sickness, to do more at that time, than affix his name to it. "Mr Nicholas Vilant," says this document, "professor of mathematics, the only person now in the university, who was then a member of it, declares, that in the year 1767, as he recollects, at the first institution of the prizes given by the earl of Kinnoul, late chancellor of this university, there was a meeting one night, after the determination of the prizes for that year, of the winners in one room of the united college, and a meeting of the losers in another room at a small distance; that in consequence of some communication between the winners and the losers, a scuffle arose, which was reported to the masters of the college, and that Robert Fergusson and some others who had appeared the most active were expelled; but that the next day, or the day thereafter, they were all received back into the college upon promises of good behaviour for the future." Dr Wilkie's intercesions were exerted on this occasion in behalf of the young poet; nor are we to suppose that the cordial co-operation of others was wanting, for Mr Inverarity assures us, that in Mr Vilant, Fergusson had found a friend and judicious director of his studies. On the whole, this transaction affords a proof, that Fergusson, whatever might be his indiscretions, had not, by refractory or disrespectful conduct, rendered himself obnoxious to the heads of the university, since, had that been the case, it is to be presumed, they would have availed themselves of this infraction of academical discipline to make good his expulsion. If, therefore, the first aspirations of his muse were employed in satirical effusions against his instructors, it must have been with an absence of all bitterness, and in a vein of pleasantry which was not meant to be, and did not prove offensive.

Of the progress made by Fergusson in his studies, we have no means of forming a very exact estimate. "He performed," says Dr Irving, "with a sufficient share of applause, the various exercises which the rules of his college prescribed." Yet, it is acknowledged that he found more pleasure in the active sports of youth, and in social enjoyment, than in habits of recluse study. His time, however, does not seem to have been spent without some plans of more serious application. A book which belonged to him, entitled, "A Defence of the church government, faith, worship, and spirit of the presbyterians," is preserved; the blank leaves of this volume were devoted by him to the somewhat incongruous purpose of receiving scraps of speeches, evidently the germs of a play which he meditated writing. Another dramatic scheme of his, assumed a more decided shape; he finished two acts of a tragedy, founded on the achievements and fate of Sir William Wallace, but abandoned the undertaking, having seen another play on the same subject, and being afraid that his own might be considered a plagiarism. Probably both productions were of a common place description; and the poet, perceiving the flatness of that of which he was not the author, and conscious of the similarity of his own, relinquished an undertaking to which his abilities certainly were not equal. It has been observed, that the choice of the subject affords an evidence of Fergusson's judgment; inasmuch as the fate of the illustrious Scottish hero, together with his disinterested patriotism and bravery, supply a much more eligible theme for the tragical muse, than the deaths of Macbeth, Richard III., Pizarro, or any other tyrant of ancient or modern times, whose catastrophes, being nothing more than the vengeance due to their crimes, canno

excite those sympathetic feelings that arise only from the contemplation of suffering virtue. This would be very justly said, if it were true that the success of a dramatic author depends upon his enlisting the approbation of the audience in behalf of his hero. But the case is widely different. A view of human nature under the influence of some powerful emotion, with which mankind, in general, are not familiar, seems to be what is mainly required. All men are not acquainted with the workings of an ambitious and wicked heart; and hence, when the tyrant is exhibited before them, they learn something that is new and surprising, and the skill of the poet meets with its proportionate meed of applause. But there are few, indeed, who have not considered from their youth up, the character of a great patriot like Wallace; their admiration and pity have been bestowed upon him from their tenderest years, and there is nothing left for poetry to effect. Nor was the genius of Fergusson fitted for the delineation of a majestic character. He had a fund of humour, an agreeable gayety, but not much reach of passion or of feeling. In his English blank verses, there is no stately flow nor elevation of sentiment. His mind, moreover, did not possess strength sufficient to accomplish more than can be done in a series of occasional verses; he had not as much resolution to carry him through the succession of efforts necessary for the completion of a dramatic poem; and on the whole, we see no occasion either for surprise or regret, that he never perfected his third act.

What were the reasons for Fergusson abandoning his academical career, is nowhere mentioned. Probably he had no great heart to the profession to which he had been destined, and was prevented by want of pecuniary means, from pursuing his studies with a view to any other. When the term of his bursary expired, which was at the end of four years, he quitted St Andrews, and returned to Edinburgh, to his mother's house, his father having died two years before. Here, if his prospects were not gloomy, his plans were unsettled, and never took any decided aim for his settlement in life. The profession of a teacher has been resorted to by many who have acquired some learning, but whose narrow circumstances did not allow them to aspire to more pleasant and profitable employments; and, even after qualifying themselves for superior offices, numbers of young men, failing to obtain the reward of their labours, fall back upon that humbler means of obtaining a subsistence. But for the patient duties of a schoolmaster, Fergusson's ardent temperament completely disqualified him; and probably, he never thought of the alternative. The study of medicine was suggested to him; but this was no less distasteful, for, to such vivid nervous excitement was he liable, that he could not read the description of a disease, without imagining that his own frame felt its symptoms.

After some time spent in vain hope that some opening would present itself, he paid a visit to Mr John Forbes, a maternal uncle, near Aberdeen, who, being in easy circumstances, was expected to do something for his nephew. That gentleman, according to the usual account, entertained him for some time, hoping, perhaps, that after a reasonable stay, such as the hospitality of an uncle's roof might warrant, he would take his leave and give him no farther trouble. But time slipt on, and Fergusson still continued his guest. At last, the habiliments of the dependent relative began to grow somewhat shabby, and an intimation was conveyed to him, that he was no longer fit to appear at Mr Forbes's table. The indignant poet immediately retired to an ale-house in the neighbourhood, where he penned a letter full of resentment of the usage he had received. This remonstrance produced some little effect, for his uncle sent him, by a messenger, a few shillings, to bear his charges to Edinburgh. He performed the journey on foot, and returned to his mother's house so worn out with fatigue, and overwhelmed with mortification, that he fell into a serious illness. In a few days his

strength of body revived, and he regained sufficient composure of mind to express his vexation in a poem, entitled, "The Decay of Friendship," and his grounds for philosophic resignation in another, "Against Repining at Fortune." These pieces exhibit some fluency of versification, but do not breathe any poetic fire. In the first, he bewails the ingratitude of man, and according to ancient usage, determines to resort to some solitary shore, there to disclose his griefs to the murmuring surge, and teach the hollow caverns to resound his woes. In the second, he declares, that he was able to contemplate the gorgeous vanity of state with a cool disdain, and after reasoning the matter on the inadequacy of wealth to procure happiness, concludes that virtue is the sacred source of permanent and heartfelt satisfaction,—a fact, the truth of which is so very generally acknowledged, that the statement and elucidation of it is no longer considered to constitute poetry.

The behaviour of Mr Forbes in the matter just related, has been reprobated as ungenerous in the extreme. But it seems questionable, whether the censure be merited in its full extent. Every man is, no doubt, bound to assist his fellow-men, and more particularly those who are connected with his own family, or have other claims to his patronage, as far as lies in his power. But it is difficult to fix the limits to which his exertions ought, in any particular case, to be carried. It may seem very clear to every one at the present day, that Fergusson was a man of genius, and ought to have been promoted to some office which might have conferred independence, at the same time that it left him leisure for the cultivation of his literary talents. This was, however, by no means so apparent at the period to which we refer, nor, perhaps, at any future period during the poet's lifetime. He presented himself in his uncle's house an expectant of favour; but his expectations might not, to any ordinary-minded person, appear very reasonable. He was a young man that had addicted himself to the profitless occupation of rhyming; (who could tell he was to render himself eminent by it?) he could not submit his mind to common business, and had aversions that did not appear to rest on very feasible foundations, to certain employments which were proposed to him: and when we consider to how close a scrutiny, it is reasonable that those who solicit patronage should be prepared to submit, it does not seem wonderful that he should have been regarded as a young man who was disposed to remain idle, and that his friends should have been discouraged from using their influence in behalf of one who did not seem willing to do what he could for himself. We know few of the circumstances that took place during Fergusson's residence with his uncle, and it is unjust to deal out reproaches so much at random.

Some time after his return to Edinburgh, Fergusson obtained employment as a copyist of legal papers, in the office of the commissary clerk of Edinburgh; a situation miserably inferior to his talents, but which his straitened circumstances and his total want of an aim in life, compelled him to accept. With the exception of some months devoted to similar duties at the Sheriff-clerk's office, he spent, in this humble employment, the remainder of his brief and unhappy life. The change from the one office to the other seems to have been dictated purely by that desire of an alternation of misery, which caused the soldier who suffered under flagellation to cry first "strike high," and then "strike low." Having experienced some trouble from the fretful temper of the deputy commissary clerk, Mr Abercromby, under whom he performed his drudgery, he sought relief in the other office; but finding worse evils there, in the painful nature of the sheriff's duties as an enforcer of executions, he speedily solicited re-admission to his former place, and was glad to obtain it. It is generally supposed that Fergusson's employment involved the study of law, and that in that lay the unpleasantness of his situation. But in reality, the study of law, allow-

ing it to be as dry as several of Fergusson's biographers have represented it, and as unsuitable as they have supposed to the mercurial genius of a poet, would have been absolutely a daily delight of the highest kind, compared to the monotonous duties of perpetual transcription, which formed in reality the extent of the poet's professional labours.

This wretched drudgery, however, was relieved in two ways. Fergusson, during the whole period of his residence in Edinburgh, as a clerk, or copyist, wrote more or less poetry almost every day. At the same time, he spent a part of almost every evening in those convivial regalements, with which the citizens of Edinburgh of all classes were then accustomed to solace themselves after the drudgery of the day.

The mind of the poet was partly directed to English classical models: he wrote pastorals and dialogues, in the manner of Pope, Shenstone, and Somerville; but these are mere exhibitions of language, totally uninspired by the least force or originality of ideas, and would now weary even the most patient antiquary in the perusal. Fortunately, he also adventured upon the course lately left vacant by Ramsay, and there found themes for which his genius was better adapted. The humours and peculiarities of social life in the ancient city of Edinburgh attracted his attention, and became in his hands the materials of various specimens of Scottish poetry, which far surpassed the similar poems of Ramsay, and are but little inferior to those of Burns. In his "Leith Races," "the Rising and Sitting of the Session, "Cauler Oysters," and "the King's birth day," there is a power of humourous description which at once stamps him as a poet of superior genius, even if the nervous sense of his "Braid Claith," "Cauler Water," and other poems upon general subjects, and the homely grace of his "Farmer's Ingle," which describes in the most vivid and genuine colours, a scene worthy of the highest efforts of the muse, had not placed him still more unequivocally in that rank. The language employed by Fergusson is much more purely Scottish than that of Burns, and he uses it with a readiness and ease in the highest degree pleasing. He has not the firm and vigorous tone of Burns, but more softness and polish, such as might have been expected from his gentler, and perhaps more instructed mind. The poet chiefly wrote these effusions for a periodical work, entitled Ruddiman's Weekly Magazine, where they attracted a considerable share of public attention, not only in Edinburgh but throughout the country.

The convivialities of Fergusson have been generally described as bordering on excess, and as characterizing himself in particular, amidst a population generally sober. The sober truth is, that the poor poet indulged exactly in the same way, and in general to the same extent, as other young men of that day. The want of public amusements, the less general taste for reading, and the limited accommodations of private houses in those days, led partly to a practice, which, as already mentioned, prevailed among all orders of people in Edinburgh, of frequenting taverns in the evening, for the sake of relaxation and exercise of the intellect. The favourite haunt of Robert Fergusson, and many other persons of his own standing, was Lucky Middlemass's tavern in the Cowgate, which he celebrates in his poem on Cauler Oysters. One of the individuals, who almost nightly enjoyed his company there, communicated to the present writer, in 1827, the following particulars respecting the extent and nature of their convivialities.

"The entertainment almost invariably consisted of a few boards of raw oysters, porter, gin, and occasionally a rizzared [dried] haddock, which was neither more nor less than what formed the evening enjoyments of most of the citizens of Edinburgh. The best gin was then sold at about five shillings a

gallon, and accordingly the gill at Lucky Middlemass's cost only threepence. The whole debauch of the young men seldom came to more than sixpence or sevenpence. Mr S—— distinctly recollects that Fergusson always seemed unwilling to spend any more. They generally met at eight o'clock, and rose to depart at ten; but Fergusson was sometimes prevailed upon to outsit his friends, by other persons who came in later, and, for the sake of his company, intreated him to join them in further potations. The humour of his conversation, which was in itself the highest treat, frequently turned upon the odd and obnoxious characters who then abounded in the town. In the case, however, of the latter, he never permitted his satire to become in the least rancorous. He generally contented himself with conceiving them in ludicrous or awkward situations, such, for instance, as their going home at night, and having their clothes bleached by an impure ablution from the garrets—a very common occurrence at that time, and the mention of which was sufficient to awaken the sympathies of all present."

The personal appearance of the poet is thus described by the same informant. "In stature Fergusson was about five feet nine, slender and handsome. His face never exhibited the least trace of red, but was perfectly and uniformly pale, or rather yellow. He had all the appearance of a person in delicate health; and Mr S—— remembers that, at last, he could not eat raw oysters, but was compelled by the weakness of his stomach, to ask for them pickled. His forehead was elevated, and his whole countenance open and pleasing. He wore his own fair brown hair, with a long massive curl along each side of the head, and terminating in a queue, dressed with a black silk riband. His dress was never very good, but often much faded, and the white thread stockings, which he generally wore in preference to the more common kind of grey worsted, he often permitted to become considerably soiled before changing them."

The following anecdote has been related for the purpose of showing the irksomeness of the poet under his usual avocations. In copying out the extract of a deed, one forenoon, he blundered it two different times, and was at length obliged to abandon the task without completing it. On returning in the evening, he found that the extract had been much wanted, and he accordingly sat down with great reluctance to attempt it a third time. He had not, however, half accomplished his task, when he cried out to his office companion, that a thought had just struck him, which he would instantly put into verse, and carry to Ruddiman's Magazine, (on the eve of publication,) but that he would instantly return and complete the extract. He immediately scrawled out the following stanza on one Thomas Lancashire, who, after acting the gravedigger in Hamlet, and other such characters, on the Edinburgh stage, had set up a public house, in which he died:—

> Alas, poor Tom! how oft, with merry heart,
> Have we beheld thee play the Sexton's part!
> Each comic heart must now be grieved to see
> The Sexton's dreary part performed on thee.

On his return towards the office, he called at the shop of his friend Sommers, paintseller and glazier, in the parliament close, where he found a boy reading a poem on creation. This circumstance furnished him with the point of another epigram, which he immediately scribbled down, and left for Mr Sommers's perusal. These proceedings occupied him about twenty minutes, and he then returned to his drudgery.

Uniform tradition, and every other testimony, ascribe to Fergusson an excellent voice, and a most captivating manner of singing the simple melodies of his

native country. His Birks of Invermay long survived in the recollection of his associates, as a musical gem of the first lustre. The following anecdote, communicated by his biographer Sommers, at once proves his vocal powers and reflects a light upon his character. "In one of his convivial frolics, he laid a wager with some of his associates that, if they would furnish him with a certain number of printed ballads, (no matter what kind), he would undertake to dispose of them as a street singer in the course of two hours. The bet was laid, and next evening, being in the month of November, a large bundle of ballads were procured for him. He wrapped himself in a shabby great-coat, put on an old scratch wig, and in this disguised form commenced his adventure at the weigh-house, head of the West Bow. In his going down the Lawnmarket and High Street, he had the address to collect great multitudes around him, while he amused them with a variety of favourite Scottish songs, by no means such as he had ballads for, and gained the wager by disposing of the whole collection. He waited on his companions by eight o'clock that evening, and spent with them in mirthful glee, the produce of his street adventure."

Fergusson's disposition led him into many frolics; of which the following instances are recounted. His landlord happened to be a man very much given to intemperance, at the same time that he aspired to all the honours of a saint. One night, he attempted to perform family worship, in a state of complete intoxication, when, to his inconceivable horror, every sentence of his prayer was echoed by some unseen being at no great distance. Confounded with drunken terror, he ordered his family to retire, and *tak awa the buiks*. It was Fergusson who thus alarmed him from a neighbouring closet. Afterwards, the poor man gave his family an impressive lecture on the necessity of their improving their ways, as he felt certain that something serious was about to befall them. He even unbosomed his own conscience to the waggish cause of all his terrors, and received, with marks of extreme contrition, the absolution which Fergusson administered to him in consideration of his repentance. On another occasion, Fergusson went, with some companions, to the door of a similar zealot, and began to whine forth a psalm in burlesque of the hypocritical habits (as he considered them) of those within. With even less justifiable thoughtlessness, he once threw into the open window of a Glassite meeting-house, a paper, on which he had inscribed some lines in imitation of the manner in which they were pleased to perform their devotions. A more innocent frolic was as follows: having procured a sailor's dress, he dressed himself in it, assumed a huge stick, and, sallying out, paid a round of visits to his acquaintances. He was so effectually disguised that few or none of them knew him; and by throwing forth hints of some of their former indiscretions, he so much surprised them, that they imputed his knowledge to divination. By this means, he procured from many of them such a fund of information, as enabled him to give them a greater surprise when he resumed the genuine character of Robby Fergusson. For in the sailor's habit he informed them of many frailties and failings, which they imagined it impossible for any one of his appearance to know; and in the habit of Robby Fergusson, he divulged many things which they believed none but the ragged sailor was acquainted with. Fergusson's power of mimicry were, indeed, admirable, and he displayed a considerable turn for acting in general. Towards the end of his life, he was the very life and soul of a particular spouting club to which he attached himself.

In the circle of his acquaintance, though it extended through nearly all ranks of society, he had few more respectable friends than Mr Woods, a distinguished player long established in Edinburgh. Woods was a man of wit, taste, and good sense, to which good qualities he added a prudence of conduct,

in which it is to be wished that the poet had uniformly imitated him. Through the influence of Mr Woods, and in consideration, perhaps, of occasional poetical services, he enjoyed a free admission to the theatre, of which he took not unfrequent advantage. To quote a memorandum which has been supplied to us on this subject—"He always sat in the central box, denominated the Shakspeare box; and his mode of expressing approbation in comic performances was very singular. Instead of clapping his hands, or using any exclamations, he used to show how much he was delighted by raising his right hand clenched above his head, and bringing it down emphatically on the front of the box, with a sweeping blow."

His brother, Henry, who was eight years older than himself, had before this period been obliged by some youthful indiscretions to go to sea. Henry was a youth of considerable acquirements and ingenuity, and, in particular, had an extraordinary taste for fencing. Some letters are extant, which the young sailor addressed to his mother and brother, and they certainly display powers of mind and habits of reflection, which, if discovered on ship-board, must have astonished his superiors. Apparently quite tired of the hopeless drudgery of his office, and perhaps impelled by more pressing considerations, Robert Fergusson at one time contemplated the course of life now pursued by his brother, the wild dangers of which might have some charm to a poet's breast. He thus humorously alludes to his design in an epigram:

Fortune and Bob, e'er since his birth,
Could never yet agree;
She fairly kicked him from the earth,
To try his fate at sea.

He was not destined, however, to execute this resolution.

In 1773, Fergusson's poems were collected from the Weekly Magazine into one volume; but it does not appear that the poet reaped any pecuniary benefit from the publication. It is probable, indeed, that this admired son of genius never realised a single shilling by his writings.

For a brief number of years, Fergusson led the aimless life which we have endeavoured to describe, obtaining the means of a scanty subsistence by a servile and unworthy drudgery, and cheering his leisure moments with mingled intellectual exertion and convivial dissipation. To many persons he was recommended by his fascinating conversation, his modesty, and his gentle and affectionate character. Of these, however, with but one exception, there were none who either felt called upon or had it in their power, to advance his worldly fortunes. That exception was a Mr Burnet, who, becoming much attached to the poet at Edinburgh, was afterwards enabled to send him a draught for a hundred pounds from India, with an invitation to come thither, in order to experience still more solid and lasting proofs of his friendship. Even of this single ray of kindness from his fellow men, the poor poet was destined to reap no advantage, being dead before the money and the invitation arrived. The unhappy youth continued, so long as his mind was sensible of any thing, to feel that, with powers which elevated him above most of his fellows, and were likely to make him be remembered when all of them were forgotten, he yet ate every day a bitterer and a scantier meal, and moiled on and on in hopeless poverty, at once the instrument and the victim of their pleasures.

Early in the year 1774, when his frame was peculiarly exposed by the effects of a certain medicine to cold, he was induced to accompany some gentlemen, who were interested in an election business, to one of the eastern counties of Scotland. It is no uncommon thing for cold, contracted under such circum-

stances, to produce mental derangement; and such was the melancholy destiny of Fergusson! Being involved in the riotous scenes of the election, he easily caught the baneful distemper, the effects of which were quite as much mental as physical. While in this disordered state, he happened one day to wander into the church-yard, where he was soon after accosted by the venerable John Brown, author of many well known works in divinity, and who exercised the humble but respectable functions of a dissenting clergyman in this town. After a few trivial remarks had passed between them, Mr Brown was led by the nature of the scene to advert to the mortality of man, observing that, in a short time, they would soon be laid in the dust, and that therefore it was wise to prepare for eternity. To Mr Brown, the conversation seemed the most casual and unimportant that could well be. But such were not its effects. In the present state of the poet's mind, his early religious impressions were fast reviving, and, while the penalties of folly wrung his nerves, his thoughts wandered back over his mispent and unprosperous life. Upon a mind so prepared, the accidental remarks of the divine (who did not even know who he was) sunk as deep as if they had been imprinted in characters of fire. He returned home, an altered and despairing man.

One of his intimate friends, who met him in March, 1774, a short time after this event, found him somewhat tranquillized, but still in a very precarious state. The poor bard gave an account of the excesses which had lately produced such dreadful effects, and spoke with terror of what would be unavoidable in the event of a relapse—confinement in the common asylum for insane persons. He also introduced the subject of religion, and conversed with much earnestness on some of its fundamental doctrines. "Upon a particular occasion, which he specified, he said, a Mr Ferrier, at, or near St Andrews, had alarmed and rather displeased him, by maintaining, what are usually denominated the orthodox tenets of our Scottish creeds: and Fergusson appeared to differ, in a very considerable degree, from the commonly received notions on these subjects. He did not seem to be satisfied of the necessity of the fall of man, and of a mediatorial sacrifice for human iniquity; and he questioned, with considerable boldness, the consistency of such doctrines with the attributes of divine wisdom and goodness. At the same time, however, he confessed the imperfect nature of the human intellect, and the unfathomable depth of all such inquiries. This is the only gleam of infidelity which ever seems to have diminished the fearful gloom of superstitious terror: no consoling rays of genuine religion charmed his bosom; no sounds of peace gladdened his heart, and enabled him to sustain, with fortitude and calmness, the sorrows which oppressed him. He anticipated 'the last peal of the thunder of heaven,' as the voice of eternal vengeance speaking in wrath, and consigning him to irremediable perdition."[1]

After having partially recovered from his disorder, his mind is said to have received another shock from the following incident:—

"In the room adjoining to that in which he slept, was a starling, which being seized one night by a cat that had found its way down the chimney, awakened Mr Fergusson by the most alarming screams. Having learned the cause of the alarm, he began seriously to reflect how often he, an accountable and immortal being, had in the hour of intemperance, set death at defiance, though it was thus terrible, in reality, to an unaccountable and sinless creature. This brought to his recollection, the conversation of the clergyman, which, aided by the solemnity of midnight, wrought his mind up to a pitch of remorse that almost bordered on frantic despair. Sleep now forsook his eyelids; and he rose in the morning, not as he had formerly done, to mix again with the social and the gay,

[1] Peterkin's Life of Fergusson, prefixed to London edition of his poems, 1807.

but to be a recluse from society, and to allow the remembrance of his past follies to prey upon his vitals. All his vivacity now forsook him; those lips which were formed to give delight, were closed as by the hand of death, and on his countenance sathorror plumed!"[1]

It is probably to this period that we are to refer two anecdotes, which have been related as giving the first proofs of a decided craze in his understanding. Mr Tennant, in an article which has been already quoted, says:—"It is difficult, even in sane persons, to determine where wit ends, and temporary reeling of the imagination begins; and, in the case of Fergusson, whose conceptions were ever so vivid, and whose wit was so fantastical and irregular, it was difficult for his friends to discriminate between his wit and his madness—to set a boundary line between those of his days that were but frolicsome and funny, and those that were desperately and invariably delirious. The first occurrence that startled his comrades, and put them in alarm for the safety of his understanding, took place one day in the High Street of Edinburgh, when Mr B——, one of his friends, (who, I believe, is still alive,) was standing engaged in conversation with a knot of acquaintances. Fergusson came running up, apparently in a state of high perturbation; and, accosting them familiarly, as he was wont, acquainted them, that, confused and perturbed as he was, it was a marvel that they saw him alive that day at all. On questioning him, with a desire that he should explain himself, he informed them, that on the night before he had met with some Irish students in the street, with whom he had an altercation that led to a quarrel; that they scuffled and buffeted each other furiously; that the combat deepened to deadly ferocity, when one of them, the bloodiest homicide of the troop, at last drew out a cutlass, with which he smote off his head at one blow; that his head ran down the strand trembling and streaming blood for many paces; that, had it not been for his presence of mind, he must infallibly have been a dead man; but that, running instantly after the head, decapitated as he was, he snatched it up, and replaced it so nicely on its former position, that the parts coalesced, and no man could discover any vestiges of decapitation. This story was told with such wild looks and extravagant gesticulation, as impressed the hearers with the suspicion that his mind had shifted from its wonted 'form and pressure;' a suspicion that was afterwards fully confirmed by other more decided and unfortunate indications."

The other anecdote, which indicates a more advanced stage of insanity, is as follows:—Mr Woods, of the theatre royal, one day met him at the bottom of St Anne Street, under the North Bridge, (a street which does not now exist,) and found him in a very disordered state. "I have just," said Fergusson, in a confidential tone, "made a most important discovery." On Mr Woods' inquiring what it was, he answered, "I have found out one of the reprobates who crucified our Saviour; and in order to bring him to proper punishment, I am going to lodge an information against him with Lord Kames." He then walked off towards the residence of that distinguished philosopher and judge.

Even from this second shock, his reason was beginning to recover, when all was thrown into ten-fold disorder by a fall which he met with, one evening in descending a stair. Having cut his head severely, he lost a great deal of blood, and was carried home to his mother's house in a state of delirium, and totally insensible of his deplorable condition. His reason seemed to be now in a great measure destroyed. He passed nights and days in total abstinence from food, sometimes muttering dolefully to himself, and at other times so outrageous that it required the strength of several men to keep him in his bed. Occasionally, he sang his favourite melodies, but in a style of pathos and tenderness such

[1] Life by Mr Inverarity, in Gleig's Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica.

as he had never before reached. In particular, he chaunted "the Birks of Invermay," with such exquisite melody, that those who heard his notes could never forget the sound. While in this state, probably anticipating that miserable catastrophe which soon after happened, he burned all his manuscripts, remarking, when the task was done, "I am satisfied—I feel some consolation in never having written any thing against religion." Like Collins, he now used but one book, but he probably felt, with that unfortunate bard, "that it was the best." It is needless to mention, that this sole companion of his moody hours was the bible.

The circumstances of his widowed mother were not unfortunately of such a kind, as to enable her to keep her son, and procure for him the attendance necessary for his malady, in her own house. She was, therefore, compelled to make arrangements for consigning him to a very wretched public asylum, which, before the erection of an elegant building at Morningside, was the only place in connexion with the Scottish capital, where such accommodations could be obtained. This house was situated within a gloomy nook of the old city wall, with another large building closing it up in front, as if it had been thought necessary to select for the insane, a scene as sombre and wretched as their own mental condition. To this horrid mansion it was found necessary to convey Fergusson by a kind of stratagem, for he was too well aware of what was contemplated, and too much alive to the horrors of the place, to have either gone willingly himself, or to have been conveyed thither without some indecent exposure. Two friends, therefore, were instructed to pay him a visit about night-fall, as if for the purpose of inquiring after his welfare. He met them with easy confidence, and after some conversation, in which he took part like a sane man, they proposed that he should accompany them on a visit to a friend at another part of the town. To this he cheerfully consented, and was accordingly placed in a sedan which they had in readiness at the bottom of the stair. The unhappy youth then permitted himself to be conveyed peaceably along the streets, till he arrived at the place which he had all along feared would be his final abode. The chair was conveyed into the hall, and, it was only when Fergusson stepped out, that he perceived the deception which had been practised upon him. One wild halloo—the heart-burst of despair—broke from him, and was immediately echoed from the tenants of the surrounding cells. Thrilled with horror, his friends departed, and left the wretched Fergusson to his fate.

"During the first night of his confinement," says Mr Sommers, "he slept none; and when the keeper visited him in the morning, he found him walking along the stone floor of his cell, with his arms folded, and in sullen sadness, uttering not a word, After some minutes' silence, he clapped his right hand on his forehead, and complained much of pain. He asked the keeper, who brought him there? He answered, 'friends.'—'Yes, friends, indeed,' replied Robert, 'they think I am too wicked to live, but you will soon see me *a burning and a shining light.*'—'You have been so already,' observed the keeper, alluding to his poems. 'You mistake me,' said the poet: 'I mean, you shall see and hear of me as a bright minister of the gospel.'"

Fergusson continued about two months to occupy a cell in this gloomy mansion. Occasionally, when the comparative tranquillity of his mind permitted it, his friends were allowed to visit him. A few days before his dissolution, his mother and sister found him lying on his straw bed, calm and collected. The evening was chill and damp: he requested his mother to gather the bed-clothes about him, and sit on his feet, for he said, they were so very cold, as to be almost insensible to the touch. She did so, and his sister took her seat by the bed-side. He then looked wistfully in the face of his affectionate parent, and said, "Oh, mother, this is kind, indeed." Then addressing his sister, he said, "might you

not come frequently, and sit beside me; you cannot imagine how comfortable it would be; you might fetch your seam, and sew beside me." To this, no answer was returned: an interval of silence was filled up by sobs and tears. "What ails ye?" inquired the dying poet; "wherefore sorrow for me, sirs? I am very well cared for here—I do assure you, I want for nothing—but it is cold—it is very cold. You know, I told you, it would come to this at last—yes, I told you so. Oh, do not go yet, mother—I hope to be soon—oh, do not go yet—do not leave me!" The keeper, however, whispered that it was time to depart, and this was the last time that Fergusson saw these beloved relatives.

Mr Sommers thus describes his last interview with the poet, which took place in company with Dr John Aitken, another friend of the unfortunate maniac. "We got immediate access to the cell, and found Robert lying with his clothes on, stretched upon a bed of loose uncovered straw. The moment he heard my voice, he arose, got me in his arms, and wept. The doctor felt his pulse, and declared it to be favourable. I asked the keeper to allow him to accompany us into an adjoining back-court, by way of taking the air. He consented. Robert took hold of me by the arm, placing me on his right, and the doctor on his left, and in this form we walked backward and forward along the court, conversing for nearly an hour; in the course of which, many questions were asked both by the doctor and myself, to which he returned most satisfactory answers; but he seemed very anxious to obtain his liberty. Having passed two hours with him on this visit, we found it necessary to take our leave, the doctor assuring him that he would soon be restored to his friends, and that I would visit him again in a day or two. He calmly and without a murmur walked with us to the cell; and, upon parting, reminded the doctor of his promise to get him soon at liberty, and of mine to see him next day. Neither of us, however, had an opportunity of accomplishing our promise; for in a few days thereafter I received an intimation from the keeper that Robert Fergusson had breathed his last."

Before this period, Mrs Fergusson had been enabled by a remittance from her son Henry, to make some preparations for receiving the poor maniac back into her own house, where superior accommodations, and the tenderness of a mother's and a sister's love, might have been expected to produce some favourable effect. But it came too late: misery had already secured her victim. "In the solitude of his cell," says Mr Peterkin, "amid the terrors of the night, 'without a hand to help or an eye to pity,' the poet expired. His dying couch was a mat of straw; the last sounds that pealed upon his ear were the howlings of insanity. No tongue whispered peace; and even a consoling tear of sympathy mingled not with those of contrition and hope, which, in charity, I trust, illumined his closing eye."

Robert Fergusson died on the 16th of October, 1774, aged one day less than twenty-four years. His body was interred in the Canongate church-yard, where his grave remained quite undistinguished, until his successor, and (as he was pleased to acknowledge), his imitator, Robert Burns, appeared in Edinburgh. When Burns came to the grave of Fergusson, he uncovered his head, and, with his characteristic enthusiasm, kneeling down, embraced the venerated clay. He afterwards obtained permission from the magistrates to erect a monument to Fergusson, which he inscribed with the following stanza:—

> No sculptured marble here, nor pompous lay,
> "No storied urn, nor animated bust;"
> This simple stone directs pale Scotia's way,
> To pour her sorrows o'er her poet's dust.

On the reverse of the monument, which is literally a "simple stone," is the following honourable inscription: "By special grant of the managers, to Robert Burns, who erected this stone, this burial-place is ever to remain sacred to the memory of Robert Fergusson." In more than one of his effusions, in prose and poetry, the Ayrshire poet has bewailed the fate of Fergusson; but perhaps the following little elegy, which he inscribed on a copy of the works of that poet, which he presented to a young lady (March 19, 1787), are less generally known than the rest:

Curse on ungrateful man that can be pleased,
And yet can starve the author of his pleasure!
Oh thou, my elder brother in misfortune,
By far my elder brother in the muses,
With tears I pity thy unhappy fate!
Why is the bard unfitted for the world,
Yet has so keen a relish of its pleasures?

Whatever may be thought of the philosophy of this stanza, its feeling has an irresistible appeal.

The external appearance of Fergusson, so far as it is left undelineated in the sketch already quoted, was as follows:[3] His countenance was somewhat effeminate, but redeemed by the animation imparted to it by his large black eyes. Mingled with the penetrative glance of an acute and active mind, was that modesty which gives to superior intellect its greatest charm. Unfortunately there is no authentic portrait in existence, though it may be worth while to mention that his grand-niece, Miss Inverarity, of Covent Garden theatre, bears so strong a resemblance to him, as to have struck the mind of an individual who remembered the appearance of Fergusson, and who had learned neither the name of the young lady nor her relation to the poet. Fergusson's manners were always accommodated to the moment: he was gay, serious, set the table in a roar, charmed with his powers of song, or bore with becoming dignity his part in learned or philosophical disquisition. "In short he had united in him," says Mr Alexander Campbell, "the sprightliness and innocence of a child, with the knowledge of a profound and judicious thinker."—"Gentleness and humanity of disposition," says Dr Irving, "he possessed in an eminent degree. The impulse of benevolence frequently led him to bestow his last farthing on those who solicited his charity. His surviving relations retain a pleasing remembrance of his dutiful behaviour towards his parents; and the tender regard with which his memory is still cherished by his numerous acquaintance fully demonstrates his value as a friend." It may be added, that, to this day, there prevails but one universal impression in favour of Fergusson. Cut off in the greenest of his days, he still lives in the feeling of the world, exactly what he really was in life, a gentle and youthful being; of whom no one could think any ill, and who was the friend and brother of every body.

FINLAYSON, James, D.D. F.R.S.E., professor of logic and metaphysics in the university of Edinburgh, and one of the ministers of the high church of that city, was born on the 15th of February, 1758, at Nether Cambusnie, in the parish of Dumblane, a small farm which his ancestors had occupied for several centuries. His parents, who were persons of much worth and in comfortable circumstances, had the satisfaction of witnessing the eminence to which their son arrived, and of having their old age cheered by his dutiful attentions; but they had likewise the misfortune to survive his death, which took place at a comparatively early age. Having passed some years of his early childhood under

[3] According to another individual who recollects seeing him, "he was very *smally* and delicate, a little in-kneed, and *waigled* a good deal in walking."

the care of a maternal uncle at Lecropt, young Finlayson was sent to school at Kinbuck, in the neighbourhood of his father's house; and at the age of ten was removed to that of Dumblane. At this early period, he was conspicuous among his playmates, not only for a gayety and energy of character, which placed him at the head of every plan of frolic or amusement, but at the same time for an uncommon degree of application to his juvenile studies, combined with an understanding naturally clear, and a memory so retentive, as to enable him to outstrip the greater number of his school-fellows. As it had been resolved, that he should devote himself to the clerical profession, he was sent at the early age of fourteen, to the university of Glasgow, where he commenced his preparatory course of study; there, his habits of industry were confirmed, his mind enlarged and invigorated, and his taste for literature and science acquired, under the instruction of the very eminent professors who then adorned that seminary.

In order to relieve his parents of the expense which necessarily attended his residence at college, he engaged in private teaching; and during the summer vacation, he employed himself in giving instruction to his younger brothers. During two years, he acted as tutor in the family of Mrs Campbell of Carie, and afterwards, with the intervention of a summer, which he devoted to private study, he was employed in the same capacity in the family of Mr Cooper of Glasgow. Professor Anderson, who had discovered his superior abilities and great steadiness, employed him for some time as his amanuensis; and in the year 1782, he had the good fortune to become domestic tutor to two sons of Sir William Murray of Ochtertyre.[1]

There were many circumstances which rendered this connexion desirable to Mr Finlayson. The greater number of young men who engage as tutors in Scotland, look forward to a parochial charge as the ultimate object of their ambition. The interest of the Ochtertyre family was amply sufficient to accomplish that object. Sir William was a man of general information, of a liberal turn of mind, who derived much pleasure from the conversation of an ingenious and intelligent companion; and few persons were more suited to his taste than Mr Finlayson, whose manners were modest and unpresuming, and whose knowledge was accurate and extensive. Possessed of great natural acuteness and originality, his conversation was highly instructive, and rendered him a valuable addition in the retirement of a country residence. As the family spent the winter in Edinburgh, when his pupils attended the high school, Mr Finlayson, had many opportunities of improvement. At the same time that he assisted them in their tasks, he resumed his own studies with renewed vigour; he attended the divinity hall, and other of the university classes. About this time also, he became a member of the theological society, a body still in existence. Although he took an active part in the discussions which were introduced, and although the extent of his knowledge and the philosophical precision of his language placed him far above the majority of his companions; yet it cannot be denied that Mr Finlayson's talents were by no means such as fitted him either to shine as an orator, or make a figure in extemporaneous debate.

Mr Finlayson was licensed to preach the gospel in the year 1785. We have the authority of an intimate friend for the style which characterized his earliest appearances in the pulpit. "The composition of his sermons gives evidence of the maturity and manliness of his understanding. They exhibited no juvenile splendour of language, no straining for original or unexpected remark; ambi-

[1] The eldest son, Sir Patrick, one of the barons of exchequer in Scotland, and the younger Sir George, well known as a quarter-master-general of the army under the duke of Wellington, afterwards secretary of state for the colonies, and member of parliament for Perthshire.

tion of refined, or recondite ingenuity. The subjects were judiciously chosen, and the most instructive and intelligent treatment of them preferred. His reasoning was cogent and correct; his illustrations rational and just; and his style, which neither courted nor rejected ornament, was classically pure, and appropriate. His manner was still less florid than his duties. He carried to the pulpit the same unpretending simplicity, with which he appeared in society; and from his care to avoid affectation and all rhetorical attempts of doubtful success, he might, to the undiscerning have some appearance of coldness; but by those who felt such an interest in the matter, as was due to its excellence, no defect of energy or animation in the manner was observable. If it had no artificial decoration, it had no offensive meanness. As a preacher, Dr Finlayson was nearly what Cowper describes in the following lines:—

> "Simple, grave, sincere,
> In doctrine uncorrupt; in language plain:
> And plain in manner. Decent, solemn, chaste,
> And natural in gesture."

During the course of the year in which he obtained his license, the duke of Athole offered Mr Finlayson the living of Dunkeld. Of this offer he would have been exceedingly glad to accept, had he not received information from Sir William Murray, that a plan was in agitation to procure for him the chair of logic in the university of Edinburgh. This unlooked for prospect gave an entirely different direction to his ambition; and he was induced to decline the duke's offer.

The negotiation, however, respecting the professorship, did not proceed so smoothly as was anticipated. Mr Bruce, who at that time held the chair, had accompanied the present lord Melville as travelling companion in his tour on the continent, and having gone off without giving in his resignation, or making final arrangements, many difficulties arose, which occupied more than a year before they were completely settled, and Mr Finlayson put in possession of the chair. In the meanwhile, Sir William Murray, by his influence with the family of Dundas of Arniston, obtained for him the living of Borthwick, which, while it was in such a near neighbourhood to Edinburgh as to admit of his holding both it and the professorship, secured him in the meantime an independence in the event of the failure of the negotiation for the chair. Mr Finlayson was ordained minister of Borthwick on the 6th of April, 1787. He had, however, at the commencement of the session of that year assumed the duties of the logic class, and it may therefore be easily believed, that the labour he had to undergo in preparing for his ordination, and at the same time being obliged to write his lecture for the following day's delivery, required a very extraordinary degree of application, and great vigour of intellect; and the accuracy of his knowledge is rendered more remarkable from the fact, that many of the lectures thus hurriedly written off, served him without transcription to the end of his life.

During the succeeding summer, he added to his other labours a course of parochial visitation, which, although very common in Scotland, had in his parish been discontinued for upwards of thirty years. This practice he commenced at the suggestion of Dr Robertson, whose due appreciation of the duties of a clergyman was no less remarkable than his splendid abilities. But although he felt the faithful discharge of parochial duties to be strongly incumbent on him, the labour which he had thus to undergo was too great for his constitution, and his parents used to refer to the toils of this period of his life, as having sown the seeds of those organic diseases which ultimately proved fatal.

Abilities such as Mr Finlayson possessed, could not long remain unacknow-

ledged. The stations which he occupied, his own qualifications, and the connexion which he had formed with the Arniston family, more particularly with the late lord Melville, opened up objects of ambition which were afterwards completely realized. His talents for business had been observed and justly appreciated by lord Melville; and it was therefore determined, that on the first vacancy, he should be removed to Edinburgh, where his practical talents would be of essential service in supporting that system of ecclesiastical polity which his lordship had long maintained, and which had for many years directed the measures of the general assembly. Accordingly, in 1790, he was presented by the magistrates of Edinburgh to lady Yester's church: on the death of Dr Robertson in 1793, he was appointed to succeed that distinguished man in the collegiate church of the old Grey-Friars; and on a vacancy taking place in the high church, in the year 1799, he was removed to that collegiate charge. This last is considered the most honourable appointment in the church of Scotland, and it was, at the time, rendered more desirable from the circumstance, that he had for his colleague the celebrated Dr Hugh Blair; whose funeral sermon, however, he was called upon to preach in little more than a year after he became his colleague. The university of Edinburgh conferred on him the honour of doctor of divinity: and in the year 1802, he was chosen moderator of the general assembly, being the highest mark of respect which his brethren of the church could confer on him.

Dr Finlayson had now obtained every honourable preferment which, as a clergyman of the church of Scotland, was attainable in the line of his profession. His influence in the church was now greatly extended, and nothing of any importance was transacted in the ecclesiastical courts without his advice and direction. Among his own party, his sway was unlimited; and even those who differed from him in church politics, freely acknowledged the honourable and straight forward honesty of his conduct. The means by which he raised himself to be the leader of his party were very different from those used by any of his predecessors, who had all been distinguished for the brilliancy of their oratorical powers. Dr Finlayson, well aware of the nature of his talents, established his ascendency on the wisdom of his councils, and his knowledge of the laws and constitution of the church.

Towards the beginning of 1805, Dr Finlayson's constitution evidently became impaired. In order to try the effects of country air, he spent the greater part of the autumn of that year with his brother; but without deriving any permanent benefit. His health, however, was so far restored, that he was enabled to perform the duties of his class during the following winter; but in the course of the year 1807, he became considerably worse; yet the good effects of a tour which he took, accompanied by some of his friends, led him to hope that he might be able to undergo the fatigue of the following session; and, accordingly, he not only opened his class, but continued for some time to deliver his lectures. At length he was constrained to accept of the assistance of one of his earliest friends, his respected colleague, the very Rev. principal Baird, who taught the class during the remainder of that session. Dr Finlayson's disease increased with much rapidity, and on the 25th of January, 1808, while conversing with principal Baird, he was seized with a paralytic affection, which deprived him of the faculty of speech, and the power of moving one side. Among the few words he was able to articulate was the following impressive sentence:— "I am about to pass to a better habitation, where all who believe in Jesus shall enter." He died on the 28th of January, 1808, in the fiftieth year of his age; and was interred in the cathedral church of Dumblane.

Dr Finlayson was rather below the middle size. His appearance indicated

nothing which was calculated to impress a stranger when first introduced to him. His manner, to those who did not know him, appeared formal, and even distant and shy, but was in truth simple and unpresuming; characteristics which strongly marked his mind. With a just confidence in himself which he never affected to disguise, he was without that vanity which makes pretensions to those qualifications which he did not possess. His feelings were naturally keen; and he made no attempt to soften his reprehension of any conduct which was equivocal or base. His perfect sincerity and unconsciousness of any hostile impression which required to be concealed, gave his deportment towards his political opponents an appearance of bluntness. When his friends applied to him for advice, as they uniformly did in every difficulty, if he thought that they had acted amiss, he told them so with explicitness and brevity; for he avowed the utmost contempt of that squeamish sensibility which requires to be "swaddled and dandled" into a sense of duty. Such, however, was the persuasion of the excellence of his counsel, and the purity of his intentions, that, notwithstanding this primitive plainness of manner, even his political opponents, in points of business unconnected with party, are said to have been occasionally guided by his judgment. In conversation he preserved the same artless sincerity; and was perhaps too strict a reasoner to be very lively or amusing as the companion of a relaxing hour. But although little qualified himself to shine in lively conversation, he was pleased with it in others; and often, where he was on intimate habits, he led the way for the display of the talents of his friends, by provoking a harmless and inoffensive raillery. In the more serious offices of friendship, he was unwearied; for his kindness as well as his advice, his purse as well as his personal exertions, were ever at the command of those whom he esteemed.

Of his manner in the pulpit at his first appearance as a preacher, some account has already been given; and it never underwent any material change. But his sermons partook of that progressive improvement which his mind derived from the daily exercise of his powers, and the extension of his knowledge.

He was cautious of exhibiting himself as an author; his only publications being two occasional sermons, and a short account of Dr Blair. He likewise printed, but did not publish the "Heads of an Argument" on a question depending before the ecclesiastical courts. The last production furnished an excellent specimen of his practical powers in the art which it was his province to teach. He likewise consented, a few hours before his death, that a volume of his sermons should be published, and the profits of the sale given in aid of the widow's fund of the church of Scotland.

As a teacher of logic, he acquitted himself in a manner such as might have been expected from his talents, industry, and integrity; restricting himself to inculcate the knowledge already acquired in the department of philosophy, rather than making any attempts at originality.

FLEMING, Robert, an eminent divine and theological writer, was the son of the Rev. Robert Fleming, a clergyman, first at Cambuslang, and afterwards at Rotterdam, and author of a well known work, entitled "The Fulfilling of the Scriptures." The subject of this memoir received his education partly in his native country, and partly in the universities of Leyden and Utrecht. He first officiated as a clergyman to the English congregation at Leyden, and afterwards he succeeded to the church at Rotterdam, where his father died in 1694. After some years, he removed to London, to settle as pastor of the Scottish congregation in Lothbury; not only at the earnest invitation of the people, but by the desire of king William, with whom he had formed an intimacy in Holland. This monarch used frequently to send for Fleming, to consult with him upon Scottish affairs; an intercourse conducted, at the desire of the divine, with the greatest secrecy.

Fleming, though a dissenter from the church of Scotland, as now established, was an admirer of her fundamental and original institution. It was not inconsistent with this profession, that he zealously upheld hereditary monarchy as a principle in government. Popery in the church, and tyranny in the state, were what he most detested. His motto was *libere et modeste*, which expresses aptly enough the feelings of a man anxious for liberal institutions, without allowing too much license to the multitude. In personal character, Fleming was a pious, mild, and affable man. In learning, he stood very high, being conversant not only with the fathers and councils, and the ecclesiastical and civil historians, but with the oriental languages, the Jewish Rabbis, and the whole circle of polite authors, ancient and modern. On account of his amiable manners and extensive knowledge, he was held in great esteem both by the foreign universities, and by the most learned persons at home. The archbishop of Canterbury and many other eminent dignitaries of the English church extended their friendship to him. By the dissenting clergymen of the city, though connected with a different national church, he was chosen one of the preachers of the merchants' Tuesday lecture at Salters' hall.

Fleming published various works in divinity; but the most remarkable was a discourse, printed in 1701, on "the Rise and Fall of the Papacy." Like many other sincerely pious men of that age, he was deeply affected by the position in which the protestant religion stood in respect of the papacy, threatened as Great Britain was, by the power of France, and the designs of a catholic claimant of the throne. Proceeding upon the mysteries of the Apocalypse and other data, he made some calculations of a very striking nature, and which chance strangely verified. On the subject of the pouring out of the fourth vial, he says:—"There is ground to hope, that, about the beginning of another such century, things may again alter for the better, for I cannot but hope that some new mortification of the chief supporters of antichrist will then happen; and perhaps the French monarchy may begin to be considerably humbled about that time: that, whereas the present French king takes for his motto, *Nec pluribus impar*, he may at length, or rather his successors, and the monarchy itself, (at least before the year 1794,) be forced to acknowledge, that, in respect to neighbouring potentates, he is even *singulis impar*.

"But as to the expiration of this vial," he continues, "I do fear it will not be until the year 1794. The reason of which conjecture is this—that I find the pope got a new foundation of exaltation when Justinian, upon his conquest of Italy, left it in a great measure to the pope's management, being willing to eclipse his own authority to advance that of this haughty prelate. Now, this being in the year 552, this, by the addition of 1260, reaches down to the year 1811; which, according to prophetical account, is the year 1794. And then I do suppose the fourth vial will end and the fifth commence, by a new mortification of the papacy, after this vial has lasted 148 years; which indeed is long in comparison with the former vials; but if it be considered in relation to the fourth, fifth, and sixth trumpets, it is but short, seeing the fourth lasted 190 years, the fifth 302, and the sixth 393."

It is important to observe, that Fleming immediately subjoins, that he gave "his speculations of what is future, no higher character than guesses." He adds: "therefore, in the fourth and last place, we may justly suppose that the French monarchy, after it has scorched others, will itself consume by doing so; its fire and that which is the fuel that maintains it, resting insensibly till towards the end of this century, as the Spanish monarchy did before, towards the end of the sixteenth age."

In the month of January, 1793, when Louis XVI. was about to suffer on

the scaffold, the apparent predictions of Fleming came into notice in the British newspapers; and much interest was excited respecting them. We are even informed that the liberal party succeeded in creating, by this means, with the assistance, no doubt, of others, a reluctance towards the war upon which Britain was then entering against France. The coincidences are very curious, especially in the passage last quoted, where the author seems to foretell the extinction of the French monarchy, in a fire of revolutionary principles, by which, in supporting the cause of America, it had previously scorched Great Britain; but before bestowing much wonder or interest on such a subject, we should think of the numbers of equally respectable prophecies which have never yet met fulfilment, and were never therefore brought into notice.

The anxiety of this worthy man respecting the fate of protestantism and the Hanover succession, at length brought on a disease which obstructed his usefulness, and threatened his life. Though he recovered from it, and lived some years, his feeble constitution finally sank under his grief for the loss of some dear friends, the death of some noble patriots, the divisions amongst protestants, and the confederacy of France and Rome to bind Europe in chains. He died May 24, 1716.

FLETCHER, Andrew, so much celebrated for his patriotism and political knowledge, was the son of Sir Robert Fletcher of Salton and Innerpeffer, by Catharine Bruce, daughter of Sir Henry Bruce of Clackmannan, and was born in the year 1653. His descent was truly noble, his father being the fifth in a direct line from Sir Bernard Fletcher of the county of York, and his mother of the noble race of Bruce; the patriarch of the family of Clackmannan, having been the third son of Robert de Bruce, lord of Annandale, grandfather of Robert de Bruce, king of Scots. The subject of this memoir had the misfortune to lose his father in early youth; but he was, by that parent, on his deathbed, consigned to the care of Gilbert Burnet, then minister of Salton, and afterwards bishop of Salisbury, who carefully instructed him in literature and religion, as well as in the principles of free government, of which Fletcher became afterwards such an eminent advocate. After completing his course of education under his excellent preceptor, he went upon his travels, and spent several years in surveying the manners and examining the institutions of the principal continental states. His first appearance as a public character was in the parliament held by James, duke of York, as royal commissioner, in the year 1681. In this parliament Fletcher sat as commissioner for the shire of East Lothian, and manifested the most determined opposition to the arbitrary and tyrannical measures of the court. In a short time he found it necessary to withdraw himself, first into England, to consult with his reverend preceptor, Dr Burnet, and afterwards, by his advice, to Holland. For his opposition to the test, and to the general spirit of the government, he was, not long after, summoned to appear before the lords of his majesty's privy council at Edinburgh. Of the spirit of this court, the most abominable that has disgraced the annals of Great Britain, Fletcher was too well aware to put himself in its power, and for his non-appearance he was outlawed and his estate confiscated. Holland was at this time the resort of many of the best men of both kingdoms, who had been obliged to expatriate themselves, to escape the fury of an infatuated government, and with these Fletcher formed the closest intimacy. In the year 1683, he accompanied Baillie of Jerviswood to England, in order to concert measures with the friends of liberty there, and was admitted into the secrets of lord Russell's council of six. This assembly consisted of the duke of Monmouth, the lords Russell, Essex, and Howard, Algernon Sydney, and John Hampden, grandson to the immortal patriot of that name. Tyranny was, how-

ever, at this time, triumphant. Monmouth was obliged to abscond; Russell was apprehended, tried, and executed, principally through the evidence of his associate lord Howard, who was an unprincipled wretch. Essex was imprisoned, and either cut his own throat, or had it cut by assassins,—history has never determined which. Sydney was executed, and Howard subjected to a fine of forty thousand pounds sterling. Many other persons of inferior note were executed for this plot. Jerviswood fell into the hands of the Scottish administration, and was most illegally and iniquitously put to death. Fletcher too was eagerly sought after, and, had he been apprehended, would certainly have shared the same fate. He, however, escaped again to the continent, where he devoted his time to the study of public law, and for sometime seems to have had little correspondence with his native country.

In the beginning of the year 1685, when James VII. acceded to the throne of Britain, Fletcher came to the Hague, where were assembled Monmouth, Argyle, Melville, Polworth, Torwoodlie, Mr James Stuart, lord Stair, and many other gentlemen, both Scottish and English, when the unfortunate expeditions of Argyle and Monmouth were concerted. It does not appear, however, that Fletcher was a leader among these gentlemen. His temper was of the most stern and unaccommodating character, and he was bent upon setting up a commonwealth in Scotland, or at least a monarchy so limited as to bear very little resemblance to a kingdom. He had drunk deep of the spirit of ancient Greece, with which the greater part of his associates, patriots though they were, had no great acquaintance, and he had a consciousness of his own superiority that could not go well down with those feudal chieftains, who supposed that their birth alone entitled them to precedency in council, as well as to command in the field. His own country was certainly dearer to him than any other, and in it he was likely to put forth his energies with the greatest effect; yet from his dissatisfaction with their plans of operation, he did not embark with his countrymen, but with the duke of Monmouth, in whom, if successful, he expected less obstruction to his republican views. Fletcher was certainly at the outset warmly attached to Monmouth's scheme of landing in England, though he subsequently wished it to be laid aside; and he afterwards told Burnet, that Monmouth, though a weak young man, was sensible of the imprudence of his adventure, but that he was pushed on to it against his own sense and reason, and was piqued upon the point of honour in hazarding his person with his friends. He accordingly landed at Lynn, in Dorsetshire, on the 11th of June, 1685, with about an hundred followers, of whom the subject of this memoir was one of the most distinguished. Crowds of people soon flocked to join the standard of Monmouth, and, had he been qualified for such affairs as that he had now undertaken, the revolution of 1688 might perhaps have been anticipated. He, however, possessed no such qualifications, nor did those on whom he had principally depended. Lord Gray, to whom he had given the command of the horse, was sent out with a small party to disperse a detachment of militia that had been assembled to oppose him. The militia retreated before the troops of Monmouth, who stood firm; but Gray, their general, fled, carrying back to his camp the news of a defeat, which was in a short time contradicted by the return of the troops in good order. Monmouth had intended to join Fletcher along with Gray in the command of his cavalry, and the Scottish patriot certainly would not have fled, so long as one man stood by him; but unfortunately, at the very time when Gray was out on the service in which he so completely disgraced his character, Fletcher was sent out in another direction, in which he was scarcely less unfortunate, having, in a personal quarrel about a horse which he had too hastily laid hold of for his own use, killed the mayor of

Lynn, who had newly come in to join the insurgent army, in consequence of which he was under the necessity of leaving the camp immediately. The melancholy fate of Monmouth is generally known.

Though there cannot be a doubt that the shooting of the mayor of Lynn was the real cause of Fletcher's abandoning the enterprise so early, he himself never admitted it. He had joined, he said, the duke of Monmouth on the footing of his manifestations, which promised to provide for the permanent security of civil liberty and the protestant religion, by the calling of a general congress of delegates from the people at large, to form a free constitution of government, in which no claim to the throne was to be admitted, but with the free choice of the representatives of the people. From the proclaiming of Monmouth king, which was done at Taunton, he saw, he said, that he had been deceived, and resolved to proceed no further, every step from that moment being treason against the just rights of the nation, and deep treachery on the part of Monmouth. At any rate, finding that he could be no longer useful, he left Taunton, and embarked aboard a vessel for Spain, where he no sooner arrived, than he was thrown into prison, and on the application of the British ambassador, was ordered to be delivered up and transmitted to London in a Spanish ship fitted up for that purpose. In this hopeless situation, looking one morning through the bars of his dungeon, he was accosted by a person, who made signs that he wished to speak with him. Looking around him, Fletcher perceived an open door, at which he was met by his deliverer, with whom he passed unmolested through three different military guards, all of whom seemed to be fast asleep, and without being permitted to return thanks to his guide, made good his escape, with the assistance of one who evidently had been sent for the express purpose, but of whom he never obtained the smallest information. Travelling in disguise, he proceeded through Spain, and considering himself out of danger, made a leisurely pilgrimage through the country, amusing himself in the libraries of the convents, where he had the good fortune to find many rare and curious books, some of which he was enabled to purchase and bring along with him, to the enriching of the excellent library he had already formed at his seat of Salton, in East Lothian. In the course of his peregrinations, he made several very narrow escapes, among which the following is remarkable, as having apparently furnished the hint for a similar incident in a well-known fiction. He was proceeding to a town where he intended to have passed the night; but in the skirts of a wood, a few miles from thence, upon entering a road to the right, he was warned by a woman of respectable appearance, to take the left hand road, as there would be danger in the other direction. Upon his arrival, he found the citizens alarmed by the news of a robbery and murder, which had taken place on the road against which he had been cautioned, and in which he would have certainly been implicated, through an absurd Spanish law, even although not seen to commit any crime. After leaving Spain, he proceeded into Hungary, where he entered as a volunteer into the army, and distinguished himself by his gallantry and military talents. From this distant scene of activity, however, he was soon recalled by the efforts that at length were making to break the yoke of tyranny and the staff of the oppressor that had so long lain heavy on the kingdoms of Britain. Coming to the Hague, he found there his old friends, Stair, Melville, Polworth, Cardross, Stuart of Coltness, Stuart of Goodtrees, Dr Burnet, and Mr Cunningham, who still thought his principles high and extravagant, though they associated with him, and were happy to have the influence of his name and the weight of his talents to aid them on so momentous an occasion. Though not permitted to be a leader in the great work of the revolution, for

which, indeed, both his principles, which were so different from those of the men who effected it, and his intractable and unyielding temper, alike disqualified him, he came home in the train of his countrymen, who, by that great event were restored to their country and to their rightful possessions; and, according to the statement of the earl of Buchan,[1] made a noble appearance in the convention which met in Scotland after the revolution for settling the new government. Lockhart of Carnwath, who was no friend to the new government, nor of the principles upon which it was founded, takes no notice of this portion of the life of Fletcher, though he is large upon his speeches, and indeed every part of his conduct, when he afterwards became a violent oppositionist.

In the year 1692, when every effort to bring about a counter revolution was made, Fletcher, though strongly, and perhaps justly, disgusted with king William, renouncing every selfish principle, and anxious only to promote the welfare of the country, exerted himself to the utmost to preserve what had been already attained in the way of a free government, though it came far short of what he wished, and what he fondly, too fondly, hoped the nation had been ripe to bear. In all that regarded the public welfare, he was indeed indefatigable, and that without any appearance of interested motives. He was the first friend and patron of that extraordinary man, William Paterson, to whom the honour of the formation of the bank of England ought, in justice, to be ascribed, and who projected the Darien company, the most splendid idea of colonization that was ever attempted to be put in practice. "Paterson," says Sir John Dalrymple, "on his return to London, formed a friendship with Mr Fletcher, of Salton, whose mind was inflamed with the love of public good, and all of whose ideas to procure it had a sublimity in them. Fletcher disliked England, merely because he loved Scotland to excess, and therefore the report common in Scotland is probably true, that he was the person who persuaded Paterson to trust the fate of his project to his own countrymen alone, and to let them have the sole benefit, glory, and danger in it, for in its danger, Fletcher deemed some of its glory to consist. Although Fletcher had nothing to hope for, and nothing to fear, because he had a good estate and no children, and though he was of the country party, yet, in all his schemes for the public good, he was in use to go as readily to the king's ministers, as to his own friends, being indifferent who had the honour of doing good, provided it was done. His house of Salton, in east Lothian, was near to that of the marquis of Tweeddale, then minister for Scotland, and they were often together. Fletcher brought Paterson down to Scotland with him, presented him to the marquis, and then, with that power which a vehement spirit always possesses over a diffident one, persuaded the statesman, by arguments of public good, and of the honour that would redound to his administration, to adopt the project. Lord Stair and Mr Johnston, the two secretaries of state, patronized those abilities in Paterson, which they possessed in themselves, and the lord advocate, Sir James Stewart, the same man who had adjusted the prince of Orange's declaration at the revolution, and whose son was married to a daughter of lord Stair, went naturally along with his connexions." From the above, it appears that Fletcher, next to the projector, Paterson, who was, like himself, an ardent lover of liberty, had the principal hand in forwarding the colonization of Darien, and to his ardent and expansive mind, we have no doubt, that the plan owed some, at least, of its excellencies, and also, perhaps, the greatest of its defects. "From this period," remarks lord Buchan, "till the meeting of the Union Parliament, Fletcher was uniform and indefatigable in his parliamentary conduct, continually attentive to the rights of the people, and jealous, as every friend of his

[1] Life of Fletcher of Salton.

country ought to be, of their invasion by the king and his ministers, for it is as much of the nature of kings and ministers to invade and destroy the rights of the people, as it is of foxes and weasels to rifle a poultry yard, and destroy the poultry. All of them, therefore," continues his lordship, "ought to be *muzzled*." Among other things that Fletcher judged necessary for the preservation of public liberty, was that of national militia. In a discourse upon this subject, he says, "a good and effective militia is of such importance to a nation, that it is the chief part of the constitution of any free government. For though, as to other things the constitution be never so slight, a good militia will always preserve the public liberty; but in the best constitution that ever was, as to all other parts of government, if the militia be not upon a right footing, the liberty of that people must perish."

Scotland, ever since the union of crowns, had been stripped of all her importance in a national point of view, and the great object at this time, was to exclude English influence from her councils, and to restore her to her original state of independence; a thing which could never be accomplished, so long as the king of Scotland was the king of England. James the sixth, when he succeeded to the English crown, wiser than any of his statesmen, saw this difficulty, and proposed to obviate it by the only possible means, a union of the two kingdoms; but owing to the inveterate prejudices of so many ages, neither of the kingdoms could at that time be brought to submit to the judicious proposal. Fletcher and his compatriots saw what had been the miserable evils, but they saw not the proper remedy; hence, they pursued a plan that, but for the superior wisdom of the English, would have separated the crowns, brought on hostilities, and the entire subjection of the country, by force of arms. In all the measures which had for their object the annihilating of English influence, Fletcher had the principal hand, and there were some of them of singular boldness. In case of the crowns of the two kingdoms continuing to be worn by one person, the following, after pointing out in strong terms the evils that had accrued to Scotland from this unfortunate association, were the limitations proposed by Fletcher:—"1st, That elections shall be made at every Michaelmas head court, for a new parliament every year, to sit the first of November next following, and adjourn themselves from time to time till next Michaelmas—that they choose their own president, and that every thing shall be determined by balloting, in place of voting. 2d, That so many lesser barons shall be added to the parliament, as there have been noblemen created since the last augmentation of the number of the barons, and that in all time coming, for every nobleman that shall be created, there shall be a baron added to the parliament. 3d, That no man have a vote in parliament but a nobleman or elected members. 4th, That the kings shall give the sanction to all laws offered by the estates, and that the president of the parliament be empowered by his majesty to give the sanction in his absence, and have ten pounds sterling a day of salary. 5th, That a committee of one-and-thirty members, of which nine to be a quorum, chosen out of their own number by every parliament, shall, during the intervals of parliament, under the king, have the administration of the government, be his council, and accountable to the next parliament, with power, on extraordinary occasions, to call the parliament together, and that, in said council, all things be determined by balloting, in place of voting. 6th, That the king, without consent of parliament, shall not have the power of making peace and war, or that of concluding any treaty with any other state or potentate. 7th, That all places and offices, both civil and military, and all pensions formerly conferred by our kings, shall ever after be given by parliament. 8th, That no regiment or company of horse, foot, or dragoons, be kept on foot in peace or war, but by consent of parliament. 9th, That all the fencible men of the nation betwixt sixty and

sixteen, be with all diligence possible armed with bayonets and firelocks all of a calibre, and continue always provided in such arms, with ammunition suitable. 10th, That no general indemnity nor pardon for any transgression against the public shall be valid without consent of parliament. 11th, That the fifteen senators of the college of justice shall be incapable of being members of parliament, or of any other office or pension but the salary that belongs to their place, to be increased as the parliament shall think fit; that the office of president shall be in three of their number to be named by parliament, and that there be no extraordinary lords. And also, that the lords of the justice court shall be distinct from that of the session, and under the same restrictions. 12th, That if any king break in upon any of these conditions of government, he shall, by the estates, be declared to have forfeited the crown." The above limitations did not pass the house, though they met with very general support; yet, something little short of them were really passed, and received the royal assent. The so much applauded Act of Security made many provisions respecting the mode of proceeding in parliament in case of the queen's death, with the conditions under which the successor to the crown of England was to be allowed to succeed to that of Scotland, which were to be, "at least, freedom of navigation, free communication of trade, and liberty of the plantations to the kingdom and subjects of Scotland, established by the parliament of England." It also provided, "that the whole protestant heritors with all the burghs of the kingdom, should forthwith provide themselves with fire-arms, for all the fencible men who were protestants within their respective bounds, and they were further ordained and appointed to exercise the said fencible men once a month, at least." The same parliament passed an act anent peace and war, which provided, among other things, that after her majesty's death, and failing heirs of her body, no person, at the same time king or queen of Scotland and England, shall have sole power of making war with any prince, state, or potentate whatsoever, without consent of parliament. A proposal made at this time for settling the succession, as the English parliament had done in the house of Hanover, was treated with the utmost contempt, some proposing to burn it, and others insisting that the member who proposed it should be sent to the castle, and it was at last thrown out by a majority of fifty-seven voices. Another limitation proposed by Fletcher, was, that all places, offices, and pensions, which had been formerly given by our king, should, after her majesty and heirs of her body, be conferred only by parliament so long as the crowns remained united. "Without this limitation," he continues, "our poverty and subjection to the court of England will every day increase, and the question we have now before us, is, whether we will be free-men, or slaves for ever? whether we will continue to defend or break the yoke of our independence? and whether we will choose to live poor and miserable; or rich, free, and happy? Let no man think to object that this limitation takes away the whole power of the prince; for the same condition of government is found in one of the most absolute monarchies of the world, China." Quoting the authority of Sir William Temple for this fact, he continues, "and if, under the greatest absolute monarchy of the world, in a country where the prince actually resides—if among heathens this be accounted a necessary part of government for the encouragement of virtue, shall it be denied to christians living under a prince who resides in another nation? Shall it be denied to people who have a right to liberty, and yet are not capable of any, in their present circumstances, without this limitation." We cannot refrain copying the following sentences on the benefits he anticipated from the measure:—"This limitation will undoubtedly enrich the nation by stopping that perpetual issue of money to England, which has reduced this country to extreme poverty. This limitation does not flatter

us with the hopes of riches, by an uncertain project—does not require so much as the condition of our own industry; but by saving great sums to the country, will every year furnish a stock sufficient to carry on a considerable trade, or to establish some useful manufacture at home with the highest probability of success: because, our ministers, by this rule of government, would be freed from the influence of English councils, and our trade be entirely in our own hands, and not under the power of the court, as it was in the affair of Darien. If we do not attain this limitation, our attendance at London will continue to drain this nation of all those sums which should be a stock for trade. Besides, by frequenting that court, we not only spend our money, but learn the expensive modes and ways of living of a rich and luxurious nation; we lay out, yearly, great sums in furniture and equipage to the unspeakable prejudice of the trade and manufactures of our own country. Not that I think it amiss to travel into England, in order to see and learn their industry in trade and husbandry; but at court, what can we learn, except a horrid corruption of manners, and an expensive way of living, that we may for ever after be both poor and profligate? This limitation will secure to us our freedom and independence. It has been often said in this house, that our princes are captives in England, and, indeed, one would not wonder, if, when our interest happens to be different from that of England, our kings, who must be supported by the riches and power of that nation in all their undertakings, should prefer an English interest before that of this country; it is yet less strange, that English ministers should advise and procure the advancement of such persons to the ministry of Scotland, as will comply with their measures and the king's orders, and to surmount the difficulties they may meet with from a true Scottish interest, that places and pensions should be bestowed upon parliament men and others. I say, these things are so far from wonder, that they are inevitable in the present state of our affairs; but I hope, they likewise show us that we ought not to continue any longer in this condition. Now, this limitation is advantageous to all. The prince will no more be put upon the hardship of deciding between an English and a Scottish interest, or the difficulty of reconciling what he owes to each nation in consequence of his coronation oath. Even English ministers will no longer lie under the temptation of meddling in Scottish affairs, nor the ministers of this kingdom, together with all those who have places and pensions be any more subject to the worst of all slavery. But if the influences I mentioned before still continue, what will any other limitation avail us? What shall we be the better for our act concerning the power of war and peace, since by the force of an English interest and influence, we cannot fail of being engaged in every war, and neglected in every peace? By this limitation, our parliament will become the most uncorrupted senate of all Europe. No man will be tempted to vote against the interest of his country, when his country shall have all the bribes in her own hands, offices, places, and pensions. It will be no longer necessary to lose one half of the customs, that parliament men may be made collectors; we will not desire to exclude the officers of state from sitting in this house, when the country shall have the nomination of them; and our parliament, free from corruption, cannot fail to redress all our grievances. We shall then have no cause to fear a refusal of the royal assent to our acts, for we shall have no evil counsellor nor enemy of his country to advise it. When this condition of government shall take place, the royal assent will be the ornament of the prince, and never be refused to the desires of the people; a general unanimity will be found in this house, in every part of the government, and among all ranks and conditions of men. The distinctions of court and country party shall no more be heard in this nation, nor shall the prince and people any longer have a different interest. Rewards and punishments will

be in the hands of those who live among us, and consequently best know the merit of men, by which means, virtue will be recompensed, and vice discouraged, and the reign and government of the prince will flourish in peace and justice. I should never make an end if I should prosecute all the great advantages of this limitation, which, like a divine influence, turns all to good, as the want of it has hitherto poisoned every thing, and brought all to ruin."

If Fletcher really believed the one half of what he ascribes in this speech to his favourite limitation, he was an enthusiast of no common order. We suspect, however, that his design was in the first place to render the king insignificant, and then to dismiss him altogether; it being one of his favourite maxims, that the trappings of a monarchy and a great aristocracy would patch up a very clever little commonwealth. The high-flying tories of that day, however, or in other words, the jacobites, in the heat of their rage and the bitterness of their disappointment, clung to him as their last hope of supporting even his most deadly attacks upon the royal prerogative, from the desperate pleasure of seeing the kingly office, since they could not preserve it for their own idol, rendered useless, ridiculous, or intolerable to any one else who should enjoy it. By this means, there was a seeming consistency in those ebullitions of national independence, and a strength and vigour which they really did not possess, but which alarmed the English ministry; and the union of the kingdoms, which good sense and good feeling ought to have accomplished, at least one century earlier, was effected, at last, as a work of political necessity, fully as much as of mercy. In every stage of this important business, Fletcher was its most determined opponent, in which he was, as usual, seconded by the whole strength of the jacobites. Happily, however, through the prudence of the English ministry, the richness of her treasury, and the imbecility of the duke of Hamilton, the leader of the jacobites, he was unsuccessful, and retired from public life, under the melancholy idea that he had outlived, not only his country's glory, but her very existence, having witnessed, as he thought, the last glimmering of hope, and heard the last sounds of freedom that were ever to make glad the hearts of her unfortunate children. He died at London in 1716.

The character of Fletcher has been the subject of almost universal and unlimited panegyric. "He was," says the earl of Buchan, "by far the most nervous and correct speaker in the parliament of Scotland, for he drew his style from the pure models of antiquity, and not from the grosser practical oratory of his contemporaries; so that his speeches will bear a comparison with the best speeches of the reign of queen Anne, the Augustan age of Great Britain." Lockhart says, "he was always an admirer of both ancient and modern republics, but that he showed a sincere and honest inclination towards the honour and interest of his country. The idea of England's domineering over Scotland was what his generous soul could not endure. The indignities and oppression Scotland lay under galled him to the heart, so that, in his learned and elaborate discourses, he exposed them with undaunted courage and pathetic eloquence. He was blessed with a soul that hated and despised whatever was mean and unbecoming a gentlemen, and was so steadfast to what he thought right, that no hazard nor advantage,—not the universal empire, nor the gold of America, could tempt him to yield or desert it. And I may affirm that in all his life, he never once pursued a measure with the least prospect of any thing by end to himself, nor farther than he judged it for the common benefit and advantage of his country. He was master of the English, Latin, Greek, French, and Italian languages, and well versed in history, the civil law, and all kinds of learning. He was a strict and nice observer of all the points of honour, and had some experience of the art of war, having been some time a

volunteer in both the land and sea service. He was in his private conversation affable to his friends, (but could not endure to converse with those he thought enemies to their country,) and free of all manner of vice. He had a penetrating, clear, and lively apprehension, but so exceedingly wedded to his own opinions, that there were few, (and these too must be his beloved friends, and of whom he had a good opinion,) he could endure to reason against him, and did for the most part so closely and unalterably adhere to what he advanced, which was frequently very singular, that he'd break with his party before he'd alter the least jot of his scheme and maxims; and therefore it was impossible for any set of men, that did not give up themselves to be absolutely directed by him, to please him, so as to carry him along in all points: and thence it came to pass, that he often in parliament acted a part by himself, though in the main he stuck close to the country party, and was their Cicero. He was no doubt an enemy to all monarchical governments; but I do very well believe, his aversion to the English and the union was so great, that in revenge to them he'd have sided with the royal family. But as that was a subject not fit to be entered on with him, this is only a conjecture from some inuendoes I have heard him make. So far is certain, he liked, commended, and conversed with high flying tories more than any other set of men, acknowledging them to be the best countrymen, and of most honour and integrity. To sum up all, he was a learned, gallant, honest, and every other way well accomplished gentleman; and if ever a man proposes to serve and merit well of his country, let him place his courage, zeal, and constancy, as a pattern before him, and think himself sufficiently applauded and rewarded by obtaining the character of being like Andrew Fletcher of Salton."—Of the general truth of these descriptions we have no doubt; but they are strongly coloured through a national prejudice that was a principal defect in Fletcher's own character. That he was an ardent lover of liberty and of his country, his whole life bore witness; but he was of a temper so fiery and ungovernable, and besides so excessively dogmatic, that he was of little service as a coadjutor in carrying on public affairs. His shooting the mayor of Lynn on a trifling dispute, and his collaring lord Stair in the parliament house, for a word which he thought reflected upon him, showed a mind not sufficiently disciplined for the business of life; and his national partialities clouded his otherwise perspicacious faculties, contracted his views, and rendered his most philosophical speculations, and his most ardent personal exertions of little utility. Upon the whole, he was a man, we think, rather to be admired than imitated; and, like many other popular characters, owes his reputation to the defects, rather than to the excellencies of his character.

FLETCHER, Andrew, a distinguished judge, under the designation of lord Milton, and for many years *sous ministre* of Scotland, under Archibald duke of Argyle, was a nephew of the subject of the preceding memoir. His father, Henry Fletcher of Salton, was the immediate younger brother of the patriot, but, distinguished by none of the public spirit of that individual, was only known as a good country gentleman. The genius of lord Milton appeared to have been derived from his mother, who was a daughter of Sir David Carnegy of Pitarrow, and grand-daughter of David earl of Southesk. During the troubles in which the family was involved, in consequence of their liberal principles, this lady went to Holland, taking with her a weaver and a mill-wright, both men of genius and enterprise in their respective departments, and by their means she secretly obtained the art of weaving and dressing the fine linen called *Holland*, of which she established the manufacture at Salton. Andrew, the son of this extraordinary woman, was born in 1692, and educated for the bar. He was

admitted advocate in 1717, one of the lords of session in 1724, when only thirty-two years of age, and lord justice clerk, or president of the criminal court, in 1735, which office, on being appointed keeper of the signet in 1748, he relinquished.

The acuteness of lord Milton's understanding, his judgment and address, and his intimate knowledge of the laws, customs, and temper of Scotland, recommended him early to the notice and confidence of lord Ilay, afterwards duke of Argyle, who, under Sir Robert Walpole, and subsequent ministers, was entrusted with the chief management of Scottish affairs. As lord Ilay resided chiefly at the court, he required a confidential agent in Scotland, who might give him all necessary information, and act as his guide in the dispensation of the government patronage. In this capacity lord Milton served for a considerable number of years; during which, his house was, in its way, a kind of court, and himself looked up to as a person little short of a king. It is universally allowed, that nothing could exceed the discretion with which his lordship managed his delicate and difficult duties; especially during the civil war of 1745. Even the jacobites admitted that they owed many obligations to the humanity and good sense of lord Milton.

In February, 1746, when the highland army had retired to the north, and the duke of Cumberland arrived at Edinburgh to put himself at the head of the forces in Scotland, he was indebted to lord Milton for the advice which induced him to march northward in pursuit; without which proceeding, the war would probably have been protracted a considerable time. After the suppression of the insurrection, Milton applied himself with immense zeal to the grand design which he had chiefly at heart—the promotion of commerce, manufactures, and agriculture, in his native country; and it would be difficult to estimate exactly the gratitude due to his memory for his exertions towards that noble object. After a truly useful and meritorious life of seventy-four years, his lordship expired at his house of Brunstain, near Musselburgh, on the 13th of December, 1766.

FORBES, Alexander, lord Pitsligo, was the only son of Alexander, third lord Pitsligo, and lady Sophia Erskine, daughter of John, ninth earl of Marr. He was born on the 22nd of May, 1678, and succeeded his father in his titles and estates in 1691, while yet a minor. He soon after went to France; and during his residence in that country, embraced the opinions of madame Guion, to whom he had been introduced by Fenelon. On his return to Scotland, he took the oaths and his seat in parliament, and commenced his political career as an oppositionist to the court party. He joined the duke of Athole in opposing the union; but on the extension of the oath of abjuration to Scotland, he withdrew from public business. A jacobite in principle, he took an active part in the rebellion of 1715; but escaped attainder, though he found it expedient to withdraw for a time to the continent, after the suppression of that ill-judged attempt. In 1720, he returned to his native country, and devoted himself to the study of literature and the mystical writings of the Quietists, at his castle of Pitsligo, in Aberdeenshire. His age and infirmities, as well as experience, might have prevailed upon him to abide in silence the result of prince Charles's enterprise in 1745; but, actuated by a sense of duty, he joined that enterprise, and was the means, by his example, of drawing many of the gentlemen of Aberdeenshire into the tide of insurrection; no one thinking he could be wrong in taking the same course with a man of so much prudence and sagacity. Lord Pitsligo arrived at Holyroodhouse some time after the battle of Prestonpans, and was appointed by prince Charles to command a troop of horse, chiefly raised out of the Aberdeenshire gentry, and which was called Pitsligo's

regiment. He accompanied the army through all its subsequent adventures, and having survived the disastrous affair of Culloden, was attainted by the government, and eagerly sought for by its truculent emissaries. The subsequent life of this unfortunate nobleman was a very extraordinary one, as will appear from the following anecdotes, which we extract from a memoir of his lordship, published in connexion with his "Thoughts on Man's Condition;" *Edinburgh*, 1829:—

"After the battle of Culloden, lord Pitsligo concealed himself for some time in the mountainous district of the country, and a second time experienced the kindly dispositions of the country people, even the lowest, to misfortune. The country had been much exhausted for the supply of the prince's army, and the people who gave him shelter and protection were extremely poor; yet they freely shared their humble and scanty fare with the unknown stranger. This fare was what is called *water-brose*, that is, oatmeal moistened with hot water, on which he chiefly subsisted for some time; and when, on one occasion, he remarked that its taste would be much improved by a little salt, the reply was, 'Ay, man, but sa't 's touchy,' meaning it was too expensive an indulgence for them. However, he was not always in such bad quarters; for he was concealed for some days at the house of New Miln, near Elgin, along with his friends, Mr Cummine of Pitullie, Mr Irvine of Drum, and Mr Mercer of Aberdeen, where Mrs King, Pitullie's sister, herself made their beds, and waited upon them."

"It was known in London, that about the end of April, 1746, he was lurking about the coast of Buchan, as it was supposed, with the view of finding an opportunity of making his escape to France; and it required the utmost caution on his part, to elude the search that was made for him. To such an extremity was he reduced, that he was actually obliged on one occasion to conceal himself in a hollow place in the earth, under the arch of a small bridge at Craigmaud, upon his own estate, about nine miles up into the country from Fraserburgh, and about two and a half from where New Pitsligo now is, which was scarcely large enough to contain him; and this most uncomfortable place seems to have been selected for his retreat, just because there was little chance of detection, as no one could conceive it possible that a human being could be concealed in it. At this time, he lay sometimes in the daytime concealed in the mosses near Craigmaud, and was much annoyed by the lapwings flying about the place, lest they should attract notice to the spot, and direct those who were in search of him in their pursuit.

As yet, the estate of Pitsligo was not taken possession of by government, and lady Pitsligo continued to reside at the castle. Lord Pitsligo occasionally paid secret visits to it in disguise. The disguise that he assumed was that of a mendicant, and lady Pitsligo's maid was employed to provide him with two bags to put under his arms, after the fashion of the *Edie Ochiltrees* of those days. He sat beside her while she made them, and she long related with wonder how cheerful he was, while thus superintending this work, which betokened the ruin of his fortune, and the forfeiture of his life.

When walking out in his disguise one day, he was suddenly overtaken by a party of dragoons scouring the country in pursuit of him. The increased exertion, from his desire to elude them, brought on a fit of asthmatic coughing, which completely overpowered him. He could proceed no farther, and was obliged to sit down by the road-side, where he calmly waited their approach. The idea suggested by his disguise and infirmity was acted upon, and, in his character of a mendicant, he begged alms of the dragoons who came to apprehend him. His calmness and resignation did not forsake him, no perturbation betrayed him, and one of the dragoons stopped, and, with great kindness of

heart, actually bestowed a mite on the venerable old man, condoling with him at the same time on the severity of his cough.

On another occasion, lord Pitsligo had sought and obtained shelter in a shoemaker's house, and shortly after, a party of dragoons were seen approaching. Their errand was not doubtful; and the shoemaker, who had recognized the stranger, was in the greatest trepidation, and advised him to put on one of the workmen's aprons and some more of his clothes, and to sit down on one of the stools, and pretend to be mending a shoe. The party came into the shop in the course of their search; and the shoemaker, observing that the soldiers looked as if they thought the hands of this workman were not very like those of a practised son of king Crispin, and fearing that a narrower inspection would betray him, with great presence of mind, gave orders to lord Pitsligo, as if he had been one of his workmen, to go to the door and hold one of the horses, which he did accordingly. His own composure and entire absence of hurry, allayed suspicion, and he escaped this danger. He used afterwards jocularly to say,—'he had been at one time a Buchan cobbler.'

"One of the narrowest escapes which he made from discovery, when met in his mendicant's dress by those who were in search of him, was attended with circumstances which made the adventure singularly romantic and interesting. At that time, there lived in that district of the country, a fool called Sandy Annand, a well known character. The kindly feelings of the peasantry of Scotland to persons of weak intellect are well known, and are strongly marked by the name of 'the innocent,' which is given to them. They are generally harmless creatures, contented with the enjoyment of the sun and air as their highest luxuries, and privileged to the hospitality of every house, so far as their humble wants require. There is often, too, a mixture of shrewdness with their folly, and they are always singularly attached to those who are kind to them. Lord Pitsligo, disguised as usual, had gone into a house where the fool happened to be at the time. He immediately recognized him, and did not restrain his feelings, as others did in the same situation, but was busily employed in showing his respect for his lordship, in his own peculiar and grotesque manner, expressing his great grief at seeing him in such a fallen state, when a party entered the house to search for him. They asked the fool, who was the person that he was lamenting thus? What a moment of intense anxiety both to lord Pitsligo and the inmates of the house! It was impossible to expect any other answer from the poor weak creature, but one which would betray the unfortunate nobleman. Sandy, however, with that shrewdness which men of his intellect often exhibit on the most trying occasions, said, 'He kent him aince a muckle farmer, but his sheep a' dee'd in the 40.' It was looked upon as a special interposition of Providence, which put such an answer into the mouth of the fool.

"In March, 1756, and of course, long after all apprehension of a search had ceased, information having been given to the commanding officer at Fraserburgh, that lord Pitsligo was at that moment in the house of Auchiries, it was acted upon with so much promptness and secrecy, that the search must have proved successful, but for a very singular occurrence. Mrs Sophia Donaldson, a lady who lived much with the family, repeatedly dreamt on that particular night, that the house was surrounded by soldiers. Her mind became so haunted with the idea, that she got out of bed, and was walking through the room in hopes of giving a different current to her thoughts before she lay down again; when, day beginning to dawn, she accidentally looked out at the window as she passed it in traversing the room, and was astonished at actually observing the figures of soldiers among some trees near the house. So completely had all idea of a search been by that time laid asleep, that she supposed they had come to steal

Engd by T. Fiscem.

Published by Blackie & Son Glasgow

poultry; jacobite poultry yards affording a safe object of pillage for the English soldiers in those days. Under this impression, Mrs Sophia was proceeding to rouse the servants, when her sister having awakened, and inquired what was the matter, and being told of soldiers near the house, exclaimed in great alarm, that she feared they wanted something more than hens. She begged Mrs Sophia to look out at a window on the other side of the house, when, not only soldiers were seen in that direction, but also an officer giving instructions by signals, and frequently putting his fingers on his lips, as if enjoining silence. There was now no time to be lost in rousing the family; and all the haste that could be made was scarcely sufficient to hurry the venerable man from his bed, into a small recess behind the wainscot of an adjoining room, which was concealed by a bed, in which a lady, Miss Gordon of Towie, who was there on a visit, lay, before the soldiers obtained admission. A most minute search took place. The room in which lord Pitsligo was concealed did not escape. Miss Gordon's bed was carefully examined, and she was obliged to suffer the rude scrutiny of one of the party, by feeling her chin, to ascertain that it was not a man in a lady's night-dress. Before the soldiers had finished their examination in this room, the confinement and anxiety increased lord Pitsligo's asthma so much, and his breathing became so loud, that it cost Miss Gordon, lying in bed, much and violent coughing, which she counterfeited in order to prevent the high breathings behind the wainscot from being heard. It may easily be conceived what agony she would suffer, lest, by overdoing her part, she should increase suspicion, and, in fact, lead to a discovery. The *ruse* was fortunately successful. On the search through the house being given over, lord Pitsligo was hastily taken from his confined situation, and again placed in bed; and as soon as he was able to speak, his accustomed kindness of heart made him say to his servant, 'James, go and see that these poor fellows get some breakfast, and a drink of warm ale, for this is a cold morning; they are only doing their duty, and cannot bear me any ill will.' When the family were felicitating each other on his escape, he pleasantly observed, 'A poor prize, had they obtained it—an old dying man?'"

After this, he resided constantly at Auchiries, overlooked, or at least unmolested by the government, till the 21st of December, 1762, when he breathed his last in peace, in the 85th year of his age. He left behind him a work entitled, "Thoughts concerning Man's condition and duties in this life, and his hopes in the world to come,"—the production evidently of a calm and highly devotional mind, but nowise remarkable in other respects.

FORBES, Duncan, a man whose memory is justly entitled to the veneration of his country, was born at Bunchrew, in the neighbourhood of Inverness, on the 10th of November, 1685. His great-grandfather Duncan Forbes, was of the family of lord Forbes, through that of Tolquhoun, and purchased the barony of Culloden from the laird of Mackintosh, in 1625. His great-grandmother was Janet Forbes, of the family of Corsindy, also descended from lord Forbes. But this early patriot was not more distinguished for honourable descent, than for public spirit and nobility of conduct, during the struggle for religion and liberty that marked the reign of Charles I., in which he took a decided part against the court; and, being a member of parliament, and lord provost of Inverness, must have been a partisan of no small consequence. He died in 1654, leaving his estate to his eldest son, John, who inherited his offices as well as his principles. Having acted in concert with the marquis of Argyle, he was, upon the Restoration, excepted from the act of indemnity, and had a large share of the barbarous inflictions which disgraced the reign of the restored despot. He somehow, however, contrived to accumulate money, and about the year 1670, doub-

led his landed estate by purchasing the barony of Ferintosh and the estate of Bunchrew. He died a little before the Revolution, leaving, by his wife, Ann Dunbar, a daughter of Dunbar of Hemprigs, in the county of Moray, a large family, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Duncan, who had received a liberal education on the continent, by which he was eminently qualified for performing a conspicuous part in that most auspicious of modern transactions. He was a member of the convention parliament, a decided presbyterian, and strongly condemned those temporizing measures which clogged the wheels of government at the time, and in consequence of which many of the national grievances remained afterwards unredressed. He was, of course, highly obnoxious to the jacobites, who, under Buchan and Cannon, in 1689, ravaged his estates of Culloden and Ferintosh; destroying, particularly in the latter district, where distillation was even then carried on upon an extensive scale, property to the amount of fifty-four thousand pounds Scots. In consequence of this immense loss, the Scottish parliament granted him a perpetual license to distil, duty free, the whole grain that might be raised in the barony of Ferintosh, a valuable privilege, by which Ferintosh very soon became the most populous and wealthy district in the north of Scotland. He died in 1704, leaving, by his wife, Mary Innes, daughter to the laird of Innes, two sons; John, who succeeded him in his estates, and Duncan, the subject of this memoir, besides several daughters.

Of the early habits or studies of Duncan Forbes, afterwards lord president, little has been recorded. The military profession is said to have been the object of his first choice, influenced by the example of his uncle John Forbes, who was a lieutenant-colonel in the army. He had also an uncle eminent in the law, Sir David Forbes of Newhall, and, whether influenced by his example or not, we find that he entered upon the study of that science at Edinburgh, in the chambers of professor Spottiswood, in the year that his father died, 1704. The university of Edinburgh had as yet attained nothing of that celebrity by which it is now distinguished, its teachers being few in number, and by no means remarkable for acquirements; of course, all young Scotsmen of fortune, especially for the study of law, were sent to the continent. Bourges had long been famous for this species of learning, and at that university, Scotsmen had been accustomed to study. Leyden, however, had now eclipsed it, and at that famous seat of learning Duncan Forbes took up his residence in 1705. Here he pursued his studies for two years with the most unremitting diligence; having, besides the science of law, made no inconsiderable progress in the Hebrew and several other oriental languages. He returned to Scotland in 1707, where he continued the study of Scottish law till the summer of 1709, when he was, upon the 26th of July, admitted an advocate, being in the twenty-fourth year of his age.

The closest friendship had all along subsisted between the families of Argyle and Culloden; and, the former, being at this time in the zenith of power, displayed its fidelity by bestowing upon Mr Forbes, as soon as he had taken his place at the bar, the respectable appointment of sheriff of Mid-Lothian. The duke, and his brother the earl of Ilay, from the very outset of his career, intrusted him with the management of their Scottish estates, which he is said frankly to have undertaken, though, from professional delicacy, he declined receiving any thing in the shape of fee or reward, for services which ought to have brought him some hundreds a year.

Mr Forbes, from his first appearance at the bar, was distinguished for the depth of his judgment, the strength of his eloquence, and the extent of his practice, which was such as must have precluded him from performing anything like the duties of a mere factor, which the above statement evidently supposes. That

he gave his opinion, generally, when asked, upon the modes that ought to be adopted for improving the value of his grace's property, and the comfort of his vassals in the highlands, there can be no doubt; for he continued to do this, not only to the duke, but to his neighbours generally, even after the highest duties of the judge had devolved upon him; and this was probably the utmost extent of his concern with the Argyle estate at any period of his life. That he was in a high degree generous, there cannot be a doubt; but we see no reason for supposing that he was in the habit of employing his legal talents gratuitously. He was but a younger brother, and is said to have lost the greater part of his little patrimony by an unguarded or an unfortunate speculation; yet it is certain that he lived in a splendid and rather expensive manner, the first wits and the highest noblemen of the age finding their enjoyments heightened by his company; and it is equally certain that the fruits of his professional toil were all that he could depend upon for supporting a spirit that breathed nothing but honour, and a state that knew nothing but the most stubborn independence. His business, however, rapidly rose with his rising reputation, and his fortune probably kept pace with his fame, and he very soon added to his domestic felicity, by forming a matrimonial connexion with Mary Rose, daughter to the laird of Kilravock, to whom he had been warmly attached almost from her earliest infancy.[1] She was a lady of great beauty, and highly accomplished; but she died not long after their marriage, leaving him an only son, John, who eventually succeeded to the estate of Culloden. The early demise of this lady, for whom Mr Forbes seems to have had more than an ordinary passion, deeply affected him, and he never again entered into the married state.

Domestic calamity, operating upon a keen sensibility, has often withered minds of great promise, and cut off the fairest prospects of future usefulness. Happily, however, Mr Forbes did not resign himself to solitude, and the indulgence of unavailing sorrow. The circumstances of his family, and of his country, in both of which he felt a deep interest, did not, indeed, allow him to do so, had he been willing. The violence of party had been very great ever since the Revolution: it had latterly been heightened by the union, and had reached nearly its acme at this time, when the unexpected death of the queen opened the way for the peaceable accession of the new dynasty.

With a very few exceptions, such as the Grants, the Monroes, and the Rosses, who had been gained over by the Forbeses of Culloden, the Highland clans were engaged to devote their lives and fortunes in behalf of the expatriated house of Stuart; and only waited for an opportunity of asserting the cause of the pretender. The loyal clans, and gentlemen, and particularly Forbes of Culloden, were of course, highly obnoxious to the jacobite clans; and, for their own preservation, were obliged to be continually on the watch, and frequently saw the brooding of the storm, when others apprehended no danger. This was eminently the case in the year after the accession of the house of Brunswick; and, accordingly, so early as the month of February, we find Monro of Fowlis writing to Culloden:—"I find the jacobites are werie uppish, both in Edinburgh and in England, so that, if ye go to the parliament, as I hope ye will, you will recommend to some trusty, faithful friend, to take care of your house of Culloden, and leave orders with your people at Ferintosh, to receive directions from me, or from your cousin George (my son), as you are pleased to call him, which you may be sure will be calculate to the support of your interest, in subordination to the public cause;"—and he adds, in a postscript to the same letter,—"The vanity, insolence, arrogance, and madness of the jacobites,

[1] Her husband is said to have composed, in her honour, the beautiful Scottish song, "Ah Chloris."

is beyond all measure insupportable. I believe they must be let blood. They still have the trick of presuming upon the lenity of a moderate government. It seems God either destines them for destruction, or infatuates others to allow them to be pricks in our sides and thorns in our eyes. I have accounts from very good hands from Edinburgh, that to their certain knowledge, saddles were making in that city for dragoons to serve the pretender, and that all the popish lords, and very many popish and jacobite gentlemen, are assembled there now; so that all friends and loyal subjects to his present majesty, are advised to be upon their guard from thence, against an invasion or an insurrection, which is suddenly expected, which the jacobites expect will interrupt the meeting of the parliament." In the month of March, the same year, Culloden, writing to his brother, the subject of this memoir, has the following observation:—"You say you have no news, but we abound with them in this country. The pretender is expected every moment, and his friends all ready; but since our statesmen take no notice of this, I let it alone, and wishes they may not repent it when they cannot help it."—Culloden was returned for a member of parliament, and went up the following month (April) to London, whence he again writes to his brother as follows:—"As for your Highland neighbours, their trysts and meetings, I know not what to say; I wish we be not too secure: I can assure you, the tories here were never higher in their looks and hopes, which they found upon a speedy invasion. Whatever be in the matter, let things be so ordered that my house be not surprised."

Had those who were intrusted with the government been equally sharp-sighted, much of the evil that ensued might undoubtedly have been prevented; but they were so intent upon their places, and the pursuit of little, low intrigues, that they were caught by the insurrection, in Scotland at least, as if it had been a clap of thunder in a clear day. John Forbes's direction, however, must have been attended to; for, when his house was surrounded by the insurgents, under Mackenzie of Coul, and Mackintosh, with their retainers, his wife refused all accommodation with them, saying, with the spirit of an ancient Roman, —"she had received the keys of the house, and the charge of all that was in it, from her husband, and she would deliver them up to no one but himself." In the absence of his brother, Duncan Forbes displayed, along with Hugh Rose of Kilravock, the most indefatigable zeal, and great judgment in the disposal of the men they could command, who were chiefly the retainers of Culloden, Kilravock, Culcairn, and the Grants, and by the assistance of lord Lovat and the Frazers, finally triumphed over the insurgents in that quarter. Nothing, indeed, could excel the spirit displayed by the two brothers of Culloden, the eldest of whom, John, spent on the occasion, upwards of three thousand pounds sterling out of his own pocket, for the public service; of which, to the disgrace of the British government, he never received in repayment one single farthing.

Though they were ardent for the cause of religion and liberty, and zealous in the hour of danger, yet, when that was over, the two brothers strongly felt the impropriety of tarnishing the triumphs of order and liberality, by a violent and vindictive inquisition into the conduct of persons, for whom so many circumstances conspired to plead, if not for mercy, at least, for a candid construction of their motives. As a Scotsman and lawyer, Duncan Forbes was averse to the project of carrying the prisoners out of the country, to be tried by juries of foreigners, and he wrote to lord Ilay, when he heard of a design to appoint him lord advocate, in order to carry on these prosecutions, that he was determined to refuse that employment. He also wrote to his brother in behalf of a contribution for the poor prisoners who had been carried to Carlisle, and were there waiting for trial. "It is certainly christian," says he, "and by no means dis-

loyal, to sustain them in their indigent state until they are found guilty. The law has brought them to England to be tried by foreign juries—so far it is well —but no law can hinder a Scotsman to wish that his countrymen, not hitherto condemned, should not be a derision to strangers, or perish for want of necessary defence or sustenance out of their own country." To the forfeitures he was also decidedly hostile, and some of his reasons for this hostility threw a particular light upon the state of Scotland at that period. "There are," he says, "none of the rebels who have not friends among the king's faithful subjects, and it is not easy to guess, how far a security of this kind, unnecessarily pushed, may alienate the affections, even of these from the government. But in particular, as this relates to Scotland, the difficulty will be insurmountable. I may venture to say, there are not two hundred gentlemen in the whole kingdom who are not very nearly related to some one or other of the rebels. Is it possible that a man can see his daughter, his grand children, his nephews, or cousins, reduced to beggary and starving unnecessarily by a government, without thinking very ill of it, and where this is the case of a whole nation, I tremble to think what dissatisfactions it will produce against a settlement so necessary for the happiness of Britain. If all the rebels, with their wives and children, and immediate dependants, could be at once rooted out of the earth, the shock would be astonishing; but time would commit it to oblivion, and the danger would be less to the constitution, than when thousands of innocents punished with misery and want, for the offences of their friends, are suffered to wander about the country sighing out their complaints to heaven, and drawing at once the compassion and moving the indignation of every human creature." "To satisfy," he adds, "any person that the forfeitures in Scotland will scarce defray the charges of the commission, if the saving clause in favours of the creditors takes place, I offer but two considerations that, upon enquiry, will be found incontestible. First, it is certain, that of all the gentlemen who launched out into the late rebellion, the tenth man was not easy in his circumstances, and if you abate a dozen of gentlemen, the remainder upon paying their debts could not produce much money clear, nor was there any thing more open to observation, than that the men of estates, however disaffected in their principles, kept themselves within the law, when at the same time men supposed loyal, in hopes of bettering their low fortunes, broke loose. Besides, it is known that the titles by which almost all the estates in Scotland are possessed are diligences upon debts affecting those estates purchased in the proprietors' own name or in that of some trustee: now, it is certain, that when the commissioners of enquiry begin to seize such estates, besides the debts truly due to real creditors, such a number of latent debts will be trumped up, not distinguishable from the true ones by any else than the proprietors, as will make the inquiry fruitless and the commission a charge upon the treasury, as well as a nuisance to the nation."

Such were the arguments, drawn from expediency, and the state of the country, by which forbearance on the part of the government was recommended by this excellent man, though it appears that they had little effect but to excite a suspicion of his own loyalty. In spite of all this, his character made him too powerful to be resisted. In 1716, he was rewarded for his services by the office of advocate-depute, that is, he became one of the inferior prosecutors for the crown. On the 20th of March, he is found writing thus to his principal, the lord advocate:—"Yesterday I was qualified, the Lord knows how, as your depute. The justice clerk shows a grim sort of civility towards me, because he finds me *plaguey stubborn*. I waited upon him, however, and on the other lords, to the end they might fix on a dyet for the tryall of the Episcopall clergy. The justice clerk does not smile on their prosecution, because it is not his own contrivance;

and declared it could not come on sooner than the first of June; but I told him that if, as I understood was designed, the May circuit were suspended this year by act of parliament, I would require his lordship to assign a dyet sooner." In 1722, with the acquiescence of the ministry, he was returned to sit in parliament for the Inverness district of burghs; and in 1725, he obtained the high and responsible appointment of lord advocate. As the office of secretary of state for Scotland was at this time discontinued, it became part of his duty to carry on, with his majesty's ministers, the correspondence regarding the improvements necessary to be made in her civil establishments, which he did, in a manner highly creditable to himself, and with the happiest effect for his country. The year in which he was appointed lord advocate, was marked by the introduction of the malt tax into Scotland, and the mob at Glasgow, known by the name of Shawfield's rabble, by which its introduction was attended. This was a riot of a very scandalous character, (the magistrates of the city being deeply implicated in fomenting it,) in which nine persons were killed outright, and the soldiers who had been brought from Edinburgh for its suppression, were chased out of the city, and were glad to take refuge in Dumbarton castle. General Wade, who was in Edinburgh at the time, on his way to the Highlands, was immediately ordered to Glasgow with all the troops he could muster, and he was accompanied by the lord advocate in person, who first committed the whole of the magistrates to their own tolbooth, and afterwards, under a strong guard, sent them to Edinburgh, where they were thrown into the common jail, and it was certainly intended to proceed against them before the justiciary court. Doubts, however, were entertained of the legality of the proceedings, and whether the lord advocate had not exceeded his powers in committing the whole magistracy of a city, upon the warrant of a justice of peace, to their own jail; public feeling at the same time recovering strongly in their favour, they were by the justiciary admitted to bail, nor was their case ever again called.

In 1734, he lost his brother, John Forbes, in consequence of whose death, he fell heir to the extensive and valuable estate of Culloden. In 1736, a disgraceful affair, termed the Porteous mob, occurred in Edinburgh, in consequence of which, it was resolved to deprive the city of her privileges. Mr Forbes, on this occasion, exerted himself to the utmost in behalf of the city, and was successful in procuring many modifications to be made upon the bill before it passed the two houses of parliament. When we contemplate the condition of Scotland in those days, we scarcely know whether to wonder most at the good which Forbes was able to achieve, or the means by which he accomplished it. The period might properly be called the dark age of Scottish history, though it contained at the same time, the germs of all the good that has since sprung up in the land. The pretensions of the house of Stuart were universally received, either with favour from direct affection to their cause, or at least without disfavour, the result of a justifiable disgust at the political status into which the country had been thrown by the union, and the unpopularity of the two first Brunswick princes. The commencement of a strict system of general taxation was new; while the miserable poverty of the country rendered it unproductive and unpopular. The great families still lorded it over their dependants, and exercised legal jurisdiction within their own domains, by which the general police of the kingdom was crippled, and the grossest local oppression practised. The remedy adopted for all these evils, which was to abate nothing, and to enforce everything, under the direction of English counsels and of Englishmen, completed the national wretchedness, and infused its bitterest ingredient into the brimful cup. How Forbes got his views or his character amidst such a scene, from the very heart of the very worst part of which he came, it is difficult to conceive;

for with only one or two occasional exceptions, his papers prove that he had scarcely an associate, either in his patriotic toils or enjoyments.[1] However, it is sometimes true in the political, as it generally is in the commercial world, that supply is created by demand; and the very degradation of the country held out an immense reward to the man who should raise it up. No man, especially the hired servant of a disputed monarchy, could have achieved this work, except one whose heart was as amiable as his judgment was sound, and whose patriotism was as pure as it was strong. Forbes cultivated all these qualities, and not only directed the spirit of the nation, but conciliated its discordant members with a degree of skill that was truly astonishing.

The leading objects of his official and parliamentary life were suggested to him by the necessities of the country, and they are thus ably summed up in the work just quoted:—

1. To extinguish the embers of rebellion, by gaining over the jacobites. He did not try to win them, however, in the ordinary way in which alleged rebels are won; but by showing them what he called the *folly* of their designs, by seeking their society, by excluding them from no place for which their talents or characters gave them a fair claim, and, above all, by protecting them from proscription. It is delightful to perceive how much this policy, equally the dictate of his heart and of his head, made him be consulted and revered even by his enemies; and how purely he kept his private affections open to good men, and especially to old friends, in spite of all political acrimony or alienation. He derived from this habit one satisfaction, which seems to have greatly diverted him, that of being occasionally abused by both sides, and sometimes suspected of secret jacobitism by his own party.

2. Having thus, by commanding universal esteem as an upright and liberal man, enabled himself to do something for the country at large, his next object seems to have been, to habituate the people to the equal and regular control of the laws. It may appear at first sight unnecessary or inglorious to have been reduced to labour for an end so essential and obvious in all communities as this. But the state of Scotland must be recollected. The provincial despotism of the barons was common and horrid. Old Lovat, for example, more than once writes to him, as lord advocate, not to trouble himself about certain acts of violence done in his neighbourhood, because he was very soon to take vengeance with his own hands.

Nor was this insubordination confined to individuals or to the provinces, for it seems to have extended to the capital, and to have touched the seats of justice. There is a letter from Forbes to Mr Scroope, in the year 1732, in which he complains "that it would surely provoke any man living, as it did me, to see the last day of our term in exchequer. The effect of every verdict we recovered from the crown, stopt upon the triflingest pretences that false popularity and want of sense could suggest. If some remedy be not found for this evil we must shut up shop. It's a pity, that when we have argued the jurys out of their mistaken notices of popularity, the behaviour of the court should give any handle to their relapsing." He persevered to prevent this by argument, and by endeavouring to get the laws, especially those concerning the revenue, altered, so as to be less unacceptable to the people.

It is chiefly on account of his adherence to this principle, that it is important to notice this subject as a distinct part of his system. If he had been disposed to govern, as is usual in turbulent times, by mere force, he had pretences enough to have made scarlet uniforms deform every hamlet in the kingdom.—But, ex-

[1] We here pursue a train of remarks in the Edinburgh Review of the Culloden papers, an ample collection of the letters, &c. of the lord president, published in 1816.

cept when rebellion or riot were raging, we cannot discover, from his papers, that he ever, on any one occasion, required any other assistance, except the ordinary authority of which law is always possessed, when administered fairly. He rigidly investigated, though he did not severely punish, popular outrages; but he was unsparing in his prosecution of the provincial injustice, by which the people were generally oppressed. The consequence of this was, that he not only introduced a comparative state of good order, but made his name a sanction, that whatever he proposed was right—and that in him the injured was sure to find a friend. When Thomas Rawlinson, an Englishman, who was engaged in a mining concern in Glengarry, (and who by the bye is said to have been the first person who introduced the philibeg into the highlands), had two of his servants murdered by the natives there, the lord advocate was the only individual to whom it ever occurred to him to apply for protection. But his power in thus taming the people, can only be fairly estimated, by perceiving how universally he was feared by the higher ranks, as the certain foe of all sorts of partial, sinister, unfair, or illiberal projects. Few men ever wrote, or were written to, with less idea of publication than he. His correspondence has only come accidentally to light about seventy years after his death. Yet we have not been able to detect a single one of his advices or proceedings, by the exposure of which, even a private gentleman, of the most delicate honour, and the most reasonable views, would have cause to feel a moment's uneasiness. On the contrary, though living in ferocious times—in public life—the avowed organ of a party—and obliged to sway his country, by managing its greatest and greediest families, he uniformly maintains that native gentleness and fairness of mind with which it is probable that most of the men, who are afterwards hardened into corruption, begin, and resolve to continue, their career. How many other public men are there, of whose general correspondence above 500 letters could be published indiscriminately, without alarming themselves if they were alive, or their friends if they were dead?

Having thus freed himself from the shackles of party, and impressed all ranks with a conviction of the necessity of sinking their subordinate contests in a common respect for the law, his next great view seems to have been, to turn this state of security to its proper account, in improving the trade and agriculture of the kingdom. Of these two sources of national wealth, the last seems to have engaged the smallest portion of his attention; and it was perhaps natural that it should do so. For, though agriculture precedes manufactures in the order of things, yet, for this very reason, that the cultivation of the land has gone on for ages, it is only in a more advanced era of refinement, that the attention of legislators is called to the resources it supplies, and the virtues it inspires. But projectors are immediately attracted towards improvements in manufactures, which are directly convenient by employing industry, and highly captivating, because their commencement and growth can be distinctly traced; so that they appear more the result of preparation and design than agriculture does; as to which, one generation seems only to follow the example of another, in passively taking what the scarcely assisted powers of nature give. Several efforts at trade had been made by Scotland before Forbes appeared; but it was both the cause and the evidence of the national poverty, that, slender as they were, they had failed, and that their failure almost extinguished the commercial hopes of the people. He was no sooner called into public life, than he saw what trade, chiefly internal, could do, by giving employment to the hordes of idlers who infested the country, by interesting proprietors in the improvement of their estates, and by furnishing the means both of paying and of levying taxes, and thereby consolidating the whole island into one compact body, instead of keeping the northern part a burden on the southern.

His exertions in prosecution of this great object were long and unceasing, We cannot enter here into any details; and therefore, we shall only state, in general, that he appears to have made himself master of the nature and history of almost every manufacture, and to have corresponded largely, both with the statesmen, the philosophers, and the merchants of his day, about the means of introducing them into Scotland. The result was, that he not only planted the roots of those establishments which are now flourishing all over the country, but had the pleasure (as he states in a memorial to government) of seeing "a commendable spirit of launching out into new branches" excited. He was so successful in this way, that the manufactures of Scotland are called, by more than one of his correspondents, "his ain bairns;"—an expression which he himself uses in one of his letters to Mr Scroope, in which he says that one of his proposals "was disliked by certain chiefs, from its being a child of mine."

Notwithstanding the immense good which he thus accomplished, and the great judgment and forbearance he evinced in pushing his improvements, it is amusing to observe the errors into which he fell, with respect to what are now some of the clearest principles of taxation, and of political economy. These, in general, were the common errors of too much regulation; errors, which it requires the firmest hold of the latest discoveries in these sciences to resist, and which were peculiarly liable to beset a man, who had been obliged to do so much himself in the way of direction and planning. One example may suffice —being the strongest we have been able to find. In order to encourage agriculture, by promoting the use of malt, he presented to government a long detailed scheme, for preventing, or rather punishing, the use of tea.

"The cause," says he, "of the mischief we complain of, is evidently the excessive use of tea; which is now become so common, that the meanest familys, even of labouring people, particularly in burroughs, make their morning's meal of it, and thereby wholly disuse the ale, which heretofore was their accustomed drink: and the same drug supplies all the labouring woemen with their afternoon's entertainments, to the exclusion of the twopenny."

The remedy for this, is, to impose a prohibitory duty on tea, and a penalty on those who shall use this seducing poison, "if they belong to that class of mankind in this country, whose circumstances do not permit them to come at tea that pays the duty." The obvious difficulty attending this scheme strikes him at once; and he removes it by a series of provisions, calculated to describe those who are within the tea line, and those who are beyond it. The essence of the system is, that when any person is suspected, "the *onus probandi* of the extent of his yearly income may be laid on him;" and that his own oath may be demanded, and that of the prosecutor taken. "These provisions," the worthy author acknowledges, "are pretty severe;" and most of his readers may be inclined to think them pretty absurd. But it must be recollected, that he is not the only person, (especially about his own time, when the first duty of a statesman was to promote the malt tax), who has been eloquent and vituperative on the subject of this famous plant. Its progress, on the contrary, has been something like the progress of truth; suspected at first, though very palatable to those who had courage to taste it; resisted as it encroached; abused as its popularity seemed to spread; and establishing its triumph at last, in cheering the whole land, from the palace to the cottage, only by the slow and resistless efforts of time, and its own virtues. Nor are the provisions for enforcing his scheme so extraordinary as may at first sight appear. The object of one half of our existing commercial regulations, is to insure the use of our own produce, and the encouragement of our own industry; and his personal restrictions, and domiciliary visits, are utterly harmless, when compared with many excise regula-

tions of the present day; and still more so, when contrasted with certain parts of the recent system for levying the tax upon property. We have noticed this example, chiefly for the sake of showing that Forbes's views were as sound upon these subjects, as those of the persons by whom he has been succeeded; and that, if we could oftener withdraw our eyes from the objects of their habitual contemplation, we should oftener see the folly of many things which appear to us correct, merely because they are common.

Being appointed president of the court of session in 1737, he applied himself with great zeal to a duty which has conferred lasting service on his country, that of improving the regulations of his court. Previously, the chief judge, by having it in his power to postpone a cause, or to call it at his pleasure, was enabled sometimes to choose a particular time for its decision, when certain judges whom he knew to have made up their minds, were absent. Forbes put an end to this flagrant error in the constitution of the court, by rendering it impossible for the judges to take up a case except as it stood on the roll. He also exerted himself to prevent any accumulation of undetermined causes.

The character of the highlanders and the improvement of the highlands, had all along been objects of the first magnitude with the lord president, nor did he lose sight of them, when his elevation to the first place in Scottish society brought him to be conversant with others equally important. Viewing the aspect of the political horizon, and aware that the clans in such times as appeared to be approaching, could scarcely fail to fall into the hands of political agitators, he digested a plan (the very same for which Chatham received so much applause for carrying into effect), for embodying the most disaffected of them into regiments, under colonels of tried loyalty, but officered by their own chieftains, who would thus be less liable to be tampered with by the emissaries of the Stuarts, and be insensibly led to respect an order of things which, it might be presumed, they disliked, chiefly because they did not comprehend it, and from which as yet they did not suppose they had derived any benefit. This proposal the lord president communicated to the lord justice clerk, Milton, who reported it to lord Ilay, by whom it was laid before Sir Robert Walpole, who at once comprehended and admired it. When, however, he laid it before the council, recommending it to be carried into immediate effect, the council declared unanimously against it. "Were the plan of the Scottish judge," said they, "adopted, what would the patriots say? Would they not exclaim, Sir Robert Walpole had all along a design upon the constitution? He has already imposed upon us a standing army, in addition to which he is now raising an army of barbarians, for the sole purpose of enslaving the people of England." Walpole was too well acquainted with the temper of the patriots, as they called themselves, not to feel the full force of this reasoning, and the measure was given up, though he was fully convinced that it was conceived in wisdom, and would have been infallibly successful in its operation.

Though his advice was neglected, the event showed that his suspicions were well founded. The disturbed state of Europe encouraged the jacobites, particularly in the highlands, to sign an association for the restoration of the pretender, which was sent to him at Rome, in the year 1742. During the following years, there was a perpetual passing and repassing between the court of France, the pretender, and the association, without the knowledge of the most vigilant observers on the part of the government. So cautiously, indeed, did the highland chieftains conduct themselves, that even the lord president, who was intimately acquainted with their characters and propensities, seems to have been perfectly unaware of any immediate rising, when he was acquainted by a letter from Macleod of Macleod, that Charles was actually arrived, and had by

young Clanronald summoned himself and Sir Alexander Macdonald to join his standard. The truth was, both Macleod and Macdonald had pledged themselves to prince Charles; but a French army to accompany him, and military stores, were positive parts of the engagement, which, not being fulfilled, led them to hesitate, and they were willing to fortify their hesitation by the advice of the president, whom they had long found to be an excellent counsellor, and whose views upon the subject they were probably anxious in a covert way to ascertain. Macleod of course wrote to the president, that such a person was on the coast, with so many Irish or French officers, stating them greatly beyond the real number, and he adds, "His views, I need not tell you, was to raise all the highlands to assist him—Sir Alexander Macdonald and I not only gave no sort of countenance to these people, but we used all the interest we had with our neighbours, to follow the same prudent method, and I am persuaded we have done it with that success, that not a man north of the Grampians will give any sort of assistance to this mad rebellious attempt—As it can be of no use to the public to know whence you have this information, it is, I fancy, needless to mention either of us; but this we leave in your own breast as you are a much better judge of what is or what is not proper to be done. I have wrote to none other, and as our friendship and confidence in you is without reserve, so we doubt not of your supplying our defects properly—Sir Alexander is here and has seen this scrawl—Young Clanronald has been here with us, and has given us all possible assurances of his prudence." The above letter was dated August 3d, 1745, and speaks of Charles as only on the coast, though he had in reality landed, and the assurance of young Clanronald's prudence was a perfect farce. It was indeed, for obvious reasons, the aim of the rebels to lull the friends of government in their fatal security, and we have no doubt that Clanronald acting upon this principle, gave the assurance to Macleod and Macdonald for the very purpose of being communicated to the lord president, and it has been supposed that the misstatements in this letter laid the foundation for that pernicious counsel which sent Sir John Cope to the north, leaving the low country open to Charles, in consequence of which he overcame at once the most serious difficulties he had to contend with, want of provisions and want of money, made himself master of the capital of Scotland, and, to the astonishment of himself, as well as of all Europe, penetrated into the very heart of England.

Being now certain that there was danger, though its extent was cautiously concealed from him, the lord president, after pointing out to the marquis of Tweeddale, who at that time was a principal manager in Scottish affairs, a few things necessary to be done in order to give full effect to his exertions, hastened to the north, and arrived at Culloden house on the 13th of August, six days before Charles unfurled his standard in Glenfinnin, and while many of his most devoted admirers were yet at a great loss whether to come forward to his assistance, or to remain undeclared till circumstances should enable them more accurately to calculate probabilities. To all these nothing could have been more unwelcome than the presence of the lord president, to whom they, almost to a man, were under personal obligations. Lovat waited upon and dined with his lordship the very day after his arrival, and requested his advice, assuring him that his wishes, as well as his interest, still led him to support the present royal family. Macleod of Macleod and Sir Alexander Macdonald of Skye also wrote to him, immediately on his arrival, in a loyal strain, though their presence was certainly expected at the unfurling of the insurgent standard at Glenfinnin, which was so soon to take place. The letters are not so very explicit as might have been wished, and, till the advice and the presence of the

lord president encouraged them, these gentlemen were undoubtedly not cordial for the government. Lovat most certainly was not, and had Charles, according to his advice, come east by Inverness, he would no doubt have joined him on the instant. But the clans having rushed down into the Lowlands, while Sir John Cope, with the whole regular troops that were in Scotland, came north, added weight to the lord president's remonstrances, and for a time neutralized all who were not previously committed, till the unfortunate affair of Gladsmuir gave a new impulse to their hopes. Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod of Macleod were assured by a special messenger, that their past conduct was not imputed to any want of zeal for the cause or want of affection to the person of Charles, who considered their services to be now more useful to him than ever, and was ready to receive them as his best friends. Lovat had a message of the same kind, and, sure that now his right master, as he called him, would prevail, set himself to forward the marching of his Frasers without delay. Still he continued his correspondence with the president, and laboured hard to keep up the farce of loyalty, as did Macleod of Macleod, at the very moment when he was pledging his faith to that arch hypocrite to send his Macleods to join the Frasers, the Mackintoshes and the Mackenzies at Corryarrack, within a given number of days. Happily for Macleod, he was greatly under the influence of Sir Alexander Macdonald, whose judgment the lord president had completely opened upon the subject, and he not only did not fulfil his engagement with Lovat, but actually raised and headed his men to fight on the opposite side.

The Frasers, in the mean time, formed a scheme for seizing upon the house of Culloden, and either killing or making the president a prisoner. The execution of this plot was intrusted to the laird of Foyers, who made the attempt on the night of Tuesday, the 15th of October, the day when the clans were engaged upon honour to assemble at the pass of Corryarrack, for the purpose of reinforcing the army of Charles at Edinburgh. The president, however, who, had arms been his profession, would probably have been as celebrated a soldier as he was a lawyer, knew his situation, and the men he lived among, better than to suffer himself to be so surprised. The castle itself was naturally strong; several pieces of cannon were planted upon its rampart; and it was occupied by a garrison, able and willing to defend it; so that, leaving behind them one of their number wounded, the assailants were obliged to content themselves with carrying off some sheep and cattle, and robbing the gardener and the house of an honest weaver, who, it would appear, lived under the protection of the president. Like all other projectors of wicked things which fail in the execution, Lovat seems to have been very much ashamed of this affair, and he was probably the more so, that the Macleods, the Macdonalds, &c., who, that same day, were to have joined his clan at Corryarrack, had not only not kept their word, but were actually on the road to take their orders from the president, which compelled him once more to send, in place of troops, an apology to Charles, with an abundance of fair promises, in which he was at all times sufficiently liberal. The president had assured him, that, by killing and eating his sheep in broad daylight, the men who had made the attack upon his house were all known, but that if they did no more harm he forgave them; only he wished they would send back the poor gardener and weaver their things, and if they sent not back the tenant his cattle, they knew he must pay for them. Lovat, with well-affected concern, and high eulogiums upon his lordship's goodness, declares the actors in this villanous attempt to have been ruffians without the fear of God or man, and that he has ordered his son and Gortuleg to send back all the plunder, particularly his lordship's sheep, which he was ready to give double value

for, rather than that his lordship should want them, and, in case they should not be found, offered to divide with him one hundred fat wedders, seeing that he was under greater obligations to him and his family than all the sheep, oxen, cows, and horses, he ever possessed, were worth; "And I beg, my lord," he adds, "that you may not be in the least apprehensive that any of those rogues, or any in my country go and disturb your tenants, for I solemnly swore to Gortuleg that, if any villain or rascal of my country durst presume to hurt or disturb any of your lordship's tenants, I would go personally, though carried in a litter, and *see them seized and hanged.* So, my dear lord, I beg you may have no apprehension that any of your tenants will meet with disturbance, so long as I live in this country; and I hope that my son that represents me will follow my example, so let monarchies, government, and commonwealths, take up fits of revolutions and wars, for God's sake, my dear lord, let us live in good friendship and peace together." It was but a short time when, after the retreat from England, Charles was met at Glasgow by a messenger from Lovat, requesting him to send north a party to seize Inverness, and, if possible, secure the lord president, who, he affirmed, had done him more harm than any man living, having, by his influence, prevented more than ten thousand men from joining him. Circumstances of another kind than Lovat's advice or request, brought Charles to Inverness, and the lord president, along with lord Loudon, was under the necessity of taking refuge in the island of Skye, where he remained till after the battle of Culloden, when he returned to reap, as many other good men have done, neglect and ingratitude for all his services. Of these services and of this neglect, the reader will not be displeased to find the following graphic description from his own pen. It is a letter to Mr George Ross, then at London, inclosing letters on the same subject to Mr Pelham, Mr Scroope, and the duke of Newcastle, date, Inverness, May 13th, 1746.

"Dear George, my peregrinations are now over. Some account of my adventures you surely have had from different hands; to give an exact one is the work of more time than I can at present afford. The difficulties I had to struggle with were many; the issue, on the main, has been favourable; and, upon a strict review, I am satisfied with my own conduct. I neither know nor care what critics, who have enjoyed ease, in safety, may think. The commissions for the independent companies I disposed of in the way that, to me, seemed the most frugal and profitable to the public; the use they have already been of to the public is very great, preventing any accession of strength to the rebels, before they marched into England, was no small service; the like prevention, in some degree, and the distraction of their forces, when the duke was advancing, was of considerable use; and now they are, by the duke, employed, under the command of E. Loudon, in Glengarry, and must be the hands by which the rebels are to be hunted in their recesses. My other letter of this date gives the reason why the returns of the officers' names, &c. was not sooner made. I hope the certificate will be sufficient to put them upon the establishment, and to procure the issuing of money for them. The returns of the several companies in the military way E. Loudon will take care of. What distressed us most in this country, and was the real cause why the rebels came to head after their flight from Stirling, was the want of arms and money, which, God knows, had been enough called for and expected. Had these come in time, we could have armed a force sufficient to have prevented them looking at us on this side Drumachter. The men were prepared, several hundreds assembled in their own counties, and some hundreds actually on the march; but unluckily the ship that brought the few arms that were sent, and the sum of money that came, did not arrive in our road sooner than the very day on which

the rebels made themselves master of the barrack of Ruthven. It was then too late to fetch unarmed men from distances, it was even unsafe to land the arms and the money; so we were forced to suffer them remain on board and to retreat with the force we had to preserve them for the further annoyance of the enemy. Another ill consequence, the scrimping us of money had, was that,—as there were a great many contingent services absolutely necessary, and as all the money that could be raised upon lord Loudon's credit and mine was not sufficient to answer these extraordinary services,—we were obliged to make free with the cash remitted for the subsistence of the companies. This at the long run will come out as broad as it is long when accounts are made up and allowances made for the contingent expense, but in the meantime it saddles us with the trouble of settling and passing an account.

"If any one will reflect on the situation I was in, and consider what I had to do, he will soon be convinced that the expense I laid out could not be small. So far as I could command money of my own, you will easily believe it was employed without hesitation; and of that I say nothing at present. But when the expedient proposed by the marquis of Tweeddale of taking bills to be drawn on Mr Pelham failed, I had no resource but to take up money where I could find it, from well disposed persons, on my own proper notes. That money so picked up was at the time of great service; and now that peace is restored, the gentlemen with great reason expect to be repaid. You can guess how ill I like a dun, and I should hope now that the confusions are over, there can be no great difficulty in procuring me a remittance, or leave to draw upon Mr Pelham or some other proper person, to the extent of the sum thus borrowed, which does not exceed one thousand five hundred pounds sterling.——— I am heartily tired of this erratic course I have been in, but as the prevention of any future disturbance, is a matter of great moment, and which requires much deliberation and some skill, if those on whom it lies to frame the scheme, for that purpose, imagine I can be of any use to them, I should not grudge the additional fatigue of another journey; but it is not improbable their resolutions may be already taken," &c. There is in this letter an honest feeling, and a frankly expressed conviction of the value of his services; and though possessed with a prophetic anticipation of their being latterly to be overlooked, an equally open and straight forwardly expressed determination to continue them as long as they should be useful to his country, strongly indicative of that high minded devotion to the best interests of his species, which peculiarly characterized this great man. At the same time, there is manifested the most delicate feeling with regard to the money part of the transaction. What portion, and that was a large one, had been advanced from his own treasury he makes for the present no account of; but he pleads in the most gentlemanly manner in behalf of those who had assisted him at the time, and could scarcely be expected to have the same disinterested regard to the public service, and the same degree of philosophic patience. They expect with reason, he remarks, to be paid, and he interposes in the most delicate manner, his own repugnance to be dunned, as the most pressing of all arguments in their favour. Surely never was so small a request, and so exceedingly well founded, so modestly prepared, yet never perhaps did a reasonable one meet with a more careless reception. Upwards of a month elapsed before he had an answer from George Ross, with a bill for five hundred pounds, which perhaps was not for his own use. It has been generally said that he never received one farthing, and to his generous spirit, if he received only this small portion, which we dare not affirm he did, taken in connexion with the manner in which he did receive it, it must have been nearly, if not more mortifying than if he had not. His grace of New-

castle took no notice of his letter till he was under the necessity of writing to him upon another subject, two months afterwards, and then in the most cold and formal manner imaginable. Of any reply from Pelham and Scroope we have not found a vestige, and would fondly hope that courtiers as they were, they had so much grace remaining as to be unable to put pen to paper upon a business so disgraceful.

To a mind so pure and so gentle as was that of president Forbes, this ingratitude on the part of the government must have been exceedingly painful; but we do not believe that it was the only or the principal thing that weighed down his spirit. To the morality of courts and the gratitude of courtiers he was in theory at least no stranger, and as a prudent and practical man, must have been in some measure prepared to grapple with them; but for the base duplicity and the ingratitude of his friends and neighbours, many of whom had betrayed his confidence in the grossest manner, he could scarcely be prepared, and they must have affected him deeply. These, while they wrung his heart with the most pungent feelings of sorrow, furnished to the ignorant, the suspicious, and the envious, fruitful topics of detraction and misrepresentation, against which, he must have been aware, the best intentions and the most upright actions have too often been found to afford no protection. The care of the highlands had been imposed upon him for many years, he had been a father and a friend to almost every principal family they contained, and with few exceptions, these families had in return made the strongest professions of loyalty to the government, and of friendship and affection to himself. This they had done too, with such apparent sincerity, as induced him to report them perfectly loyal, at the very moment they were signing associations, purchasing arms, and ready to appear in the field against the government. How must he have felt to see the very men he had saved from total destruction, procured them the favourable notice of the government, and even high and honourable situations, rushing, from mistaken views of their own or their country's interests, upon the ruin of both! It was this, we have no doubt, gave the secret but incurable wound, which, though he continued to perform the duties of his station with inflexible firmness, and with imperturbable patience, brought him by slow degrees to an untimely grave.

Though the lord president continued to discharge his office with his usual fidelity and diligence, and though he uttered no complaints, it had long been matter of grief to his friends to observe his health rapidly declining, and in the month of November, it was judged necessary to send for his son from England, who arrived only in time to receive his last advice and blessing. He died on the 10th day of December, 1747, in the sixty-second year of his age. The same day he died, the following memorandum was made by his son: "My father entered into the everlasting life of God, trusting, hoping, and believing through the blood of Christ, eternal life and happiness. When I first saw my father upon the bed of death, his blessing and prayer to me was—'My dear John, you have just come in time to see me die. May the great God of heaven and earth bless and preserve you! You have come to a very poor fortune; partly through my own extravagance, and partly through the oppression of power. I am sure you will forgive me, because what I did was with a good intention. I know you to be an honest hearted lad. Andrew Mitchell loves you affectionately; he will advise you, and do what he can for you. I depend upon Scroope, too, which you may let him know. I will advise you never to think of coming into parliament. I left some notes with the two William Forbeses in case I had not seen you. They are two affectionate lads, and will be able to help you in some affairs better than you would have done

yourself. John Hossack will help you in your affairs in the north. My heart bleeds for poor John Steel; I recommended him to you. When I was in the north I paid some considerably large sums that I never dreamed of before, towards defraying the charges occasioned by the rebellion. There is but one thing I repent me of in my whole life,—not to have taken better care of you. May the great God of heaven and earth bless and preserve you! I trust in the blood of Christ. Be always religious, fear and love God. You may go, you can be of no service to me here." This shows how deeply this first of patriots felt the unrequited sacrifices he had made for his country, though he had never allowed these feelings to interfere with the discharge of his public duties. His fears were certainly not without foundation, for his estate, in consequence of the sacrifices he had made, was encumbered with debts to the amount of thirty thousand pounds sterling; and for several years after his death, there did not appear to be any possibility of going on with it, but by selling the one half to preserve the other. Matters, however, proceeded at Culloden much better than was expected. In 1749, the government bestowed a pension of four hundred pounds sterling a-year upon John Forbes, the lord president's son, a worthy man, but possessed of no great talents for public business; and warned by the example, and profiting by the prudent advice of his father, he spent his days in retirement, probably with a higher enjoyment of life than if he had been surrounded with all the splendours of the most exalted station, and in less than thirty years, had not only cleared his estate of all encumbrances, but added to it considerably, by the purchase of contiguous lands, and thus, in his case, were verified the words of inspiration, "The good man is merciful and lendeth, and his seed is blessed."

Though the signal services of the lord president Forbes were overlooked by those who ought most highly to have esteemed them, and whose proper province it was to have rewarded them, they were not lost sight of by his grateful countrymen, all of whom seem to have regarded his death as a national calamity. He had been a public character upwards of thirty years, during which, scarcely one motion had been made for the public benefit but what had originated with, or had received its most powerful support from him. In the infant manufactures of his country he took unceasing interest, and his upright and pure spirit breathed into her tribunals of justice an order and an equitable impartiality to which they were before total strangers, and which to this day happily never has forsaken them. Besides the new order of court, as to the hearing of causes, which he had the merit of introducing, and which has been already alluded to, he wrought great and happy changes in the manner of the judges. Before his time, the senators often delivered their opinions with a warmth that was highly indecorous, detracting greatly from the dignity of the court and the weight and authority of its decisions: this, by the candour, the strict integrity, and the nice discernment, combined with that admirable command of temper, which marked his character, he was enabled completely to overcome, and to introduce in its place a dignified urbanity and a gentlemanly deference among the members of court to the opinions of each other, which succeeding lords president have found no difficulty to sustain.

The following character has been drawn of him by a late historian, with which we shall conclude this memoir. "In person, the lord president Forbes was elegant and well formed, his countenance open and animated, his manner dignified, but easy and prepossessing. His natural talents were of the very first order, enlarged by an excellent education, completely disciplined and fully matured by habits of intense study, and of minute, and at the same time extensive observation; and they were all employed most honourably and con-

scientiously in the real business of life. His learning was profound and extensive, beyond that of his compeers; and, in forcible, manly, and persuasive eloquence at the Scottish bar, he had no competitor. Yet with all this vast and visible superiority, he was never dogmatical. His was not the paltry ambition that could gratify itself by uttering tiny conceits or sparkling witticisms; nor did he ever, like too many who have shone in his profession, attempt to dispose of an unmanageable subject by heaping upon it a mountain of words, or enveloping it in a whirlwind of bombast and nonsense; every thing like artifice he held in abhorrence; and truth and justice being at all times the objects he aimed at, the law of kindness was ever on his lips, and an impress of candour and sincerity gave an oracular dignity to every sentiment which he uttered. Of the volume of inspiration, which he could consult with advantage in the original tongues, he was a diligent student; and that he had experienced its transforming influence in no mean degree was evident from the tone of his mind, and the whole tenor of his life and conversation. Like another of Scotland's most eminent benefactors, John Knox,—with whom alone, from the magnitude and for the difficulty of his services, though they were considerably dissimilar, he deserves to be compared—he probably felt himself called upon rather for active personal exertion than for those efforts of mind, which can be well and successfully made only in the seclusion of the closet, and through the medium of the press; of course his writings are not numerous, but they exhibit, particularly his Thoughts on Religion, Natural and Revealed, strong traces of a pure, a pious, and an original mind. In private life he was every thing that is amiable—as a husband and a father, affectionately tender—as a friend, generous in the extreme, often distressing himself that he might fully and seasonably perform the duties implied in the character. His neighbours he was always ready to oblige; and merit of every description found in him a prompt, a steady, and a disinterested patron. He was sprung from a family whose hospitality had been proverbial for ages; and when his health, which was generally delicate, and his numerous avocations would permit, few men could enjoy a bottle and a friend with a more exquisite relish. To be of his party, in these moments of relaxation, was a felicity eagerly coveted by the greatest and the wittiest men of his age; and to sum up all in one word, such was the sterling worth of his character, that he was universally feared by the bad, and as universally loved by the good of all parties."

FORBES, Patrick, an eminent prelate, was by birth laird of Corse and O'Neil, in Aberdeenshire, and descended from Sir Patrick Forbes, (third son of James, second lord Forbes,) armour-bearer to king James II., from whom, in 1482, he got a charter of the barony of O'Neil. From the same branch of the noble family of Forbes are descended the Forbeses, baronets of Craigievar, and the Forbeses, earls of Granard, in Ireland. The subject of this memoir was born in 1564, and received the rudiments of his education under Thomas Buchanan (nephew of the author of the History of Scotland), who was then schoolmaster of Stirling. He next studied philosophy under Andrew Melville at Glasgow, and when that eminent reformer and learned man was removed to be principal of St Andrews, Forbes followed him thither, and was his pupil in Hebrew and theology. Such was the progress he made in these studies, and such his gravity, wisdom, and blamelessness of life, that at an uncommonly early age he was solicited to become a professor in the college. His father, however, suddenly recalled his son, in order that he might settle in life as a country gentleman; and he soon after married Lucretia Spens, daughter of David Spens of Wormiston, in Fife. He lived for some time in rural retirement near Montrose, where his learning and piety attracted a great concourse

of visitors, especially of the clergy. At the death of his father, he removed hence to the family seat of Corse, where, to use the quaint phrase of his Latin biographer, Garden, he at once cultivated his books and his fields, regularly performing the duties of a clergyman every Sunday, before his domestics.

At the time when Patrick Forbes entered into public life, the reformed church of Scotland had not settled down into any regular system of ecclesiastical polity, and sometimes things were allowed to be done which would now be considered as at least eccentric, if not indecent. At the same time, the profession of a clergyman, though holding forth little pecuniary advantage, was invested with so much popular power, as to be highly inviting. We hence find, in the instances of Erskine of Dun, Bruce of Kinnaird, and others, that it had temptations even for gentlemen of good estates. It appears that, in the loose system of polity then acted upon, the laird of Corse, merely because he was a devout man, and possessed of some territorial influence, was repeatedly intreated to perform the duties of a clergyman, as if it had been supposed that any little deficiency in point of clerical ordination, that could be urged against him, would be fully compensated by his weight as the laird of Corse. He accordingly did act temporarily as a minister, during the time when the clergymen who had attended the prescribed general assembly at Aberdeen in 1605, were suffering exile from their parishes. Instead of this exciting episcopal interference, we are told that Patrick Blackburn, bishop of Aberdeen, no sooner heard of the excellent ministrations of the laird of Corse, than he, in concurrence with the synod of his diocese, intreated him to take ordination, and become the minister of his own parish. Although this request was made oftener than once, Forbes steadily resisted it, alleging as a reason his sense of the weight of the priestly office and of the difficulty of the times. These things, however, being conveyed by some malevolent person to the ear of the primate, (Gladstones, archbishop of St Andrews,) that dignitary sent an order, prohibiting Corse from preaching any more until he should take ordination. Having no alternative, the laird returned to his former practice of family worship, attending the church every Sunday as a private individual, and afterwards exercising upon a portion of the Scriptures before his servants. He went on thus for seven years, and was so far from exciting schism by his ill-meant exertions, that no one in the neighbourhood was a more regular or respectful attender upon parochial ordinances. At length, the neighbouring gentlemen and even the clergy frequented the family worship at Corse, where they heard most able elucidations of the epistles of St Paul, and also those commentaries on the Revelations, of which an abridgment was afterwards published.

At the end of the period alluded to, the minister of Keith, though a pious and worthy man, fell into a fit of melancholy, and, after suffering for some time, made an attempt upon his own life. He had hardly inflicted the fatal wound, when he was overtaken by deep remorse, and, having sent for the laird of Corse, was immediately attended by that devout man, who proceeded to reason with him in so earnest a manner as to open his soul fully to a sense of spiritual influences. The unfortunate man, with his dying breath, renewed the request which had so often been proffered to Forbes, that he would consent to undertake the pastoral charge of the parish; which request, taking place under such impressive circumstances, and enforced at the same time by the eloquence of the neighbouring clergymen and gentry, at length prevailed, and the laird of Corse immediately became minister of Keith. He was at this time forty-eight years of age.

In 1618, Forbes was appointed bishop of Aberdeen, with the sincere approbation of all classes of the people. Attached from principle to the episcopal

form of church government, he concurred in the five articles of Perth, which were that year imposed upon the Scottish church. It does not appear, however, that bishop Forbes used any severe means to carry these articles into practice, for we are informed by Burnet [*Life of Bedell*] that, by his remarkable prudence, he "greatly allayed, and almost conquered, not only the distempered judgments, but the perverse and turbulent humours of divers in his diocese." In his whole conduct as a bishop, he appears to have been uniformly influenced by an honest and conscientious regard to the obligations of the character which he had assumed, and what he conceived to be the best means of promoting the interests of piety and virtue. He was not only careful to fix worthy clergymen in his diocese, but to make proper provision for their support and that of their successors. He succeeded in recovering many of the revenues which, in the tumults of the reforming period, had been lost or neglected, and he used all proper methods with heritors and titulars of teinds, and others, to make augmentation of stipends; which he had no sooner effected in some cases, than he dissolved the pernicious union of parishes, and established a clergyman in each. Even from his own income, limited as it must have been, he bestowed much upon the poorer clergy. He was very strict in examining those who applied for ordination, and thus secured for future times a superior body of clergy. He was also indefatigable in visiting and inspecting his clergy, a duty which he generally performed in a somewhat singular manner. "It was his custom," says Burnet, "to go without pomp or noise, attended only by one servant, that he might the more easily be informed of what belonged to his cure. When he was told of the weakness or negligence of any of his clergy, he would go and lodge near his church, on Saturday, in the evening, without making himself known, and the next day, when he was in the pulpit, he would go and hear him, that by this he might be able to judge what his common sermons were; and as they appeared to him, he encouraged or admonished him."

Sometime after his promotion to the bishopric, he was appointed chancellor of king's college, Aberdeen, which institution he raised from a state of utter desolation and neglect, to be one of the most flourishing in the kingdom. He fully repaired the buildings; he increased the library, revived the professorships of divinity, canon law, and physic; and procured the addition of a new professorship in divinity. At length, finding himself drawing near his latter end, he sent for all the clergy of Aberdeen to receive the sacrament along with him, and two days after, March 28th, 1635, breathed his last, with the most pious expressions of hope, and full of religious consolation. At his funeral, which took place in the cathedral church of Aberdeen, Dr Barron preached an appropriate sermon to a numerous auditory, which was afterwards published.[1]

This great ornament of the episcopal church in Scotland is characterized in the manner of the time, as a man of singularly clear genius, solid judgment, the highest prudence, piety, and integrity, of much authority in counsel, and invincible fortitude and constancy of mind. Bishop Burnet informs us, that he "scarce ever suffered any man of merit to ask any thing at his hands, but anticipated them; while those whose characters would not bear a severe scrutiny never dared to solicit him. He had a quick eye and sprightly countenance, which proved an additional ornament to his expressions, which were grave and majestic, and of peculiar insinuation and grace. In parliament, he was elected one of the lords of the articles, and his judgment there, and in council, was considered as an oracle."

1 The only works of bishop Forbes, which have been published, are his Commentary on the Revelation, printed at London in 1613, (republished in Latin after his death, by his son,) and a treatise entitled Exercitationes de verbo Dei, et Dissertatio de Versionibus Vernaculis.

FORBES, JOHN, second son of bishop Forbes, was born, May 2nd, 1593, and received the rudiments of his religious and literary education under the care of his father. In 1607, he was sent to King's college, Aberdeen, where he studied philosophy. Afterwards, he spent some years on the continent, studying theology, first at Heidelberg, under the celebrated Pareus, and subsequently at Sedan, and other celebrated universities in upper and lower Germany. He devoted much of his attention to the writings of the fathers, and made great progress in the study of Hebrew, both of which branches of knowledge, he considered as of the first importance to a theologian. The learning which he thus acquired enabled him, in 1618, to maintain a public dispute against the archbishop and the Lutherans at Upsal. Returning next year to Scotland, he was, at the following synod of the diocese of Aberdeen, called to the profession of the gospel, and, soon after, was elected professor of divinity in King's college. By the death of his elder brother, in 1625, he became heir apparent of his father as laird of Corse and O'Neil, to which honour he afterwards duly acceded. At the breaking out of the covenanting insurrection in 1638, Forbes published an admonition, in which he pointed out the evils likely to arise from the bond into which the nation was plunging itself, and loudly and earnestly implored that peace might be preserved. It is well known that this advice was not followed, although the people of the northern provinces generally abstained from entering into the covenant. In summer, that year, a deputation of the covenanters, headed by the earl of Montrose, arrived at Aberdeen, for the purpose of arguing the inhabitants into an acceptance of their bond; but owing to the exertions of Forbes, and other preachers and professors, they met with little success. The Aberdeen doctors, as they were called, maintained a disputation against the deputies of the covenant, with such spirit and effect as forms a curious episode in the history of the civil war. They were warmly thanked by the king for their loyalty, and attracted the respectful notice of the church party in England, on account of their pro-episcopal arguments. In a grateful letter addressed to them by the king, from Whitehall, January 31st, 1639, the name of Forbes stands first in the list. But the covenanters were now too warmly engaged in their opposition to the king, to pay much attention to argument. Early in 1639, instead of a deputation to argue, an army came to coerce; so that, finding no longer any safety in Aberdeen, the bishop and two of the doctors took shipping for England, while Forbes retired to his house of Corse. After the pacification of Berwick, he returned to the city, and preached for some time in one of the vacant pulpits. Hostilities, however, were soon after renewed, and as the covenanters were resolved to urge the bond upon every public person, Forbes, as well as others, was summoned before the synod of Aberdeen, to answer for his recusancy. It was in vain that he urged his conscientious objections: the times were not such as to allow of a refined toleration, and he was deposed for contumacy. He appears to have now devoted himself, in the library of King's college, to the composition of his great work, the "Historico-Theological Institutions," which he was about to finish, when the solemn league and covenant occasioned a fresh persecution of men of his class, and he was obliged, with great reluctance, to leave his native country, April 5th, 1644. He resided for two years in Holland, and there completed and published his "Institutions," which was by far the most learned and valuable work of the kind that had then been offered to the public. Returning to his native country in 1646, he lived for some time in unmolested retirement at Corse, where he busied himself in making some considerable additions to the work above mentioned, which were not published during the author's life-time. After a life, which his biographer has called a continual preparation for death,

this learned, pious, and virtuous man expired, April 29th, 1648, at the immature age of fifty-five. He had, by his wife, who was a native of Middleburg, two sons, of whom one survived him, and was the heir of his learning and virtue, as well as of his estates. The friends of Dr Forbes desired that he should be buried in the cathedral beside his father; but this was forbidden by the party then in power, and the mourners were obliged to carry his body to an ordinary church-yard, where it lies without any monument. It is painful to add another instance of the narrow spirit to which religious hostility was carried, in an age otherwise characterized by so much zealous piety. While professor, Forbes had purchased a house at Old Aberdeen, where King's college is situated, and made it over for the use of his successors; but having forgot to secure his life-rent in it, he was afterwards deprived of it by the prevailing party.[1]

FORBES, Sir William, of Pitsligo, an eminent banker and citizen, was born at Edinburgh on the 5th of April, 1739. He was descended by the father's side, from a younger branch of the ancient and respectable family of Forbes of Monmusk, the proprietors, at the close of the seventeenth century, of the noble barony of that name, on the banks of the Don, in Aberdeenshire; and by his paternal grandmother, from the still older and more dignified family of the lords Pitsligo, in the same county. His mother was also a branch of the family of Forbes of Monmusk, one of the first families in Scotland who were invested with the badge of Nova Scotia baronets, which still is worn by their descendents.

His father, who was bred to the bar, and was rising into eminence in that profession, died when he was only four years of age, leaving his mother, then a young woman, with two infant sons, and very slender means of support. She lived at first at Milne of Forgue, on the estate of Bogny in Aberdeenshire, with the proprietor of which territory she was connected through her mother, and afterwards fixed her residence at Aberdeen, with her two sons, where she remained for several years, superintending their education. While there, the younger son, who is represented as having been a most engaging boy, died, to the inexpressible grief of his mother, leaving her remaining hopes to centre on Sir William, then her only child.

Though reared in confined and straitened circumstances, Sir William had not only the benefit of an excellent education, but was under the immediate care and superintendence of the most respectable gentlemen in Aberdeenshire. His guardians were lord Forbes, his uncle lord Pitsligo, his maternal uncle Mr Morrison of Bogny, and his aunt's husband Mr Urquhart of Meldrum, who were not only most attentive to the duties of their trust, but habituated him from his earliest years to the habits and ideas of good society, and laid the foundation of that highly honourable and gentlemanlike character which so remarkably distinguished him in after life.

It has been often observed, that the source of every thing which is pure and upright in subsequent years, is to be found in the lessons of virtue and piety instilled into the infant mind by maternal love; and of this truth the character of Sir William Forbes affords a signal example. He himself uniformly declared, and solemnly repeated on his death bed, that he owed every thing to the upright character, pious habits, and sedulous care of his mother. She belonged to a class formerly well known, but unhappily nearly extinct in this country, who, though descended from ancient and honourable families, and in-

[1] The works of Dr Forbes are, 1. Irenicum Amatoribus Veritatis et Pacis in Ecclesia Scoticana, Aberdeen, 4to, 1629. 2. Joannis Forbesii a Corse Institutiones Historico-Theologicæ, Amstel. folio, 1645. 3. Annotations to the Latin translation of his father's Commentaries on the Apocalypse, Amstel. 4to, 1646. 4. Ten Books of Moral Theology. His whole works were collected and published in two volumes folio, at Amsterdam, in 1703, with a life prefixed, by Mr George Garden.

timate with the best society in Scotland, lived in privacy, and what would now be deemed poverty, solely engaged in the care of their children, and the discharge of their social and religious duties. Many persons are still alive, who recollect with gratitude and veneration these remnants of the olden times; and in the incessant care which they devoted to the moral and religious education of their offspring, is to be found the pure and sacred fountain from which all the prosperity and virtue of Scotland has flowed.

Both Sir William's father and his mother were members of the Scottish episcopal church; a religious body which, although exposed to many vexations and disabilities since the Revolution in 1688, continued to number among its members many of the most respectable and conscientious inhabitants of the country. To this communion Sir William continued ever after to belong, and to his humane and beneficent exertions, its present comparatively prosperous and enlarged state may be in a great measure ascribed. It is the chief glory of that church to have formed the character, and trained the virtues of one of the most perfect specimens of the Christian character which Great Britain has ever produced.

As soon as the education of her son was so far advanced as to permit of his entering upon some profession, his mother, lady Forbes, removed to Edinburgh in October, 1753, where an esteemed and excellent friend, Mr Farquharson of Haughton, prevailed on the Messrs Coutts soon after to receive him as an apprentice into their highly respectable banking house—among the earliest establishments of the kind in Edinburgh, and which has for above a century conferred such incalculable benefit on all classes, both in the metropolis and the neighbouring country. The mother and son did not in the first instance keep house for themselves, but boarded with a respectable widow lady; and it is worthy of being recorded, as a proof of the difference in the style of living, and the value of money between that time and the present, that the sum paid for the board of the two was only forty pounds a year.

At Whitsunday, 1754, as Sir William was bound an apprentice to the banking house, she removed to a small house in Forrester's Wynd, consisting only of a single floor. From such small beginnings did the fortune of this distinguished man, who afterwards attained so eminent a station among his fellow citizens, originally spring. Even in these humble premises, this exemplary lady not only preserved a dignified and respectable independence, but properly supported the character of his father's widow. She was visited by persons of the very first distinction in Scotland, and frequently entertained them at tea parties in the afternoon; a mode of seeing society which, although almost gone into disuse with the increasing wealth and luxury of modern manners, was then very prevalent, and where incomparably better conversation prevailed, than in the larger assemblies which have succeeded. At that period also, when dinner or supper parties were given by ladies of rank or opulence, which was sometimes, though seldom the case, their drawing rooms were frequented in the afternoon by the young and the old of both sexes; and opportunities afforded for the acquisition of elegance of manner, and a taste for polite and superior conversation, of which Sir William did not fail to profit in the very highest degree.

It was an early impression of Sir William's, that one of his principal duties in life consisted in restoring his ancient, but now dilapidated family; and it was under this feeling of duty, that he engaged in the mercantile profession. The following memorandum, which was found among his earliest papers, shows how soon this idea had taken possession of his mind:—"The slender provision which my father has left me, although he had, by great attention to business and frugality, been enabled in the course of that life, to double the pittance

which originally fell to him out of the wreck of the family estate, rendered it absolutely necessary for me to attach myself to some profession, for my future support and the restoration of the decayed fortunes of my family."—In pursuance of this honourable feeling, he early and assiduously applied to the profession which he had embraced, and by this means, was enabled ultimately to effect the object of his ambition, to an extent that rarely falls to the lot even of the most prosperous in this world.

His apprenticeship lasted seven years, during which he continued to live with lady Forbes in the same frugal and retired manner, but in the enjoyment of the same dignified and excellent society which they had embraced upon their first coming to Edinburgh. After its expiry, he acted for two years as clerk in the establishment, during which time his increasing emoluments enabled him to make a considerable addition to the comforts of his mother, whose happiness was ever the chief object of his care. In 1761, his excellent abilities and application to business, induced the Messrs Coutts to admit him as a partner, with a small share in the banking house, and he ever after ascribed his good fortune in life, to the fortunate connexion thus formed with that great mercantile family. But without being insensible to the benefits arising from such a connexion, it is perhaps more just to ascribe it to his own undeviating purity and integrity of character, which enabled him to turn to the best advantage those fortunate incidents which at one time or other occur to all in life, but which so many suffer to escape from negligence, instability, or a mistaken exercise of their talents.

In 1763, one of the Messrs Coutts died; another retired from business through ill health, and the two others were settled in London. A new company was therefore formed, consisting of Sir William Forbes, Sir James Hunter Blair, and Sir Robert Herries; and although none of the Messrs Coutts retained any connexion with the firm, their name was retained out of respect to the eminent gentlemen of that name who had preceded them. The business was carried on on this footing till 1773, when the name of the firm was changed to that of Forbes, Hunter, & Co., which it has ever since been; Sir Robert Herries having formed a separate establishment in St James street, London. Of the new firm, Sir William Forbes continued to be the head from that time till the period of his death; and to his sound judgment and practical sagacity in business, much of its subsequent prosperity was owing. His first care was to withdraw the concern altogether from the alluring but dangerous speculations in corn, in which all the private bankers of Scotland were at that period so much engaged, and to restrict their transactions to the proper business of banking. They commenced issuing notes in 1783, and rapidly rose, from the respect and esteem entertained for all the members of the firm, as well as the prudence and judgment with which their business was conducted, to a degree of public confidence and prosperity almost unprecedented in this country.

In 1770, he married Miss Elizabeth Hay, eldest daughter of Dr (afterwards Sir James) Hay; a union productive of unbroken happiness to his future life, and from which many of the most fortunate acquisitions of partners to the firm have arisen. This event obliged him to separate from his mother, the old and venerated guide of his infant years, as her habits of privacy and retirement were inconsistent with the more extended circle of society in which he was now to engage. She continued from that period to live alone. Her remaining life was one of unbroken tranquillity and retirement. Blessed with a serene and contented disposition, enjoying the kindness, and gratified by the rising prosperity and high character which her son had obtained; and fortunate in seeing the fortunes of her own and her husband's family rapidly reviving under his successful exertions, she lived happy and contented to an extreme old age, calmly

awaiting the approach of death, to which she neither looked forward with desire nor apprehension. After a life of unblemished virtue and ceaseless duty, she expired on the 26th December, 1789.

The benevolence of Sir William Forbes's character, his unwearied charity and activity of disposition, naturally led to his taking a very prominent share in the numerous public charities of Edinburgh. The first public duty of this kind which he undertook, was that of a manager of the charity work-house, to which he was appointed in 1771. At this period the expenditure of that useful establishment was greater than its income, and it was necessary for the managers to communicate for several years after with the magistrates and other public bodies, as to providing for the deficits, and the state and management of the poor. Sir William Forbes was one of the sub-committee appointed by the managers to arrange this important matter, and upon him was devolved the duty of drawing up the reports and memorials respecting that charity, which during the years 1772 and 1773, were printed and circulated to induce the public to come forward and aid the establishment; a duty which he performed with equal ability and success. The means of improving this institution, in which he ever through life took the warmest interest, occupied about this period a very large share of his thoughts, and in 1777, he embodied them in the form of a pamphlet, which he published in reference to the subject, abounding both in practical knowledge and enlightened benevolence.

Another most important institution, about the same period, was deeply indebted to his activity and perseverance for the successful termination of its difficulties. The high school having become ruinous, and unfit for the increasing number of scholars who attended it, a few public-spirited individuals formed a committee in conjunction with the magistrates of the city, to build a new one. Of this committee, Sir William Forbes was chairman; and besides contributing largely himself, it was to his activity and perseverance that the success of the undertaking was mainly to be ascribed. The amount subscribed was £2,300, a very large sum in those days, but still insufficient to meet the expenses of the work. By his exertions the debt of £1,100 was gradually liquidated, and he had the satisfaction of laying the foundation stone of the edifice destined to be the scene of the early efforts of Sir Walter Scott, and many of the greatest men whom Scotland has produced.

He was admitted a member of the Orphan Hospital directory on the 8th of August, 1774, and acted as manager from 1783 to 1788, and from 1797 to 1801. He always took a warm interest in the concerns of that excellent charity, and devoted a considerable part of his time to the care and education of the infants who were thus brought under his superintendence. He was become a member of the Merchant Company in 1784, and in 1786 was elected master; an office which though held only for a year, was repeatedly conferred upon him during the remainder of his life. He always took an active share in the management of that great company, and was a warm promoter of a plan adopted long after, of rendering the annuities to widows belonging to it a matter of right, and not favour or solicitation. The same situation made him a leading member of the committee of merchants, appointed in 1772, to confer with Sir James Montgomery, then lord advocate, on the new bankrupt act, introduced in that year, and many of its most valuable clauses were suggested by his experience. In that character he took a leading part in the affairs of the Merchant Maidens' Hospital, which is governed by the officers of the Merchant Company, and was elected governor of that charity in 1786. The same causes made him governor of Watson's hospital during the year that he was president or assistant of the Merchant Company, and president of the governors of Gillespie's hospital, when that

charity was opened in 1802. He faithfully and assiduously discharged the duties connected with the management of these hospitals during all the time that he was at their head, and devoted to these truly benevolent objects a degree of time which, considering his multifarious engagements in business is truly surprising, and affords the best proof how much may be done even by those most engaged, by a proper economy in that important particular.

From the first institution of the Society of Antiquaries, and the Royal Society in 1783, he was a constituted member of both, and took an active share in their formation and management. From 1785 downwards he was constantly a manager of the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh, and was indefatigable in his endeavours to ameliorate the situation and assuage the sufferings of the unfortunate inmates of that admirable establishment. At his death he left £200 to the institution, to be applied to the fund for the benefit of patients.

In 1787, he was appointed one of the trustees for the encouragement of manufactures and fisheries, of which his friend Mr Arbuthnot was secretary, and he continued for the remainder of his life to be one of its most active and efficient members.

One of the greatest improvements which Edinburgh received was the formation of the South Bridge in 1784, under the auspices and direction of his friend Sir James Hunter Blair. In the management and guidance of this great work that enterprising citizen was mainly guided by the advice of his friend Sir William Forbes, and he was afterwards one of the most active and zealous trustees, who under the 25. Geo. III. c. 28. carried into full execution after his death that great public undertaking. In selecting the plan to be adopted, the more plain design which afforded the accommodation required was preferred to the costly and magnificent one furnished by the Messrs Adams: and with much judgment and wisdom was the work carried into effect, that it was completed not only without any loss, but with a large surplus to the public. Of this surplus £3000 was applied to another very great improvement, the draining of the Meadows, while the ten *per cent* addition to the land tax, which had been levied under authority of the act as a guarantee fund, and not being required for the purposes of the trust, was paid over to the city of Edinburgh for the use of the community. When these results are contrasted with those of similar undertakings of the present age, the sagacity of the subject of this memoir and his partner, Sir James Hunter Blair, receive a new lustre, far above what was reflected upon them, even at the time when the benefits of their exertions were more immediately felt.

In 1785, he was prevailed on to accept the situation of chairman of the subcommittee of delegates from the Highland counties, for obtaining an alteration of the law passed the year before, in regard to small stills within the Highland line. Nearly the whole labour connected with this most important subject, and all the correspondence with the gentlemen who were to support the desired alteration in parliament, fell upon Sir William Forbes. By his indefatigable efforts, however, aided by those of the late duke of Athol, a nobleman ever alive to whatever might tend to the improvement of the Highlands, the object was at length attained, and by the 25. Geo. III. this important matter was put upon an improved footing.

Ever alive to the call of humanity and the sufferings of the afflicted, he early directed his attention to the formation of a Lunatic Asylum in Edinburgh; an institution the want of which was at that time severely felt by all, but, especially the poorer classes of society. Having collected the printed accounts of similar institutions in other places, he drew up a sketch of the intended establishment and an advertisement for its support, in March, 1788. Though a sufficient sum

could not be collected to set the design on foot at that time, a foundation was laid, on which, under the auspices of his son, the late Sir William, and other benevolent and public spirited individuals, the present excellent structure at Morningside was ultimately reared.

The late benevolent Dr Johnston of Leith having formed, in 1792, a plan for the establishment of a Blind Asylum in Edinburgh, Sir William Forbes, both by liberal subscription and active exertion, greatly contributed to the success of the undertaking. He was the chairman of the committee appointed by the subscribers to draw up regulations for the establishment, and when the committee of management was appointed, he was nominated vice president, which situation he continued to hold with the most unwearied activity till the time of his death. Without descending farther into detail, it is sufficient to observe that, for the last thirty years of his life, Sir William was either at the head, or actively engaged in the management of all the charitable establishments of Edinburgh, and that many of the most valuable of them owed their existence or success to his exertions.

Nor was it only to his native city that his beneficent exertions were confined. The family estate of Pitsligo, having been forfeited to the crown in 1746, was brought to sale in 1758, and bought by Mr Forbes, lord Pitsligo's only son, His embarrassments, however, soon compelled him to bring the lower barony of Pitsligo to sale, and it was bought by Mr Garden of Troup: Sir William Forbes being the nearest heir of the family, soon after purchased 70 acres of the upper barony, including the old mansion of Pitsligo, now roofless and deserted. By the death of Mr Forbes in 1781, Sir William succeeded to the lower barony, with which he had now connected the old mansion house, and thus saw realized his early and favourite wish of restoring to his ancient family, their paternal inheritance.

The acquisition of this property, which, though extensive, was, from the embarrassments of the family, in a most neglected state, opened a boundless field for Sir William's active benevolence of disposition. In his character of landlord, he was most anxious for the improvement and happiness of the people on his estates, and spared neither time nor expense to effect it. He early commenced their improvement on a most liberal scale, and bent his attention in an especial manner to the cultivation of a large tract of moss which still remained in a state of nature. With this view he laid out in 1783, the village of New Pitsligo, and gave every assistance, by lending money, and forbearance in the exaction of rent, to the incipient exertions of the feuars. Numbers of poor cottars were established by his care on the most uncultivated parts of the estate, most of whom not only paid no rent for the land they occupied, but were pensioners on his bounty: a mode of proceeding which, although it brought only burdens on the estate at first, has since been productive of the greatest benefit by the continual application of that greatest of all improvements to a barren soil, the labour of the human hand. The value of this property, and the means of improvement to the tenantry, were further increased by the judicious purchase, in 1787, of the contiguous estates of Pittullie and Pittendrum, which by their situation on the sea-shore, afforded the means of obtaining in great abundance sea-ware for the lands. The liberal encouragement which he afforded soon brought settlers from all quarters: the great improvements which he made himself served both as a model and an incitement to his tenantry: the formation of the great road from Peterhead to Banff which passed through the village of New Pitsligo, and to which he largely contributed, connected the new feuars with those thriving sea ports; and before his death he had the satisfaction of seeing assembled on a spot which at his acquisition of the estate was a bar-

ren waste, a thriving population of three hundred souls, and several thousand acres smiling with cultivation which were formerly the abode only of the moor-fowl or the curlew.

In order to encourage industry on his estate, he established a spinning school at New Pitsligo, introduced the linen manufacture and erected a bleach-field: undertakings which have since been attended with the greatest success. At the same time, to promote the education of the young, he built a school house, where the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge established a teacher; and in order to afford to persons of all persuasions the means of attending that species of worship to which they were inclined, he built and endowed not only a Chapel of Ease, with a manse for the minister, connected with the established church, but a chapel, with a dwelling house for an episcopal clergyman, for the benefit of those who belonged to that persuasion. Admirable acts of beneficence, hardly credible in one who resided above two hundred miles from this scene of his bounty, and was incessantly occupied in projects of improvements or charity in his own city.

To most men it would appear, that this support and attention to these multifarious objects of benevolence, both in Edinburgh and on his Aberdeenshire estates, would have absorbed the whole of both his fortune and his time, which could be devoted to objects of beneficence. But that was not Sir William Forbes's character. Indefatigable in activity, unwearied in doing good, he was not less strenuous in private than in public charity; and no human eye will ever know, no human ear ever learn, the extensive and invaluable deeds of kindness and benevolence which he performed, not merely to all the unfortunate who fell within his own observation, but all who were led by his character for beneficence to apply to him for relief. Perhaps no person ever combined to so great a degree the most unbounded pecuniary generosity with delicacy in the bestowal of the gift, and discrimination in the mode in which it was applied. Without giving way to the weakness of indiscriminately relieving all who apply for charity, which so soon surrounds those who indulge in it with a mass of idle or profligate indigence, he made it a rule to inquire personally, or by means of those he could trust, into the character and circumstances of those who were partakers of his bounty: and when he found that it was really deserved, that virtue had been reduced by suffering, or industry blasted by misfortune, he put no bounds to the splendid extent of his benefactions. To one class in particular, in whom the sufferings of poverty is perhaps more severely felt than by any other in society, the remnants of old and respectable families, who had survived their relations, or been broken down by misfortune, his charity was in a most signal manner exerted; and numerous aged and respectable individuals, who had once known better days, would have been reduced by his death to absolute ruin, if they had not been fortunate enough to find in his descendents, the heirs not only of his fortune but of his virtue and generosity.

Both Sir William's father and mother were of episcopalian families, as most of those of the higher class in Aberdeenshire at that period were; and he was early and strictly educated in the tenets of that persuasion. He attended chief baron Smith's chapel in Blackfriars' Wynd, of which he was one of the vestry, along with the esteemed Sir Adolphus Oughton, then commander-in-chief in Scotland. In 1771, it was resolved to join this congregation with that of two other chapels in Carrubber's Close and Skinner's Close, and build a more spacious and commodious place of worship for them all united. In this undertaking, as in most others of the sort, the labouring oar fell on Sir William Forbes; and by his personal exertions, and the liberal subscriptions of himself and his friends, the Cowgate chapel was at length completed, afterwards so well

known as one of the most popular places of worship in Edinburgh. At this period it was proposed by some of the members of the congregation, instead of building the new chapel in the old town, to build it at the end of the North Bridge, then recently finished after its fall, near the place where the Theatre Royal now stands. After some deliberation the project was abandoned, "as it was not thought possible that the projected new town could come to any thing"—a most curious instance of the degree in which the progress of improvement in this country has exceeded the hopes of the warmest enthusiasts in the land.

Being sincerely attached to the episcopalian persuasion, Sir William had long been desirous that the members of the English communion resident in this country should be connected with the episcopal church of Scotland: by which alone they could obtain the benefit of confirmation, and the other solemn services of religion. He was very earnest in his endeavours to effect this union: and although there were many obstacles to overcome, he had succeeded in a great degree during his own lifetime in bringing it to a conclusion. On this subject he had much correspondence with many leading men connected with the church of England, archbishop Moore, bishop Porteous, and Sir William Scott, as well as bishop Abernethy Drummond, and the prelates of the Scottish episcopal church. In 1793, it was arranged that Mr Bauchor, vicar of Epsom, should, on the resignation of bishop Abernethy Drummond, be elected bishop, and the congregation of the Cowgate chapel were to acknowledge him as bishop. The scheme, however, was abandoned at that time, from a certain degree of jealousy which subsisted on the part of the established church of Scotland: but it was renewed afterwards, when that feeling had died away; and to the favourable impressions produced by his exertions, seconded as they afterwards were by the efforts of his son, now lord Medwyn, the happy accomplishment of the union of the two churches, so eminently conducive to the respectability and usefulness of both, is chiefly to be ascribed.

His son-in-law, the late able and esteemed Mr M'Kenzie of Portmore, having prepared a plan for establishing a fund in aid of the bishops of the Scottish episcopal church, and of such of the poorer clergy as stood in need of assistance, he entered warmly into the scheme, and drew up the memoir respecting the present state of the episcopal church, which was circulated in 1806, and produced such beneficial results. He not only subscribed largely himself, but by his example and influence was the chief cause of the success of the subscription, which he had the satisfaction of seeing in a very advanced state of progress before his death.

He was, from its foundation, not only a director of the Cowgate chapel, but took the principal lead in its affairs. A vacancy in that chapel having occurred in 1800, he was chiefly instrumental in bringing down the Rev. Mr Alison, the well known author of the Essay on Taste, then living at a remote rectory in Shropshire, to fill the situation. Under the influence of that eloquent divine, the congregation rapidly increased, both in number and respectability, and was at length enabled in 1818, through the indefatigable exertions of lord Medwyn, by their own efforts, aided by the liberality of their friends, to erect the present beautiful structure of St Paul's chapel in York place. At the same time, Sir William Forbes, eldest son of the subject of this memoir, effected by similar exertions the completion of St John's chapel in Prince's Street; and thus, chiefly by the efforts of a single family, in less than half a century, was the episcopal communion of Edinburgh raised from its humble sites in Blackfriars' Wynd and Carrubber's Close, and placed in two beautiful edifices, raised at an expense of above £30,000, and which must strike

the eye of every visitor from south Britain, as truly worthy of the pure and elegant form of worship for which they are designed.

Sir William had known Mr Alison from his infancy: and from the situation which the latter now held in the Cowgate chapel, they were brought into much closer and more intimate friendship, from which both these eminent men derived, for the remainder of their lives, the most unalloyed satisfaction. Mr Alison attended Sir William during the long and lingering illness which at length closed his beneficent life, and afterwards preached the eloquent and impressive funeral sermon, which is published with his discourses, and pourtrays the character we have here humbly endeavoured to delineate in a more detailed form.

When the new bankrupt act, which had been enacted only for a limited time, expired in 1783, Sir William Forbes was appointed convener of the mercantile committee in Edinburgh, which corresponded with the committees of Glasgow and Aberdeen, of which provost Colquhoun and Mr Milne were respectively conveners; and their united efforts and intelligence produced the great improvement upon the law which was effected by that act. By it the sequestration law, which under the old statute had extended to all descriptions of debtors, was confined to merchants, traders, and others properly falling under its spirit; the well known regulations for the equalization of arrestments and poindings within sixty days, were introduced; sequestrations, which included at first only the personal estate, were extended to the whole property; and the greatest improvement of all was introduced, namely, the restriction of what was formerly alternative to a system of private trust, under judicial control. Sir William Forbes, who corresponded with the London solicitor who drew the bill, had the principal share in suggesting these the great outlines of the system of mercantile bankruptcy in this country; and accordingly, when the convention of royal burghs who paid the expense attending it, voted thanks to the lord advocate for carrying it through parliament, they at the same time (10th July, 1783,) directed their preses to "convey the thanks of the convention to Sir William Forbes, Ilay Campbell, Esq., solicitor-general for Scotland, and Mr Milne, for their great and uncommon attention to the bill."

On the death of Mr Forbes of Pitsligo, only son of lord Pitsligo, in 1782, whose estate and title were forfeited for his accession to the rebellion in 1745, Sir William Forbes, as the nearest heir in the female line of the eldest branch of the family of Forbes, claimed and obtained, from the Lyon court, the designation and arms of Pitsligo. He was the heir of the peerage under the destination in the patent, if it had not been forfeited.

Hitherto Sir William Forbes's character has been considered merely as that of a public-spirited, active, and benevolent gentleman, who, by great activity and spotless integrity, had been eminently prosperous in life, and devoted, in the true spirit of Christian charity, a large portion of his ample means and valuable time to the relief of his fellow creatures, or works of public utility and improvement; but this was not his only character: he was also a gentleman of the highest breeding, and most dignified manners; the life of every scene of innocent amusement or recreation; the head of the most cultivated and elegant society in the capital; and a link between the old Scottish aristocratical families, to which he belonged by birth, and the rising commercial opulence with which he was connected by profession, as well as the literary circle, with which he was intimate from his acquirements.

In 1768, he spent nearly a twelvemonth in London, in Sir Robert, then Mr, Herries' family; and such was the opinion formed of his abilities even at that early period, that Sir Robert anxiously wished him to settle in the metropolis in busi-

ness; but though strongly tempted to embrace this offer, from the opening which it would afford to London society, of which he was extremely fond, he had sufficient good sense to withstand the temptation, and prefer the more limited sphere of his own country, as the scene of his future usefulness. But his residence in London at that time had a very important effect upon his future life, by introducing him to the brilliant, literary, and accomplished society of that capital, then abounding in the greatest men who adorned the last century; Dr Johnson, Mr Burke, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Mr Gibbon, Mr Arbuthnot, and a great many others. He repeatedly visited London for months together at different times during the remainder of his life, and was nearly as well known in its best circles as he was in that of his own country. At a very early period of his life he had conceived the highest relish for the conversation of literary men, and he never afterwards omitted an occasion of cultivating those whom chance threw in his way; the result of which was, that he gradually formed an acquaintance, and kept up a correspondence, with all the first literary and philosophical characters of his day. He was early and intimately acquainted with Dr John Gregory, the author of the "Father's Legacy to his Daughters," and one of the most distinguished ornaments of Scotland at that period, both when he was professor of medicine at Aberdeen, and after he had been removed to the chair of the theory of medicine in Edinburgh; and this friendship continued with so much warmth till the death of that eminent man, that he named him one of the guardians to his children; a duty which he discharged with the most scrupulous and exemplary fidelity. At a still earlier period he became intimate with Mr Arbuthnot; and this friendship, founded on mutual regard, continued unbroken till the death of that excellent man, in 1803. His acquaintance with Dr Beattie commenced in 1765, and a similarity of tastes, feelings, and character, soon led to that intimate friendship, which was never for a moment interrupted in this world, and of which Sir William has left so valuable and touching a proof in the life of his valued friend, which he published in 1805. So high an opinion had Dr Beattie formed, not only of his character, but judgment and literary acquirements, that he consulted him on all his publications, and especially on a "Postscript to the second edition of the Essay on Truth," which he submitted before publication to Dr John Gregory, Mr Arbuthnot, and Sir William.

He formed an acquaintance with Mrs Montague, at the house of Dr Gregory in Edinburgh, in 1766; and this afforded him, when he went to London, constant access to the drawing-room of that accomplished lady, then the centre not only of the whole literary and philosophical, but all the political and fashionable society of the metropolis. He there also became acquainted with Dr Porteous, then rector of Lambeth, and afterwards bishop of London, not only a divine of the highest abilities, but destined to become a prelate of the most dignified and unblemished manners, with whom he ever after kept up a close and confidential correspondence. Sylvester Douglas, afterwards lord Glenbervie, was one of his early and valued friends. He also was acquainted with Dr Moore, then dean, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; and Bennet Langton, a gentleman well known in the highest literary circles of London. Sir Joshua Reynolds early obtained a large and deserved share of his admiration and regard, and has left two admirable portraits of Sir William, which convey in the happiest manner the spirit of the original; while Dr Johnson, whose acquaintance with him commenced in 1773, on his return from his well known tour in the Hebrides, conceived such a regard for his character, that he ever after, on occasion of his visits to London, honoured him with no common share of kindness and friendship. With Mr Boswell, the popular author of the "Life of Johnson," he was of course through his whole career on intimate terms. Miss Bowdler,

well known for her valuable writings on religious subjects; lord Hailes, the sagacious and enlightened antiquary of Scottish law; Mr Garrick, and Mr Burke, were also among his acquaintances. But it is superfluous to go farther into detail on this subject; suffice it to say, that he was an early member of the Literary Club in London, and lived all his life in terms of acquaintance or intimacy with its members, which contained a list of names immortal in English history; Samuel Johnson, Edmund Burke, Joshua Reynolds, Oliver Goldsmith, Thomas Warton, Edward Gibbon.

The friendship and acquaintance of such men necessarily led Sir William Forbes into a very extensive and interesting literary correspondence, a species of composition then much more usual than at this time, and which, if it sometimes engrossed time which might have been employed to more advantage, always exhibited a picture of thoughts and manners which future ages will look for in vain in the present generation of eminent men. His papers accordingly, contain a selection of interesting letters from great men, such as it rarely fell to the lot of any single individual, how fortunate or gifted soever, to accumulate. He was employed after the death of his esteemed and venerable friend, Mr Carr, of the Cowgate chapel, by his bequest, in the important duty of arranging and preparing the sermons for publication, which were afterwards given to the world; and he prepared, along with Dr Beattie and Mr Arbuthnot, the simple and pathetic inscription, which now stands over the grave of that excellent man, at the west end of St Paul's chapel, Edinburgh.

His intimate acquaintance with the first literary characters of the day, and the extensive correspondence which had thus fallen into his hands, probably suggested to Sir William Forbes the idea of writing the life of Dr Beattie, one of his earliest and most valued friends, and whose eminence was not only such as to call for such an effort of biography, but whose acquaintance with all the most eminent literary characters of the day, rendered his life the most favourble opportunity for pourtraying the constellation of illustrious men who shed their lustre over Scotland at the close of the eighteenth century. He executed this work accordingly, which appeared in 1805, shortly before his death, in such a way as to give the most favourable impression of the distinction which he would have attained as an author, had his path in general not lain in a more extended and peculiar sphere of usefulness. It rapidly went through a second edition, and is now deservedly ranked high among the biographical and historical remains of the last century. Independent of the value and interest of the correspondence from the first characters of the day which it contains, it embraces an admirable picture of the life and writings of its more immediate subject, and is written in a lucid and elegant style, which shows how well the author had merited the constant intercourse which he maintained with the first literary characters of the age. Of the moral character of the work, the elevated and Christian sentiments which it conveys, no better illustration can be afforded, than by the transcript of the concluding paragraph of the life of his eminent friend; too soon, and truly, alas! prophetic of his own approaching dissolution:

"Here I close my account of the Life of Dr Beattie; throughout the whole of which, I am not conscious of having, in any respect, misrepresented either his actions or his character; and of whom to record the truth is his best praise.

"On thus reviewing the long period of forty years that have elapsed since the commencement of our intimacy, it is impossible for me not to be deeply affected by the reflection, that of the numerous friends with whom he and I were wont to associate, at the period of our earliest acquaintance, all, I think, except three, have already paid their debt to nature; and that in no long time,

(how soon is only known to Him, the great Disposer of all events) my grey hairs shall sink into the grave, and I also shall be numbered with those who have been. May a situation so awful make its due impression on my mind! and may it be my earnest endeavour to employ that short portion of life which yet remains to me, in such a manner, as that, when that last dread hour shall come, in which my soul shall be required of me, I may look forward with trembling hope to a happy immortality, through the merits and mediation of our ever blessed Redeemer!"

Nor was Sir William Forbes's acquaintance by any means confined to the circle of his literary friends, how large and illustrious soever that may have been. It embraced also, all the leading fashionable characters of the time; and at his house were assembled all the first society which Scotland could produce in the higher ranks. The duchess of Gordon, so well known by her lively wit and singular character; the duke of Athol, long the spirited and patriotic supporter of Highland improvements; Sir Adolphus Oughton, the respected and esteemed commander-in-chief, were among his numerous acquaintances. Edinburgh was not at that period as it is now, almost deserted by the nobility and higher classes of the landed proprietors, but still contained a large portion of the old or noble families of the realm; and in that excellent society, combining, in a remarkable degree, aristocratic elegance, with literary accomplishments, Sir William Forbes's house was perhaps the most distinguished. All foreigners, or Englishmen coming to Scotland, made it their first object to obtain letters of introduction to so distinguished a person; and he uniformly received them with such hospitality and kindness as never failed to make the deepest impression on their minds, and render his character nearly as well known in foreign countries as his native city.

Of the estimation in which, from this rare combination of worthy qualities, he was held in foreign countries, no better proof can be desired than is furnished by the following character of him, drawn by an Italian gentleman who visited Scotland in 1789, and published an account of his tour at Florence in the following year.—"Sir William Forbes is descended from an ancient family in Scotland, and was early bred to the mercantile profession, and is now the head of a great banking establishment in Edinburgh. The notes of the house to which he belongs circulate like cash through all Scotland, so universal is the opinion of the credit of the establishment. A signal proof of this recently occurred, when, in consequence of some mercantile disasters which had shaken the credit of the country, a run took place upon the bank. He refused the considerable offers of assistance which were made by several of the most eminent capitalists of Edinburgh, and by his firmness and good countenance soon restored the public confidence. He has ever been most courteous and munificent to strangers; nor do I ever recollect in any country to have heard so much good of any individual as this excellent person. His manners are in the highest degree both courteous and dignified; and his undeviating moral rectitude and benevolence of heart, have procured for him the unanimous respect of the whole nation. An affectionate husband, a tender and vigilant father, his prodigious activity renders him equal to every duty. He has not hitherto entered upon the career of literature or the arts; but he has the highest taste for the works of others in these departments, and his house is the place where their professors are to be seen to the greatest advantage. He possesses a very fine and well chosen selection of books, as well as prints, which he is constantly adding to. Nothing gives him greater pleasure than to bring together the illustrious men of his own country and the distinguished foreigners who are constantly introduced to his notice; and it was there accordingly, that I met with

Adam Smith, Blair, Mackenzie, Ferguson, Cullen, Black, and Robertson; names sufficient to cast a lustre over any century of another country."—*Lettere sur Inghilterra, Scozia et Olanda*, ii. 345.

Besides his other admirable qualities, Sir William Forbes was accomplished in no ordinary degree. He was extremely fond of reading, and notwithstanding his multifarious duties and numerous engagements, found time to keep up with all the publications of the day, and to dip extensively into the great writers of former days. He was a good draughtsman, and not only sketched well from nature himself, but formed an extensive and very choice collection of prints both ancient and modern. He was also well acquainted with music, and in early life played with considerable taste and execution on the flute and musical glasses. His example and efforts contributed much to form the concerts which at that period formed so prominent a part of the Edinburgh society; and his love for gayety and amusement of every kind, when kept within due bounds, made him a regular supporter of the dancing assemblies, then frequented by all the rank and fashion of Scotland, and formed in a great measure under his guidance and auspices.

Friendship was with him a very strong feeling, founded on the exercise which it afforded to the benevolent affections. He often repeated the maxim of his venerated friend and guardian, lord Pitsligo,—"It is pleasant to acquire knowledge, but still more pleasant to acquire friendship."—No man was ever more warm and sincere in his friendships, or conferred greater acts of kindness on those to whom he was attached; and none has left a wider chasm in the hearts of the numerous circles who appreciated his character.

He was extremely fond of society, and even convivial society, when it was not carried to excess. The native benevolence of his heart loved to expand in the social intercourse and mutual good will which prevailed upon such occasions. He thought well of all, judging of others by his own singleness and simplicity of character. His conversational powers were considerable, and his store of anecdotes very extensive. He uniformly supported, to the utmost of his power, every project for the amusement and gratification of the young, in whose society he always took great pleasure, even in his advanced years; insomuch, that it was hard to say whether he was the greatest favourite with youth, manhood, or old age.

No man ever performed with more scrupulous and exemplary fidelity the important duties of a father to his numerous family, and none were ever more fully rewarded, even during his own lifetime, by the character and conduct of those to whom he had given birth. In the "Life of Dr Beattie," ii. 136, and 155, mention is made of a series of letters on the principles of natural and revealed religion, which he had prepared for the use of his children. Of this work, we are only prevented by our limits from giving a few specimens.

He was intimately acquainted with the late lord Melville, and by him introduced to Mr Pitt, who had frequent interviews with him on the subject of finance. In December, 1790, he was, at Mr Pitt's desire, consulted on the proposed augmentation of the stamps on bills of exchange, and many of his suggestions on the subject were adopted by that statesman.

No man ever more successfully or conscientiously conducted the important banking concern entrusted to his care. The large sums deposited in his hands, and the boundless confidence universally felt in the solvency of the establishment, gave him very great facilities, if he had chosen to make use of them, for the most tempting and profitable speculations. But he uniformly declined having any concern in such transactions; regarding the fortunes of others entrusted

to his care as a sacred deposit, to be administered with more scrupulous care and attention than his private affairs. The consequence was, that though he perhaps missed some opportunities of making a great fortune, yet he raised the reputation of the house to the highest degree for prudence and able management, and thus laid the foundation of that eminent character which it has ever since so deservedly enjoyed.

One peculiar and most salutary species of benevolence, was practised by Sir William Forbes to the greatest extent. His situation as head of a great banking establishment, led to his receiving frequent applications in the way of business for assistance, from young men not as yet possessed of capital. By a happy combination of caution with liberality in making these advances, by inquiring minutely into the habits and moral character of the individuals assisted, and proportioning the advance to their means and circumstances, he was enabled, to an almost incredible extent, to assist the early efforts of industry, without in the least endangering the funds committed by others to his care. Hundreds in every rank in Edinburgh were enabled, by his paternal assistance, to commence life with advantage, who otherwise could never have been established in the world; and numbers who afterwards rose to affluence and prosperity, never ceased in after years to acknowledge with the warmest gratitude, the timely assistance which first gave the turn to their heretofore adverse fortunes, and laid the foundation of all the success which they afterwards attained.

The benevolence of his disposition and the warmth of his heart seemed to expand with the advance of life and the increase of his fortune. Unlike most other men, he grew even more indulgent and humane, if that were possible, in his older than his earlier years. The intercourse of life, and the experience of a most extensive business, had no effect in diminishing his favourable opinion of mankind, or cooling his ardour in the pursuit of beneficence. Viewing others in the pure and unsullied mirror of his own mind, he imputed to them the warm and benevolent feelings with which he himself was actuated; and thought they were influenced by the same high springs of conduct which directed his own life. It was an early rule with him to set aside every year a certain portion of his income to works of charity, and this proportion increasing with the growth of his fortune, ultimately reached an almost incredible amount. Unsatisfied even with the immense extent and growing weight of his public and private charities, he had, for many years before his death, distributed large sums annually to individuals on whom he could rely to be the almoners of his bounty; and his revered friend, bishop Jolly, received in this way £100 a year, to be distributed around the remote village of Fraserburgh, in Aberdeenshire. These sums were bestowed under the most solemn promise of secrecy, and without any one but the person charged with the bounty being aware who the donor was. Numbers in this way in every part of the country partook of his charity, without then knowing whose was the hand which blessed them; and it frequently happened, that the same persons who had been succoured by his almoners, afterwards applied to himself; but on such occasions he invariably relieved them if they really seemed to require assistance; holding, as he himself expressed it, that his public and private charities were distinct; and that his right hand should not know what his left hand had given.

Lady Forbes having fallen into bad health, he was advised by her physician to spend the winter of 1792-3 in the south of Europe; and this gave him an opportunity of enjoying what he had long desired, without any probable prospect of obtaining—a visit to the Italian peninsula. He left Scotland in autumn, 1792; and returned in June, 1793. His cultivated taste made him enjoy this tour in the very highest degree; and the beneficial effect it produced

on lady Forbes's health, permitted him to feel the luxury of travelling in those delightful regions without any alloy. In going up the Rhine, he was arrested by a sentinel, while sketching the splendid castellated cliffs of Ehrenbreitzen; and only liberated on the commanding officer at the guard-house discovering that his drawings had nothing of a military character. The English society at Rome and Naples was very select that year, and he made many agreeable acquaintances, both in the Italian and British circles; to which he always afterwards looked back with the greatest interest. During the whole tour he kept a regular journal, which he extended when he returned home, at considerable length.

He was frequently offered a seat in parliament, both for the city of Edinburgh, and the county of Aberdeen; but he uniformly declined the offer. In doing so, he made no small sacrifice of his inclinations to a sense of duty; for no man ever enjoyed the society of the metropolis more than he did; and none had greater facilities for obtaining access to its most estimable branches, through his acquaintance with Dr Johnson, the Literary Club, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of London. But he felt that the attractions of this refined and spiritual society might withdraw him too much from his peculiar and allotted sphere of usefulness in life; and, therefore, he made a sacrifice of his private wishes in this particular to his conscientious feelings: a proceeding which, though strictly in unison with what his character would lead us to expect, is a greater instance of self-denial, than most men under similar temptations could have exerted.

His high character, extensive wealth, and old, and once ennobled family, naturally pointed him out as the person, in all Scotland, most worthy of being elevated to the peerage. In 1799, accordingly, his friend lord Melville wrote to him, that Mr Pitt proposed to recommend to his majesty to bestow an Irish peerage upon him. Though highly flattered by this unsolicited mark of regard in so high a quarter, his native good sense at once led him to see the disadvantages of the glittering offer. After mentioning it to lady Forbes, who entirely concurred with him, he resolved, however, to lay the matter before his eldest son, the late Sir William, whom he justly considered as more interested in the proposed honour, than he could be at his advanced years. He communicated the proposal, accordingly, to Mr Forbes, without any intimation of his opinion, and desired him to think it maturely over before giving his answer. Mr Forbes returned next day, and informed him, that personally he did not desire the honour; that he did not conceive his fortune was adequate to the support of the dignity; and that, although he certainly would feel himself bound to accept the family title of Pitsligo, if it was to be restored, yet, he deemed the acceptance of a new title too inconsistent with the mercantile establishment with which his fortunes were bound up, to render it an object of desire. Sir William informed him that these were precisely his own ideas on the subject; that he was extremely happy to find that they prevailed equally with one so much younger in years than himself; and that he had forborne to express his own ideas on the subject, lest his parental influence should in any degree interfere with the unbiassed determination of an individual more particularly concerned than himself. The honour, accordingly, was respectfully declined; and at the same time so much secrecy observed respecting a proposal, of which others would have been ready to boast, that it was long unknown to the members even of his own family, and only communicated shortly before his death, by the late Sir William, to his brothers, lord Medwyn, and George Forbes, Esq., on whose authority the occurrence is now given.

So scrupulous were his feelings of duty, that they influenced him in the

minutest particulars, which by other men are decided on the suggestion of the moment, without any consideration. An instance of this occurred at Rome, in spring, 1793. Sir William was at St Peter's when high mass was performed by the late cardinal York. He naturally felt a desire to see the last descendent of a royal and unfortunate family, in whose behalf his ancestors had twice taken the field; and was in the highest degree gratified by seeing the ceremony performed by that illustrious individual. After the mass was over, it was proposed to him to be presented to the cardinal; but though very desirous of that honour, he felt at a loss by what title to address him, as he had taken the title of Henry IX., by which he was acknowledged by France and the pope. To have called him, "your majesty," seemed inconsistent with the allegiance he owed, and sincerely felt, to the reigning family in Britain; while, to have addressed him as "your eminence," merely, might have hurt the feelings of the venerable cardinal, as coming from the descendent of a house noted for their fidelity to his unfortunate family. The result was, that he declined the presentation; an honour which, but for that difficulty, would have been the object of his anxious desire.

But the end of a life of so much dignity and usefulness, the pattern of Christian grace and refined courtesy, was at length approaching. He had a long and dangerous illness in 1791, from which, at the time, he had no hopes of recovery; and which he bore with the resignation and meekness which might have been expected from his character. Though that complaint yielded to the skill of his medical friends, it left the seeds of a still more dangerous malady, in a tendency to water in the chest. In 1802, he had the misfortune to lose lady Forbes, the loved and worthy partner of his virtues; which sensibly affected his spirits, though he bore the bereavement with the firmness and hope which his strong religious principles inspired. In May, 1806, shortly after his return from London, whither he had been summoned as a witness on lord Melville's trial, he began to feel symptoms of shortness of breath; and the last house where he dined was that of his son, lord Medwyn, on occasion of the christening of one of his children, on the 28th of June, 1806. After that time, he was constantly confined to the house; the difficulty of breathing increased, and his sufferings for many months were very severe. During all this trying period, not a complaint ever escaped his lips. He constantly prayed for assistance to be enabled to bear whatever the Almighty might send; and at length death closed his memorable career, on the 12th November, 1806; when surrounded by his family, and supported by all the hopes and consolations of religion, amidst the tears of his relations, and the blessings of his country.

Sir William Forbes was succeeded in his title and estates by his son, the late Sir William, a man of the most amiable and upright character, who having been cut off in the middle of his years and usefulness, was succeeded by his son, the present Sir John, who promises to uphold the character which has now become hereditary in his race. The subject of our memoir left a large family. Besides lord Medwyn, and Mr George Forbes, who, fortunately for Edinburgh, have succeeded to the unwearied activity and benevolence of their father's character, he left five daughters, four of whom are now married: lady Wood, wife of Sir Alexander Wood; Mrs Macdonald of Glengarry; Mrs Skene of Rubislaw; and Mrs Mackenzie of Portmore. Among the other blessings which heaven vouchsafed to this excellent man, was that of seeing his family united in the way which his heart could wish, and his descendents following the career of virtue and usefulness, of which his life had afforded so spotless a specimen.

FORDYCE, George, a distinguished physician and lecturer on medicine, was born at Aberdeen, November 18, 1736, and was the only and posthumous child of Mr George Fordyce, a brother of the other three distinguished persons of the same name recorded in the present work, and the proprietor of a small landed estate, called Broadford, in the neighbourhood of that city. His mother, not long after, marrying again, he was taken from her, when about two years old, and sent to Foveran, at which place he received his school education. He was removed thence to the university of Aberdeen, where he was made M. A., when only fourteen years of age. In his childhood he had taken great delight in looking at vials of coloured liquids, which were placed at the windows of an apothecary's shop. To this circumstance, and to his acquaintance with the learned Alexander Garden, M. D., many years a physician in south Carolina, and latterly in London, but then apprentice to a surgeon and apothecary in Aberdeen, he used to attribute the resolution he very early formed to study medicine. He was in consequence sent, when about fifteen years old, to his uncle, Dr John Fordyce, who, at that time, practised medicine at Uppingham, in Northamptonshire. With him, he remained several years, and then went to the university of Edinburgh, where, after a residence of about three years, he received the degree of M.D. in October, 1758. His inaugural dissertation was upon catarrh. While at Edinburgh, Dr Cullen was so much pleased with his diligence and ingenuity, that, besides showing him many other marks of regard, he used frequently to give him private assistance in his studies. The pupil was ever after grateful for this kindness, and was accustomed to speak of his preceptor in terms of the highest respect, calling him often "his learned and revered master." About the end of 1758, he came to London, but went shortly after to Leyden, for the purpose, chiefly of studying anatomy under Albinus. He returned, in 1759, to London, where he soon determined to fix himself as a teacher and practitioner of medicine. When he made known this intention to his relations, they highly disapproved of it, as the whole of his patrimony had been expended upon his education. Inspired, however, with that confidence which frequently attends the conscious possession of great talents, he persisted in his purpose, and, before the end of 1759, commenced a course of lectures upon chemistry. This was attended by nine pupils. In 1764, he began to lecture also upon Materia Medica and the practice of physic. These three subjects he continued to teach nearly thirty years, giving, for the most part, three courses of lectures on each of them every year. A course lasted nearly four months; and, during it, a lecture of nearly an hour was delivered six times in the week. His time of teaching commenced about seven o'clock in the morning, and ended at ten; his lecture upon the three above mentioned subjects being given, one immediately after the other. In 1765 he was admitted a licentiate of the College of Physicians. In 1770 he was chosen physician to St Thomas's hospital, after a considerable contest with Sir William (then Dr) Watson; the number of votes in his favour being 109, in that of Dr Watson 106. In 1774 he became a member of the Literary Club; and in 1776 was elected a fellow of the Royal Society. In 1787 he was admitted a fellow of the College of Physicians. No circumstance can demonstrate more strongly the high opinion entertained of his abilities by the rest of the profession in London, than his reception into that body. He had been particularly active in the dispute, which had existed about twenty years before, between the fellows and licentiates, and had, for this reason, it was thought, forfeited all title to be admitted into the fellowship through favour. But the college, in 1787, were preparing a new edition of their *Pharmacopœia;* and there was confessedly no one of their own number well acquainted with pharmaceutical chemistry. They wisely, therefore, suppressed their resentment of his former

conduct, and, by admitting him into their body, secured his assistance in a work which they were unable to perform well themselves. In 1793 he assisted in forming a small society of physicians and surgeons, which afterwards published several volumes, under the title of "Medical and Chirurgical Transactions;" and continued to attend its meetings most punctually till within a month or two of his death. Having thus mentioned some of the principal events of his literary life, we shall next give a list of his various medical and philosophical works; and first, of those which were published by himself. 1. Elements of Agriculture and Vegetation. He had given a course of lectures on these subjects to some young men of rank; soon after the close of which, one of his hearers, the late Mr Stuart Mackenzie, presented him with a copy of them, from notes he had taken while they were delivered. Dr Fordyce corrected the copy, and afterwards published it under the above mentioned title. 2. Elements of the practice of Physic. This was used by him as a text-book for a part of his course of lectures on that subject. 3. A Treatise on the Digestion of Food. It was originally read before the College of Physicians, as the Guelstonian Lecture. 4. Four Dissertations on Fever. A fifth, which completes the subject, was left by him in manuscript, and afterwards published. His other works appeared in the Philosophical Transactions, and the Medical and Chirurgical Transactions. In the former are eight papers by him, with the following titles: 1. Of the Light produced by Inflammation. 2. Examination of various Ores in the Museum of Dr W. Hunter. 3. A New Method of assaying Copper Ores. 4. An Account of some Experiments on the Loss of Weight in Bodies on being melted or heated. 5. An Account of an Experiment on Heat. 6. The Cronian Lecture on Muscular Motion. 7. On the Cause of the additional Weight which Metals acquire on being calcined. 8. Account of a New Pendulum, being the Bakerian Lecture.—His papers in the Medical and Chirurgical Transactions are: 1. Observations on the Small-pox, and Causes of Fever. 2. An Attempt to improve the Evidence of Medicine. 3. Some Observations upon the composition of Medicines. He was, besides, the inventor of the experiments in heated rooms, an account of which was given to the Royal Society by Sir Charles Bladgen; and was the author of many improvements in various arts connected with chemistry, on which he used frequently to be consulted by manufacturers. Though he had projected various literary works in addition to those which have been mentioned, nothing was left by him in manuscript, except the Dissertation on Fever already spoken of, and two introductory lectures, one to his Course of Materia Medica, the other to that of the Practice of Physic. This will not appear extraordinary to those who knew what confidence he had in the accuracy of his memory. He gave all his lectures without notes, and perhaps never possessed any; he took no memorandum in writing of the engagements he formed, whether of business or pleasure, and was always most punctual in observing them; and when he composed his works for the public, even such as describe successions of events, found together, as far as we can perceive, by no necessary tie, his materials, such at least as were his own, were altogether drawn from stores in his memory, which had often been laid up there many years before. In consequence of this retentiveness of memory, and of great reading and a most inventive mind, he was, perhaps, more generally skilled in the sciences, which are either directly subservient to medicine, or remotely connected with it, than any other person of his time. One fault in his character as an author, probably arose, either wholly or in part, from the very excellence which has been mentioned. This was his deficiency in the art of literary composition; the knowledge of which he might have insensibly acquired, to a much greater degree than was possessed by him,

had he felt the necessity in his youth of frequently committing his thoughts to writing, for the purpose of preserving them. But, whether this be just or not, it must be confessed, that, notwithstanding his great learning, which embraced many subjects no way allied to medicine, he seldom wrote elegantly, often obscurely and inaccurately; and that he frequently erred with respect even to orthography. His language, however, in conversation, which confirms the preceding conjecture, was not less correct than that of most other persons of good education. As a lecturer, his delivery was slow and hesitating, and frequently interrupted by pauses not required by his subject. Sometimes, indeed, these continued so long, that persons unaccustomed to his manner, were apt to fear that he was embarrassed. But these disadvantages did not prevent his having a considerable number of pupils, actuated by the expectation of receiving from him more full and accurate instruction than they could elsewhere obtain. His person is said to have been handsome in his youth; but his countenance, from its fulness, must have been always inexpressive of the great powers of his mind. His manners too were less refined, and his dress in general less studied, than what most persons in this country regard as proper for a physician. From these causes, and from his spending no more time with his patients than what was sufficient for his forming a just opinion of their ailments, he had for many years but little private employment in his profession; and never, even in the latter part of his life, when his reputation was at its height, enjoyed nearly so much as many of his contemporaries. It is worthy of mention, however, that the amount of his fees, during the year immediately preceding his decease, was greater, notwithstanding his advanced age and infirm health, than it had ever been before in the same space of time. He had always been fond of the pleasures of society; and in his youth, to render the enjoyment of them compatible with his pursuits after knowledge, he used to sleep very little. He has often, indeed, been known to lecture for three hours in a morning without having undressed himself the preceding night. The vigour of his constitution enabled him to sustain, for a considerable time, without apparent injury, this debilitating mode of life. But at length he was attacked with gout, which afterwards became irregular, and for many years frequently affected him with excruciating pains in his stomach and bowels. In the latter part of his life also, his feet and ancles were almost constantly swollen; and, shortly before his death, he had symptoms of water in the chest. But these he disregarded, and uniformly attributed his situation, which for several weeks previous to his death he knew to be hopeless, to the presence of the first-mentioned disease. Death ultimately relieved him from his sufferings, May 25, 1802, when he was in the 64th year of his age. By his wife, who was the daughter of Charles Stuart, Esq., conservator of Scots privileges in the United Netherlands, and whom he had married in 1762, he left four children, two sons and two daughters.

FORDYCE, James, D.D., author of the Sermons to Young Women, was a younger brother of the subject of a preceding article, and the fourth son of his parents. He was born at Aberdeen in 1720, and received the education requisite for a minister of the Scottish church at the Marischal college. In 1752, he was appointed minister of Brechin, but soon after was removed to Alloa, where at first he had many prejudices to encounter, though his popular manners and captivating style of pulpit oratory enabled him very speedily to overcome them. During his brief residence in this parish, he published three occasional sermons, which attracted much notice; and in 1760, he increased his fame to a great degree by a discourse "On the Folly, Infamy, and Misery of Unlawful Pleasures," which he preached before the General Assembly, and afterwards gave to the public. The novelty of this sermon, in a country where all the best sermons were

evangelical, and the elegance of its style and sentiments, produced a great impression throughout the country. The preacher soon after went to London, and notwithstanding the difference between the Scottish Confession of Faith and the tenets of the English dissenters, offered himself on a vacancy at the meeting in Carter Lane, but without success. About this time, he received the degree of D. D. from the university of Glasgow, and was invited by the meeting in Monkwell Street to be co-pastor with Dr Lawrence, then aged and infirm. This invitation he accepted, and upon Dr Lawrence's death, which happened soon after, he became sole pastor, and entered into the enjoyment of a very respectable income. During his ministry in this place, he acquired a higher degree of popularity than probably ever was, or ever will be attained by the same means. The strong force of his eloquence drew men of all ranks and all persuasions to hear him. His action and elocution were original, and peculiarly striking, being not a little assisted by his figure, which was tall beyond the common standard, and by a set of features which in preaching displayed great variety of expression and animation. Besides his regular attendants, who subscribed to his support, his meeting was frequented by men curious in eloquence; and it is said, that the celebrated David Garrick was more than once a hearer, and spoke of Dr Fordyce's skill in oratory with great approbation. With respect to his theological sentiments, he appears to have possessed that general liberality which is civil to all systems, without being attached to any. From his printed works, it would be easier to prove that he belonged to no sect, than that he held the principles of any. As to the matter, morality appears to have been his chief object; and as to the manner, he ardently studied a polish and a spirit, which was then seldom met with in English pulpits, although it had not been unusual in those of France.

In 1771, Dr Fordyce married Miss Henrietta Cummyngs; and in 1775, he was involved in an unhappy dispute with his coadjutor, Mr Toller, son-in-law to Dr Lawrence. This misunderstanding originated in some omission of ceremonial politeness between the two reverend gentlemen, and from the want of mutual concession, the breach widened, till reconciliation became impossible. Dr Fordyce appears, indeed, to have been of an irritable temper, which led him on this occasion to be guilty of an act which ultimately he had reason deeply to regret, as it proved most injurious to his own interest. For, on undertaking to perform the whole duty of the chapel, he possessed sufficient influence to have Mr Toller ejected from the pastoral charge. The consequence was, that the congregation became dissatisfied, split into parties, and gradually dispersed, when Dr Fordyce was obliged to resign the ministry. It is true, that bad health and the infirmities of old age had their share in constraining him to this step, but the congregation had previously almost entirely deserted the chapel, which was soon after shut up. Finding himself no longer useful as a preacher, Dr Fordyce, in the year 1783, left London, and retired first to Hampshire, and finally to Bath, where he continued to reside until his death, which took place on the 1st of October, 1796, in the 76th year of his age. We have, in the following letter from Mrs Fordyce, a very interesting and instructing narrative of this melancholy event, while it presents, at the same time, a lively picture of Dr Fordyce's piety and of some of the more amiable traits of his character.

"My dear sir, being now able to sit up, I can only say, that had the state of my health, when your last soothing but affecting letter came to hand, admitted of my writing at all, such a letter from a favourite friend, would have impelled me to give it an immediate reply. Accept, dear sir, of my gratitude for what it contained, especially for that sympathy I so much stand in need of; it is the balm of true friendship; and though it reaches me from various

quarters, still the wound bleeds, and will continue to bleed, till God shall heal it by that re-union of souls which must take place ere long.

"Hardly two people accost each other without an eulogium on his character, and a sigh for his death—but death it was not. To all human appearance, he was translated. We spent a most agreeable evening together in my dressing-room, in which he was fond of sitting, on account of the fine air of the vale behind and the prospect: for he still kept his relish for all that was beautiful in nature. We were both engrossed with William Cowper's sermon to the Jews.

"I read the hymns and psalms in the little pamphlet.—'Ah!' said he, 'this carries me back to Monkwell Street, where we sang it together with my beloved flock; the strain shall be exalted when next we sing it.' Then turning to me he said, 'we have read enough for to night—before you call for supper, let us have some music.' My niece is a very fine performer—she immediately sat down to accompany him in some of his favourite airs on the piano-forte; and a very fine cadence she sung, so delighted him, that he made her do it over again, and turning to me, he said, 'How many things have we to be grateful for! The musical ear is a gift peculiar to some, withheld from others; there are many things in life richly to be enjoyed; all that leads up to God we may delight in; but whatever has no reference to him, we should avoid. There are books called religious offices, preparations for the sacrament, and preparations for death, &c.; but for my own part, I never could think that such preparations consisted in such times being set apart for offices, and then returning to the world, as having done with heaven for the time being. A man is not truly prepared for death, unless by the tenor of his life he feels himself so wholly given up to God, that his mind is in heaven, before he goes hence; and he can only bring himself to that, by the perpetual silent reference in all his words, thoughts, and actions, to his Creator, which I have so often mentioned to you.' I replied, 'That indeed, doctor, is the test or criterion, to judge himself by, for a man dare have no reference or appeal for his actions to God, if his deeds condemn him to his own conscience.'—'God be praised,' said he, 'if I should leave you, I desire you may avail yourself of them.' In addition to religion and the Scriptures, there are books, friendships and music: I would name more, but these are sufficient;—cast yourself on God through your Redeemer. He will care for you and raise you up friends.' I aimed at changing the conversation, and said, 'But you are better, my dear.' 'I am certainly easier,' he replied, and have had less pain and better symptoms for two or three weeks past; and I assure you, my beloved, I am not tired of life at all: for though the Almighty knows I have been long ready for the summons, yet if it is his pleasure to let the lamp of life burn on a little longer, I am satisfied, and I am his.'

"He sat his usual time after supper, which he partook of in a moderate way, without any disrelish. About eleven he rang for the servants, who with my niece and myself attended him every night to his bed-chamber. To my unspeakable joy, it seemed to cost him much less effort than common to mount the stairs; which formerly was so painful a task, that at every landing place a chair was set for him to rest on, ere he could ascend to the next. He joined us all in observing with gratitude and wonder, that he should gain more ease by living longer. He and I conversed in a very pleasing style on various subjects till about one o'clock, and then he urged my going to bed, lest I should be hurt by such late hours. He also forbade me to get up in the night, as anxiety about him had often made me do, unless I should hear him call me; he made me promise I would not, after which we embraced. I left him very happy, comfortable, and serene; I might add even cheerful. We both

slept in our different apartments, and mine had a door of communication with his, so he could not stir without my hearing. He awoke about two o'clock and lighted a wax bougie at his lamp, one of which stood on a dumb waiter, at his bed-side, with his medicines and cordials. He lighted it to take the ethereal spirit; but forgetting to blow it out, it unluckily took fire in the bunch; the smell of which awoke him perhaps in some alarm. He then called to me, who was just in my first sleep, and springing up eagerly in the dark, I stumbled, and struck my head against the door; the blow for a few minutes stunned me and made me reel in coming up to him. I affected to be well that he might not be alarmed. 'I called to you, my love, lest the smell of fire which the bougie occasioned, might have frightened you. You have paid dear for coming to me by this blow.' Saying so he got up, and calling the women with a firm voice three or four times, they and my niece were all at once with us. I was praying him to return to bed, but he refused until he should get me, from their hands, some sal volatile. He then said, 'Are you better?' I answered 'O well, well.'—'God be praised,' said he, raising his hands, and with the words in his mouth he fell in our arms without a groan, a sigh, or so much as the rattle in the throat. The spirit was instantly fled and for ever, to the God that gave it. He was taken from my arms, who will ever live in my heart, and I saw him no more."

Dr Fordyce's first literary attempt was made as editor of the posthumous work of his brother, Mr David Fordyce, published in 1752, entitled the "Art of Preaching." But he is best known to the world by the ingenious and elegant sermons which he addressed to young women; and his addresses to young men. He was author, however, of several other publications,[1] and was remarkable for the energy and usefulness of his pulpit instructions. His private character was amiable, his manners those of a gentleman and Christian. He blended great cheerfulness with sincere and ardent piety. He possessed a cultivated understanding, a warm heart, and great liberality of sentiment. He was a steady friend of civil and religious toleration—not from indifference but from a true spirit of Christian philanthropy.

FORDYCE, Sir William, F.R.S., a distinguished physician, was a younger brother of David and James Fordyce, whose lives have already been recorded, and was born in the year 1724. Like his brethren, he was educated at the

[1] The following is a list of Dr Fordyce's works.

1. "The eloquence of the Pulpit, an ordination sermon, to which is added a charge," 12mo, 1752.
2. "An essay on the action proper for the pulpit," 12mo. Both these are published at the end of "Theodorus, a Dialogue concerning the art of preaching, by David Fordyce," 3d edition, 12mo, 1755.
3. "The method of edification by public instruction," an ordination sermon, to which is added a charge, 12mo, 1754. These were delivered at the ordination of Mr John Gibson, minister of St Ninians, May 9th, 1754.
4. "The Temple of Virtue," a dream, 12mo, 1747. 2d edition, much altered, 1755.
5. "The folly, infamy, and misery of unlawful pleasures," a sermon preached before the general assembly of the church of Scotland, 25th May, 1760—8vo, 1760.
6. "A Sermon occasioned by the death of the Rev. Dr Samuel Lawrence, who departed this life 1st October, 1760, with an address at his interment," 8vo, 1760.
7. "Sermons to young women," 2 vols. 12mo, 1766.
8. "The character and conduct of the female sex, and the advantages to be derived by young men from the society of virtuous young women;" a discourse in three parts, delivered in Monkwell Street chapel, 1st January, 1776, 8vo, 1776.
9. "Addresses to young men," 2 vols. 12mo, 1777.
10. "The delusive and persecuting spirit of popery;" a sermon preached in the Monkwell Street chapel on the 10th of February, being the day appointed for the general fast, 8vo, 1779.
11. "Charge delivered in Monkwell Street chapel, at the ordination of the Rev. James Lindsay," 8vo, 1783. Printed with the sermon delivered by Dr Hunter on that occasion.
12. "Addresses to the Deity," 12mo.
13. "Poems," 12mo, 1786.

Marischal college, of which he died lord rector. At the age of eighteen, he finished his academic studies, in which he had distinguished himself, particularly by his proficiency in Greek and mathematics, the most solid as well as the most ornamental parts of academic knowledge. Having studied physic and surgery under a native practitioner, he joined the army as a volunteer, and afterwards served as surgeon to the brigade of guards on the coast of France, and in all the military transactions which took place in Germany. The warm support of his military friends co-operated with his own merit in early recommending him to distinguished practice in London. His publications, particularly his treatise on fevers and ulcerated sore throat, greatly extended his fame; and he was sent for to greater distances, and received larger fees, than almost any physician of his time. The wealth which he thus acquired he liberally expended in benevolent actions, and was thus the means of doing much good, as well as some harm. Having patronized his brother Alexander, who was a banker in London, he enabled that individual to enter upon an unusually extensive series of transactions, which, though sound in themselves, exposed him to a malevolent combination of his brethren in trade, and hence the great bankruptcy of Fordyce and Co., which may be termed one of the most important domestic events in Britain during the latter part of the eighteenth century. Besides the losses which Sir William Fordyce thus incurred, he soon after became engaged for ten thousand pounds more, which was lost by his brother in the project of a manufacture which totally failed; and had it not been for the generosity of the Messrs Drummond, bankers, who advanced him the necessary sum, he must have submitted to a loss of personal liberty. Notwithstanding these severe shocks to his fortune, Sir William continued to maintain two poor families, whom he had taken under his patronage, and who had no other resource. It is also to be mentioned, to the honour of this excellent man, that, besides his own losses by Alexander, he repaid those incurred by his brother James, amounting to several thousand pounds. The benevolence of Sir William Fordyce was a kind of enthusiasm. When he heard of a friend being ill, he would run to give him his advice, and take no fee for his trouble. His house was open to all kinds of meritorious persons in distressed circumstances, and he hardly ever wanted company of this kind. He was also indefatigable in his good offices towards young Scotsmen who had come to London in search of employment. His address had much of the courtly suavity of a past age, and his conversation, while unassuming, was replete with elegant anecdote and solid information. His eye beamed gentleness and humanity, ennobled by penetration and spirit. Although originally of a delicate constitution, by temperance and exercise he preserved his health for many years, but suffered at last a long and severe illness, which ended in his death, December 4, 1792. Sir William, who had been knighted about 1787, wrote a treatise on the Venereal Disease, another, as already mentioned, on Fevers, and a third on Ulcerated Sore Throat; besides which, he published, immediately before his death, a pamphlet on the "Great Importance and Proper Method of Cultivating Rhubarb in Britain for medicinal uses."

FORDUN, or DE FORDUN, John, the celebrated author of the "Scotichronicon," was probably born about the middle of the fourteenth century, and at the village of Fordun, in Kincardineshire, from which he seems to have taken his name. Walter Bower, the continuator of his history, speaks of him as a simple man, who never graduated in the schools. It would appear, however, that he possessed sufficient learning to fit him for the profession of a priest, and the composition of a Latin history, as these two various kinds of labour were then practised. He was a priest of the diocese of St Andrews, and a canon of the church of Aberdeen, where he is said to have resided at the time when he composed his his-

tory. This great composition was in progress, as he himself informs us, in the reign of Richard II. of England, which extended between the years 1387, and 1399; and this, vague as it is, is one of the few dates that can be supplied respecting the life of the chronicler. The work produced by Fordun, though deformed by the superstitious and incorrect ideas of the age, is nevertheless a respectable production, fully qualified to bear comparison with the works of the contemporary English historians. The merit of the author is increased in no mean degree by the motive which prompted him to undertake the composition—a desire of supplying the want of those historical monuments which Edward I. carried away to England. To quote the quaint words of a monkish writer[1]: "After the loss of these chronicles, a venerable Scottish priest, by name John Fordun, arose, and feeling his heart titillated and effervescent with patriotic zeal, he applied his hand boldly to the work; nor did he desist from the undertaking, until, by the most laborious study and perseverance, traversing England and the adjacent provinces of his own country, he had recovered so much of the lost materials as enabled him to compose five volumes of the delectable gests of the Scots, which he drew up in a sufficiently chronicle-like style, as they are to be found in the great volume entitled, the 'Scotichronicon.' In this undertaking, it is impossible to refrain from bestowing great praise upon the industry of the author. For, adverting to the fact, that to commit all the records of past ages to the memory, is the attribute of God rather than man; he, upon this consideration travelled on foot, like an unwearied and investigating bee, through the flowery meadows of Britain, and into the oracular recesses of Ireland; taking his way through provinces and towns, through universities and colleges, through churches and monasteries, entering into conversation, and not unfrequently sharing at bed and board with historians and chronologists; turning over their books, debating and disputing with them, and pricking down, or intitulating in his descriptive tablets all that most pleased him; in this manner, and by pursuing indefatigable investigation, he became possessed of the knowledge which was before unknown to him, and collecting it with studious care in the revolving sinuosities of his parchment code, like rich honeycombs in an historical hive, he, as I have already premised, divided them into five books of elegant composition, which brought down the history to the death of the sainted king David."

The result of Fordun's labours is, that we possess an account of several ages of Scottish history, which otherwise would have been in a great measure blank. The two first of the five books into which he divides his work, may be laid aside, as relating only to the fabulous part of the history; the last refers to the period between 1056, and 1153, and is a valuable piece of history. Posterior to the year last mentioned, Fordun has only written detached notes, which, however, are themselves of no small value for the facts which they contain. When the venerable canon found himself too infirm to continue his labours, he committed the materials which he had collected to Walter Bower, who, as noticed elsewhere, became abbot of Inchcolm in 1418, and by whom the work was brought down to the year 1436. The Scotichronicon was afterwards copied in various monasteries, and has accordingly been handed down in several shapes, each slightly different from the other, under the titles of the Book of Scone, the Book of Paisley, and other denominations. Finally, the earlier part formed a substructure for the amplified work of Hector Boece, and the elegant one of Buchanan. The work itself has been twice printed, first at Oxford, by Hearne, in five vols. 8vo. and afterwards at Edinburgh in one volume folio, with a preface by Goodal; but a translation is still a desideratum in Scottish historical literature.

1 As translated by Mr P. F. Tytler, in his "Lives of Scottish Worthies," article Fordun.

FORRESTER, Rev. Thomas, was the *third* minister of Melrose after the reformation, the second being Mr John Knox, a nephew of the Reformer, whom Forrester succeeded in 1623. This reverend divine was a very extraordinary character in his time. While the attempts of Charles I. to complete an episcopal system of church-government in Scotland, were the subject of violent and universal discontent, at least in the southern parts of the kingdom, Forrester appears to have beheld them with the utmost gratulation and triumph, giving way to his feelings in occasional satires upon those who opposed the court. His vein of poetry is generally allowed to have been of no mean order; and even in a later age, when many of the allusions are unintelligible, its poignancy is sufficiently obvious. This was accompanied by a general eccentricity of conduct and opinion, which must have then been deemed highly indecorous. For instance, he publicly declared that some kinds of work might be done on the Lord's day; and, as an example to his people, brought home his corn on that day from the harvest field. He maintained that the public and ordinary preaching of the word, was no necessary part of divine worship, that the reading of the liturgy was preferable to it, and that pastors and private christians should use no other prayers, than what were prescribed by authority. He made no scruple to declare, that the reformers had done more harm to the Christian church, than the Popes at Rome had done for ten ages. It may easily be supposed, that a man who acted upon maxims so opposite to the spirit of the age, could not be very popular, either with his brethren or the public. Accordingly, among the acts of the general assembly of 1638, when the authority of the court was set at defiance, we find the deposition of Mr Thomas Forrester, accused of popery, Arminianism, and other offences.

The reverend satirist appears to have indulged himself in a characteristic revenge. He composed a mock litany, in which the most respected characters of the day, and the most solemn of their proceedings, were mercilessly ridiculed. It begins with an allusion to the assembly by which he had been deposed.

From Glasgow Raid, to which mad meeting,
Huge troops from all quarters came fleeting,
With dags and guns in form of war,
All loyal subjects to debar;
Where bishops might not show their faces,
And mushroom elders filled their places:
From such mad pranks of Catherus,
Almighty God deliver us!

From sitting in that convocation,
Discharged by open proclamation,
Who did not stir till they had ended
All the mischief they had intended;
From all their cobbling knobs and knacks,
Set out in form of public acts,
And all such pranks, &c.

From a subsequent stanza, it might perhaps be inferred, that Forrester had endeavoured to publish a pamphlet in favour of the episcopal cause, but was prevented by the covenanters having command of the printing house:—

From usurping the king's press,
So that no book could have access,
Which might maintain the king's just title,
Or cross the covenant ne'er so little;

It's strange, though true, books of that strain,
Are barred under the highest pain,
And all such pranks, &c.

Some other specimens of this curious, but harmless effusion of anti-covenanting wrath, are subjoined:—

From one thing said, another seen,
From the outrage done to Aberdeen;
From hollow hearts and hollow faces,
From ridiculous prayers and graces;
From peremptorie reprobation,
From Henderson's rebaptization,[1]
And all such pranks, &c.

* * *

From turn-coat preachers' supplications,
And from their mental reservations,
From lawless excommunications,
From laics' household congregations,
From unsupportable taxations—
Thir are the covenanting actions,
And all such pranks, &c.

* * *

From Dunse Law's rebels rabbled out,
Rascals from all quarters sought out,
Fair England's forces to defeat,
Without armour, money, or meat:
True, some had forks, some roustie dags,
And some had bannocks in their bags,
And all such pranks, &c.

From the Tables' emissaries,
From mutineers of all degrees:
Priests, lords, judges, and clerks of touns,
Proud citizens, poor country clowns;
Who in all courses disagree,
But join to cross authoritie,
From all such pranks, &c.

* * *

From Will Dick,[2] that usurious chuff,
His feathered cap, his coat of buff;
For all the world a saddled sow,
A worthie man and general too;
From both the Duries, these mad sparks,
One bribing judge, two cheating clerks,
And all such pranks, &c.

* * *

From the most stupid senseless ass
That ever brayed, my cousin Casse,[3]

[1] An allusion to the celebrated Alexander Henderson, who at first was an episcopalian.
[2] The celebrated provost of Edinburgh, who contributed so much "*sinew*" to the covenanting war.
[3] Probably meaning Sir Thomas Hope of Carse, lord-advocate—the chief legal adviser of the Covenanters. No description could be more unjust than that in the text, though the verse is certainly a witty one.

He is the assembly's voice, and so,
Th' assembly is his echo.
The fool speaks first, and all the rest
To say the same are ready prest,
And all such pranks, &c.

The poet concludes with the two following stanzas :

From noble beggars, beggar-makers,
From all bold and blood undertakers,
From hungry catch-poles, knighted louns,
From perfumed puppies and baboons,
From caterpillars, moths, and rats,
Horse-leeches, state blood-sucking bats,
And all such pranks, &c.

From Sandie Hall, and Sandie Gibson,
Sandie Kinneir, and Sandie Johnston,
Whose knavery made then covenanters,
To keep their necks out of the helters
Of falsehood, greed, when you'll't name,
Of treachery they think no shame;
Yet these the mates of Catherus,
From whome good Lord deliver us![4]

Of the ultimate fate of this strange satirist we have met with no record.

FORSYTH, William, distinguished in the science of arboriculture, was born at Old Meldrum, in Aberdeenshire, in 1737. Having been bred to the business of a gardener, he went to London in 1763, and soon after became a pupil of the celebrated Philip Miller, gardener to the company of apothecaries, at their physic-garden in Chelsea. In 1771, he succeeded his master in this respectable situation, in which he remained till 1784, when he was appointed by George III. chief superintendent of the royal gardens at Kensington and St James's, which employments he held till his death.

About the year 1768, Mr Forsyth paid particular attention to the cultivation of fruit and forest trees, and turned his thoughts more especially to the discovery of a composition to remedy the diseases and injuries incident to them. After repeated trials, he at length succeeded in preparing one which fully answered his expectations; and in the year 1789, the success of his experiments attracted the notice of the commissioners of the land revenue, upon whose recommendation a committee of both houses of parliament was appointed to report upon the merits of his discovery. The result of their inquiries was a perfect conviction of its utility, and in consequence, an address was voted by the house of commons to his majesty, praying that a reward might be granted to Mr Forsyth, upon his disclosing the secret of his composition to the public; which was accordingly done: and in 1791, Mr Forsyth published his "Observations on the diseases, defects, and injuries of fruit and forest trees," which also contains the correspondence between the commissioners of the land revenue, the committee of parliament, and himself. In 1802, he published the final result of his labours in "A treatise on the culture and management of fruit trees." In this work, or in Rees's Cyclopedia, *article* "Composition for trees," may be found a complete account of Mr Forsyth's discoveries and mode of treat-

[4] We copy these extracts from an exceedingly curious volume, entitled "A Book of Scottish Pasquils," printed in 1828. Catherus is a cant word for puritan, formed from the Greek, Καθαροι, *puri*.

ing injured wood. It may be sufficient here to mention, that his composition, or medicament, was formed according to the following receipt: "Take one bushel of fresh cow-dung, half a bushel of lime-rubbish of old buildings, (that from the ceilings of rooms is preferable,) half a bushel of wood-ashes, and a sixteenth part of a bushel of pit or river sand; the three last articles are to be sifted fine before they are mixed; then work them well together with a spade, and afterwards with a wooden beater, until the stuff is very smooth, like fine plaster used for the ceilings of rooms."

Mr Forsyth, who was a member of the Antiquarian, Linnæan, and other societies, died July 25, 1804. He enjoyed the honours paid to him for his useful invention, with an unaffected modesty, which gave them a higher grace; and his benevolence and private worth were warmly attested by his friends. A particular genus of plants has been named Forsythia, in honour of his name.

FOULIS, Robert and Andrew, eminent printers in the eighteenth century, were natives of Glasgow, and were born, the elder brother on the 20th of April, 1707, and the younger on the 23d of November, 1712. Their mother, who seems to have possessed shrewdness and intelligence beyond her station, educated them at first under her own care, and had not Robert's talents attracted attention, they would probably never have proceeded farther in the acquisition of knowledge. At an early age Robert was sent an apprentice to a barber; it would even seem that he afterwards practised the art on his own account for some time. While thus humbly employed, he came under the notice of the celebrated Dr Francis Hutcheson, then professor of moral philosophy in Glasgow university. This acute observer discovered his talents,—inflamed his desire for knowledge,—and suggested to him the idea of becoming a bookseller and printer. Foulis did not, however, receive a complete university education, although he attended his patron's lectures for several years, and his name is so enrolled in the matriculation book. Andrew, who seems to have been designed for the church, entered the university in 1727, and probably went through a regular course of study.

For some years after they had determined to follow a literary life, the brothers were engaged in teaching the languages during the winter, and in making short tours into England and to the continent in summer. These excursions were of great advantage to them; they brought them into contact with eminent men, enabled them to form connexions in their business, and extended their knowledge of books. On some of these occasions they made considerable collections, which they sold at home to good account. Thus prepared, the elder brother began business in Glasgow as a bookseller about the end of 1739, and in the following year published several works. Three years afterwards his connexion with the university commenced. In March, 1743, he was appointed their printer, under condition "that he shall not use the designation of university printer without allowance from the university meeting in any books excepting those of ancient authors."[1] The first productions of his press, which were issued in 1742, were almost exclusively of a religious nature, many of them relating to the well known George Whitefield. In 1742, he published Demetrius Phalereus de Elocutione, apparently the first Greek work printed in Glasgow, although we are certain that there existed a fount of Greek letters there nearly a century before. It would be tedious to notice each work as it appeared: the immaculate edition of Horace, an edition of Cicero's works in twenty volumes, Cæsar's Commentaries in folio, Callimachus in the same size, with engravings executed at their academy, form but a small part of the splendid catalogue of their classics.

[1] The date at which Andrew joined him in business is somewhat uncertain.

The success which had attended their exertions as printers, induced the elder Foulis to attempt the establishment of an academy for the cultivation of the fine arts, a scheme for which Scotland was but ill prepared by the dissensions which had followed the union, and which had been succeeded by the rebellions of 1715 and 1745. In 1751, he went abroad, partly with the view of extending his commercial connexions, but principally with the intention of arranging for the establishment of this institution. After remaining on the continent for about two years, and sending home several artists whom he had engaged in his service, he returned to Scotland in 1753. His design was considered romantic; many of his friends exerted all their eloquence to persuade him to desist. But Foulis, who possessed a degree of determination which might perhaps not unjustly be termed obstinacy, was fixed in his "high resolve," and although he must have observed with mortification, that (to use his own expression) "there seemed to be a pretty general emulation who should run the scheme most down," he established his academy in the course of the same year. He soon found that he had embarked in an undertaking of no common difficulty. From a letter in the Scots Magazine for 1759, it appears that the selection of proper teachers had cost him much trouble and anxiety. He had to contend, besides, with the national prejudices in favour of the works of foreign artists; and after amassing a considerable collection, he found it extremely difficult to dispose of it to advantage. In the same year it was proposed, that such persons as were willing to support the institution should advance certain sums yearly, for which they should be entitled to select prints, designs, paintings, &c. to the amount of their subscriptions.

In the meantime, the operations of their press went on with increasing vigour. If we may judge from the catalogue of their books, the period between 1750 and 1757, seems to have been the most flourishing era in their trade. During that time "Proposals for publishing[2] by subscription the whole works of Plato" were issued, and considerable progress made in collating MSS. in the Vatican and national libraries. But the embarrassments occasioned by the ill-fated academy seem to have prevented the publication of this as well as many other works, which might have added much both to their fame and their wealth. Yet while we condemn the obstinacy with which this institution was carried on, when it was a daily source of anxiety and pecuniary difficulties, it should be remembered, that it was the means of bringing forward the "Scottish Hogarth," David Allan, and Tassie the medalist. The latter of these, while a stone mason, acquired a relish for the arts in visiting the academy on a holiday, when the pictures were generally exhibited gratis.

It would be foreign to the purpose of the present work to notice the various books which issued from the Foulis press at this and subsequent periods. It may be sufficient to say, that in the latter part of their history the brothers seem to have lost much of their original energy, and the celebrity of their press may be considered as expiring with their folio edition of Milton, published in 1770. They continued, indeed, to print till the death of Andrew, which took place suddenly on the 18th of September, 1775; but many of the works published at that period were of inferior workmanship.

We shall close the history of these remarkable but unfortunate men in a few

[2] As a curious estimate of the expense of classical reading in these days, we extract the first article in the proposals. "I. In nine volumes in quarto, of which the Greek in six volumes and the Latin translation with the notes in three. The price to subscribers, one penny sterling per sheet. The whole will be contained in about 500 sheets, so the price will be about £2, 1s. 8d. in quires, on a fair paper. A number will be printed on a fine large paper at twopence sterling per sheet."

words. After the death of the younger brother, it was determined to expose the works belonging to the academy to public sale. For this purpose Robert, accompanied by a confidential workman, went to London about the month of April, 1776. Contrary to the advice of the auctioneer, and at a period when the market was glutted by yearly importations of pictures from Paris, his collection was sold off,—and, as the reader may have anticipated, greatly under their supposed value. Irritated at the failure of this his last hope, and with a constitution exhausted by calamities, he left London and reached Edinburgh on his way homeward. On the morning on which he intended setting out for Glasgow he expired almost instantaneously, in the 69th year of his age.

Robert Foulis was twice married. From his second marriage with a daughter of Mr Boutcher, a seedsman in Edinburgh, was descended the late Andrew Foulis, who died at Edinburgh, in great poverty, in 1829. He had, besides, by his first marriage with Elizabeth Moor, a sister of the celebrated Grecian, five daughters; all of whom are now dead.

Of the Scottish works produced at the Foulis press the greater number were ballads, some of them original, and all of them since published in the collections of bishop Percy, Ritson, Cromek, &c. The "Memorials and Letters relating to the History of Britain" in the reigns of James I. and Charles I., published by Lord Hailes, principally from the Denmylne MSS. in the Advocates' Library, were also published at Glasgow. But the greatest service that they could have performed for Scottish history, would have been the publication of Calderwood's MS. history. This they undoubtedly had in view. It appears from the records of the university of Glasgow that they got permission to borrow their MS.[3] in September, 1768. They did not, however, accomplish their patriotic purpose, and this valuable work still remains accessible only to the historian and the antiquary. Let us hope that the period is not far distant, when some of the clubs of the present day shall immortalize themselves by laying it before the public.[4]

FRASER, Simon, twelfth lord Lovat, a person too remarkable in history to be overlooked in this work, though his want of public or private virtue might otherwise have dictated his exclusion, was the second son of Thomas Fraser of Beaufort, by Sybilla Macleod, daughter of the laird of Macleod, and was born at Beaufort, near Inverness, in the year 1667. Of his early years we have no very distinct account. He has himself asserted that, at the age of thirteen, he was imprisoned for his exertions in the royal cause, though we do not well see how this could happen. That his elder brother, however, was in the insurrection of the viscount Dundee, and himself, after the death of Dundee, in that under general Buchan, is certain. After all the pains his lordship has been at to set forth his extreme zeal for the Stuarts, nothing can be more evident than that, from his earliest days, the sole purpose of his life was to promote his own power by all feasible means, this end being the only object of his solicitude. Agreeably to this view of his character, we find him in the year 1694, while yet a student at the university of Aberdeen, accepting of a commission in the regiment of lord Murray, afterwards earl of Tullibardine. This commission had been procured for him by his cousin, Hugh lord Lovat, who was brother-in-law to lord Murray, with the express view of bringing him "forward most advantageously in the world;" and though he professed to have scruples in going against the interest of king James, these were all laid asleep by an assurance, on the part of lord Murray, that the regiment, though ostensibly

[3] It is not, however, the original MS.

[4] Abridged from a volume entitled "Notices and Documents illustrative of the Literary History of Glasgow," presented by Richard Duncan, Esq., to the Maitland Club.

raised, and in the meantime to take the oaths to, and receive the pay of king William, was really intended for king James, who would not fail to be in the country to lay claim to and revive his rights in the course of the succeeding year. No sooner had young Beaufort received this assurance than he led into the regiment a complete company, almost entirely made up of the young gentlemen of his clan. In the course of the succeeding year, lord Murray was, by the favour of king William, appointed secretary of state for Scotland, and, in place of doing any thing for king James, inforced upon every officer in his regiment the oath of abjuration.

Being a young man, at liberty to follow out his education, and in the regular receipt of his pay, Beaufort, it might have been supposed, would have found his situation comfortable, and been, in some measure, content; but his spirit seems to have been naturally restless, and any thing like an under part in the drama of life did not square with his disposition. In the course of the year 1696, a company of lord Murray's regiment being stationed at the castle of Edinburgh, where the earl Marischal, lord Drummond, and other of the Jacobite lords were imprisoned, a visit from the Pretender being at the time expected, Simon, the subject of this narrative, entered into an engagement with the rebel lords to seize upon the castle, and to hold it under the earl Marischal for the French and king James. In this project, which appears not to have been executed, only because the French were unable to make the promised demonstration, Beaufort was to have been assisted by another captain of the same regiment, who seems to have been equally faithless and equally servile with himself.

But while he was thus careful to watch the tides, and to take advantage of every wind that might ruffle the ocean of politics, his eye was steadily fixed upon the estate of Lovat, which, as his cousin Hugh lord Lovat had but one child, a daughter, he had already marked out as his own. For this end he seems to have embraced every opportunity of ingratiating himself with his cousin, who appears to have been a man of a facile and vacillating disposition, and to have been considerably under the influence of lord Murray, his brother-in-law. Of this influence, Simon of Beaufort was perfectly aware, and watched with the utmost assiduity an opportunity to destroy it. This opportunity lord Murray himself afforded him in the affair of the colonelcy of the regiment, which, upon his appointment to the office of secretary, it was expected he would have given up to his brother-in-law, lord Lovat. Nor is it at all unlikely that such was originally his lordship's intention; for, in the year 1696, he sent for him to London, apparently with the intention of doing so, after having presented him to the king. Lovat unfortunately carried along with him his cousin, Simon, whose character must, by this time, have been pretty well known to king William, and whose companionship, of course, could be no great recommendation to the royal favour. Lovat was, however, presented to the royal presence, most graciously received, and gratified with a promise of being provided for. As this was all that Lovat expected, he took leave of his majesty, along with lord Murray, leaving no room for William to suppose, for the present at least, that he either wished or had any occasion for a further interview. This his cousin Simon highly resented, telling him that it was a contrivance of lord Murray's to deprive him of an opportunity of soliciting a regiment for himself, and he prevailed with him instantly to demand of lord Murray the reason for which he had brought them at this time to London, at such an enormous expense. Lord Murray frankly told him that it was his design to have resigned to him the command of his regiment, but that the king had positively enjoined him to keep it in his own hands till such time as the

rumours of an invasion should subside, when he should certainly surrender it into his hands.

Had Lovat been left to himself, this answer would most probably have been altogether satisfactory; but it did not satisfy Simon nor his friends lord Tarbat and Alexander Mackenzie, son to the earl of Seaforth, both of whom were at that time in London, and were of service to Beaufort in persuading lord Lovat that lord Murray had been all along his mortal enemy. By the advice of all three, Lovat sent back to lord Murray two commissions, that of captain and lieutenant-colonel, which he held under him, expressing, at the same time, in strong language, his resentment of his treachery, and his fixed resolution never more to see him nor any individual of his family, excepting his own wife. At the same time that the poor old man was thus eager in casting off his old friends, he was equally warm in his attachment to the new. "Impressed with the tender affection of the laird of Beaufort, and the resolution he manifested never to leave him, he declared that he regarded him as his own son;" and as he had executed, at his marriage, some papers which might perhaps be prejudicial to the claims of this said adopted son, he obliged him to send for an attorney, and made a universal bequest to him of all his estates, in case he died without male issue. This affectionate conduct on the part of lord Lovat, deeply, according to his own account of the matter, affected our hero, who pretended "that he would for ever consider him as his father." In consequence of so much anxious business, so much chagrin and disappointment, with a pretty reasonable attendance on taverns, lord Lovat fell sick; but after convalescing a little, was brought on his way home as far as Edinburgh by his affectionate Simon, where he left him, proceeding by the way of Dunkeld to meet with his wife. He had not been many days at Dunkeld when he again fell sick, and retired to an inn at Perth, where he was again waited on by Simon of Beaufort, and, in a state of distraction, died in his arms the morning after his arrival.

Though, as we have seen, the subject of this memoir had got a deed executed by a London attorney under the direction of his cousin, the late lord Lovat, constituting him heir to the estate, it was judged by him the more prudent method to put forward his father, as the nearest male heir, to take possession of the estate, with the honours, contenting himself with the title of master of Lovat. No sooner, however, had he assumed this title than he was questioned on the subject by his colonel, now lord Tullibardine, who made him the offer of a regiment, with other preferments, which should be to him an ample provision for life, provided he would execute a formal surrender of his claim to that dignity. This produced a violent altercation between them, which ended in the master of Lovat throwing up his commission, which he bade his lordship, if he pleased, bestow upon his own footman. Through the friendship of Sir Thomas Livingston, however, he received another company in the regiment of Macgill, and his father having taken possession of the estate and the honours of Lovat, without much apparent opposition, he must have been, in some degree, satisfied with his good fortune. In order, however, to secure it, and to render his claims in every respect unexceptionable, he made love to the heiress of his cousin, the late lord Lovat, and had succeeded in persuading her to marry him, without the knowledge of her friends, when one of his agents betrayed trust, and she was carried out of his way by the marquis of Athol, after the day of the marriage had actually been appointed.

The marquis of Athol, late lord Tullibardine, probably aware that he had an adversary of no common activity to deal with, lost no time in concluding a match for the heiress with lord Salton, or Fraser, whom he also took measures

for having declared head of the clan Fraser. The first part of his plan was not difficult to have been executed; but the latter part, for which the first was alone contemplated, was not of so easy a character, being opposed to the spirit of Highland clanship. A considerable time, however, was spent in attempting to bring it to bear. A few Frasers only could be brought to engage in it; whose treachery no sooner came to the ears of the lord and the master of Lovat, than orders were issued to apprehend and punish them according to their deserts; and it was only by a timely and well-concerted flight that they escaped being hanged. A letter was, at the same time, sent to lord Salton, signed by the principal men of the clan, begging him not to attempt forcing himself upon them, and thus destroying their tranquillity, and endangering his own life. Salton returned a soft answer; but, confident in the power of the marquis of Athol, and, at any rate, in love with the consequence attached to the fair estate of Lovat, whether he was in love with the heiress or not, persevered in following out his plan, and with a considerable train of retainers came to Beaufort, at that time the residence of the dowager of Lovat, whose son-in-law he intended to be. Thomas, lord Lovat, happened to be at this time on the Stratherick estate, a district which stretches along the south bank of Lochness, and was requested by his son Simon, to cross the lake by the nearest way to Lovat, which is only three miles from Beaufort, in order to meet with lord Salton, while he himself hastened to the same place by the way of Inverness. At Inverness the master learned that lord Salton, persevering in his original design, had fully matured his plans at the house of the dowager lady Lovat, whence he intended next day to return into his own country, calling at Athol, and marrying the heiress of Lovat by the way, without waiting to see either the lord or the master of Lovat. Irritated, as well as alarmed by this intelligence, he wrote by a special messenger to lord Salton, calling upon him to adhere to his word "passed both to his father and himself, and to meet him next day at two o'clock in the afternoon, three miles from Beaufort, either like a friend, or with sword and pistols, as he pleased." This letter lord Salton received at six o'clock in the evening, and returned for answer that he would meet the master of Lovat at the time and place appointed, as his good friend and humble servant. In the meantime it was concluded by him and his followers to break up from their present quarters, and to pass the bridge of Inverness before the master of Lovat could have any suspicion of their being in motion, and thus escape a meeting with him for the present. The master, however, was too good a calculator of probabilities in this sort of intercourse to be thus taken in, especially as his messenger to lord Salton, from what he had observed at Beaufort, had strong suspicions of what was intended. He was, accordingly, at the road very early in the morning, attended by six gentlemen and two servants, all well mounted and armed, and meeting lord Salton, lord Mungo Murray, and their followers, to the number of forty, issuing from a defile in the wood of Bunchrive, about five miles from Inverness, disarmed and dismounted them; first lord Mungo Murray, then lord Salton, and the rest singly as they came forward, without stroke of sword or the firing of a single musket. Though the party of the master of Lovat was so inconsiderable at the outset, lord Salton and his party soon found themselves surrounded by some hundreds of enraged enemies, by whom, under the direction of the master, they were carried prisoners to the castle of Fanellan, where they were closely shut up under a certification that they should be all hanged for their attempt to intrude themselves into the inheritance, and to deprive the owner of his lawful and hereditary rights. Nor had they any right to consider this as a mere bravado: the history

of clan wars could easily furnish them with numerous examples of such barbarous atrocity, where there was not greater provocation.

Having thus completely marred the marriage of lord Salton, the master of Lovat immediately set about the celebration of his own. The heiress of Lovat was safe in the hands of her friends at Athol; but the dowager, her mother, was in the house of Beaufort, every avenue to which he beset with his followers, so that it was out of her power to inform her friends of any thing that was going on; then, entering the house with a parson, whether catholic or episcopal is unknown, he made the lady go through the form of marriage with himself, had her forcibly undressed and put to bed, whither he as forcibly followed her before witnesses, thus constituting it, as he supposed, a lawful marriage. This is one of the most atrocious of the many revolting actions in the life of this profligate nobleman, though one to which he has given a flat denial in the memoir which he has written of himself. The truth is, it was as foolish as it was wicked; and, after the purpose for which it was committed, viz. to remove the enmity of the Athol family, had utterly failed, he himself must have been heartily ashamed of it. There is, indeed, a total falsehood in one reason that he insists upon as proving its improbability. She was old enough, he says, to have been his mother. Now she was only four years older than himself, having died at Perth in the year 1743, in the eightieth year of her age. She had been either so frightened by him, or so cajoled, as to offer, if we may believe the duke of Argyle, writing to the Rev. Mr Carstairs, to give her oath before the court of justiciary that all that had passed between her and Lovat was voluntary, and as much her inclination as his; and she lived to hear him deny his being at all concerned with her, and to see him twice afterwards married.

But to return from this short digression. Having, as he supposed, put himself in a fair way for being acknowledged by the house of Athol, the master of Lovat abandoned the idea of hanging so many of the members and allies belonging to it, as he had in custody in his castle of Fanellan, contenting himself with extorting a bond from lord Salton for eight thousand pounds, with four low-country barons as his sureties, if he ever again interfered with the affairs of the estate of Lovat, or if ever he or the marquis of Athol prosecuted any one individual for any thing that had been transacted in this whole affair. This was only a little more of the same folly which had guided him through the whole business, and tended but to excite the wonder of his friends, and the hatred and contempt of his enemies, the latter of whom, on a representation to the privy council, had him intercommuned, and letters of fire and sword issued out against him and all his clan. This, though perfectly in the natural order of human affairs, was altogether unexpected by the master of Lovat, and seems to have reduced him to great extremity. Besides the family of Athol, which was much more powerful than his own, troops were ready to pour in upon him from all quarters, and even those upon whom he depended for counsel and assistance seem at the time to have declared against him. To the laird of Culloden, we find him writing from Beaufort in the month of October, 1697. "'Thir Lds. att Inverness, w^{t}. y^{e} rest of my implacable enemies, does so confound my wife, that she is uneasy till she see them. I am afraid they are so mad with this disappointment, that they will propose something to her that's dangerous, her brother having such power with her; so that really till things be perfectly accommodate, I do not desire they should see her, and I know not how to manage her. So I hope you will send all the advice you can to your obliged, &c. &c. I hope you will excuse me for not going your length, since I have such a hard task at home." The advice given him by Culloden has

not been preserved; but that it was not to his mind, we learn from a letter written by that gentleman from Inverlochy, about ten or twelve days after. "I am much concerned," says he, "that your neighbour Beaufort hath played not the fool but the madman. If, by your persuasion, he cannot be induced to deliver up the so much abused lady upon assurance of pardon, in all probability he will ruin both himself and his friends. 'Tis not long since he was here, and promised me other things; but since he has run a quite contrary course, and stands neither to his own nor the proposals of any other, I have sent down two hundred men," &c. &c. This view of the matter is still further confirmed by another letter from Lovat to Culloden, a few days after the above, when he seems to have felt that he was pretty much in the power of his enemies. "I pray you receive the inclosed account of my business, and see if your own conscience, in the sight of God, do not convince you that it is literally true. I had sent to you upon Saturday last, but you were not at home; however, I sent it that day to the laird of Calder, who, I hope, will not sit down upon me, but transmit it to my best friends; and I beseech you, sir, for God's sake, that you do the like. I know the chancellor is a just man, notwithstanding his friendship for Tullibardine. I forgive you for betraying of me; but neither you, nor I, nor I hope God himself, will not forgive them that deceived you, and caused you do it. I am very hopeful in my dear wife's constancy, if they do not put her to death. Now, I add no more, but leaves myself to your discretion," &c. At the same time his father, lord Lovat, wrote to the duke of Argyle an explanatory letter upon the subject, signed by himself and all the principal Frasers. The great benefit of the marriage to the estate of Lovat is chiefly insisted on in this letter, and represented as the sole cause of the enmity of the Athol family; who, it states, wished to appropriate that fair domain to themselves. Argyle, on the receipt of this letter, wrote to Mr Carstairs, who was king William's principal adviser in all that related to Scotland, and, after a considerable length of time, was gratified by receiving the pardon he had solicited for all the treasons with which his client had been charged, leaving the story of the rape for a subject of future investigation. For this also, had there been a little patience and prudence exercised, there cannot be a doubt but he would have obtained a full remission.

To be out of the way of this storm at its commencement, lord Lovat had taken shelter in the island of Skye, with his brother-in-law the laird of Macleod, where he died in the beginning of 1698. Simon, who had defended himself in the best manner he could, then assumed the title of lord Lovat, but to escape the rage and superior strength of his enemies, was also under the necessity of taking refuge in the isles, where he remained till the following year, when the duke of Argyle, with the promise of a pardon, brought him to London. Delays took place, however, in procuring his remission to pass the Scottish seals, till the king set out for the United provinces, and Lovat took an excursion into France, for the purpose of lodging, at the court of St Germains, a complaint against the marquis of Athol, and soliciting James's protection against the malignity of his powerful family. Having obtained his request, and been enjoined by the exiled monarch to wait on and make his peace with king William, Lovat proceeded by the way of London to the court of that sovereign, at Loo, being favoured with a letter from the duke of Argyle to Mr Carstairs, through whom he received a remission, he himself says, of all crimes that could be imputed to him, but restricted by Seafield in passing the Scottish seals, as has been above stated. With this remission, such as it was, he ventured to make his appearance in public, had a citation served upon the marquis of Athol and his family for falsely accusing him, and for devastating his estates; and, making a

progress through the north, returned to Edinburgh with a hundred gentlemen as honourable as himself, to support his charges, and bear witness to the innocence and integrity of his character; or rather to browbeat the authorities, and extort from fear a decision which he well knew could never be procured from the voice of truth and justice. Finding, however, that he had undertaken what would fail him in the issue, he once more set out for London, the day before the trial should have come on, and was nonsuited in his absence; and thus, by his imprudent temerity, lost the opportunity of being fairly instated in the estate and honours of Lovat, as he would certainly have been, through the interest of Argyle and his other friends, had he allowed them to do their own work in their own way.

The restoration of king James was now Lovat's sheet anchor; and, lest the Murrays, whom he suspected of being warmer friends to James than he was himself, should also be before him here, it was necessary for him to be peculiarly forward. Accordingly, on the death of king William in the early part of the year 1702, he procured a commission from several of the principal Scottish Jacobites to the court of St Germains, declaring their being ready to take up arms and hazard their lives and fortunes for the restoration of their lawful prince; as usual, paying all manner of respect to the court of Versailles, and requesting its assistance. With this, he proceeded by the way of England and Holland, and reached the court of St Germains about the beginning of September, 1702; just in time to be particularly useful in inflaming the contentions that distracted the councils of James VIII., for the direction of whose affairs there was a most violent struggle among his few followers. He had for his fellow-traveller his cousin-german, Sir John Maclean, well known in the history of the intrigues of that time, who, leaving him at Paris, was his precursor to the court of St Germains, whence in two days he returned to conduct him into the presence of the duke of Perth, from whom he received private instructions how to conduct himself towards the queen. The principal of these was to request of the queen that she should not make known any part of what he proposed to lord Middleton, who, at the time, was the rival of lord Perth for the supreme direction of their affairs, which might be said to lie chiefly in sending out spies, fabricating reports, and soliciting pensions. Nothing could be more agreeable to Lovat, the very elements of whose being seemed to be mystery, and with whom to intrigue was as natural as to breathe. To work he went, exacted the queen's promise to keep every thing secret from Middleton; and by the aid of the marquis de Torcy, the marquis Callieres, and cardinal Gualterio, the pope's nuncio, fancied himself sole administrator of the affairs of Scotland. The queen herself was so much pleased with the opening scene, that she gladdened the heart of Lovat, by telling him she had sent her jewels to Paris to be sold, in order to raise the twenty thousand crowns he had told her were necessary for bringing forward his Highlanders in a properly effective manner. But she was not long true to her promise of secrecy; and Middleton at once depicted Lovat as "the greatest traitor in the three kingdoms:" nor did he treat his favourite Highlanders with any more respect, representing them as mere banditti, excellent at plundering the Lowlanders, and carrying off their cattle, but incapable of being formed into a regular corps that would look a well appointed enemy in the face. From this day forward, Lovat seems to have fallen in the opinion of Mary d'Este, who was a woman of rather superior talents, though he seems to have gone on well with de Torcy, Callieres, and Gualterio, who found in him, as they supposed, a very fit tool for their purpose of raising in Scotland a civil war, without much caring whether it really promoted the interests of James or not. After much intriguing with Perth and

Middleton, as well as with the French ministry, Lovat obtained a commission to visit Scotland in 1703, but rather as an emissary of the French government, than an accredited agent for James. The object of the French government was to have an immediate diversion created in the Highlands, and they furnished his lordship with six thousand francs (£250) to defray the expenses of his journey, and a commission to be a major-general, with power to raise troops and appoint officers, as he should find needful. At the same time, to be the witness of his behaviour, they joined with him John Murray of Abercairney, a gentleman who ought to have been ashamed of such a companion as Lovat, and had the address to send James Murray, brother to Murray of Stanhope, so as to be in Scotland at least a month before him, where he told it openly, that Lovat was on his way, as agent for the pope and the king of France, to raise a civil war in Scotland, contrary to the positive orders of the king and his mother the queen. Owing to this and the well known character of Lovat, many of the Jacobites were shy of communicating with him, though he certainly found a few willing to depend upon his promises, and to enter into his projects. His principal object, however, most probably was to see if there were yet any openings whereby he might reconcile himself with the government, and be allowed to take possession of the estate of Lovat, the first and the last grand object of his ambition. He accordingly threw himself in the way of Queensberry, to whom he betrayed all—perhaps more than he knew, respecting his old friend, lord Murray, now, by the death of his brother and the queen's favour, duke of Athol, and his associate in politics, the duke of Hamilton; but his best friend the duke of Argyle dying at this time, he appears to have obtained nothing more than a free passport, and perhaps some promises in case of further discoveries; and with this he passed again into France. Having, while in London fallen in with, or rather been introduced to, a well known Jacobite, William Keith, and the well known framer of plots, Ferguson, who was shortly after taken up, the whole of his transaction took air before he had time to reach Paris. The companion of his travels, too, Sir John Maclean, coming to England about the same time, surrendered himself prisoner, and, in consideration of obtaining his liberty and a small pension, laid open the whole of Lovat's proceedings from first to last, so that he was discovered to both courts at the same time. The reader, however, if he supposes that Lovat felt any pain at these discoveries, is in a great mistake. They were unquestionably the very events he wished, and from which he expected to rise in worldly estimation and in wealth, which is too often the chief pillar upon which that estimation is founded. There was at this period, among all parties, a thirst for emolument which was perfectly ravenous, and scrupled at no means by which it might attain its gratification. Of this fatal propensity, the present affair is a remarkable instance. Lovat had received from king James the present of his picture, which, with a commission for a regiment of infantry, he had inclosed in a box made for the purpose. This, on leaving Scotland, he committed to his friend, Campbell of Glendaruel, to keep for him, and his back was scarcely turned when Glendaruel went to the duke of Athol, and offered him the box, with its contents, provided he would give him a company in a regiment that was held by Campbell of Finab, and was worth about one hundred and seventy pounds a year, which he at once obtained, and the box with its contents was in a short time lodged in the hands of queen Anne. Lovat, in his memoirs, relates the transaction, and exclaims against its treachery, though it was wholly his own contrivance; the box being given for the express purpose of procuring a pension for his friend, and giving Anne and her ministers ocular demonstration of his own importance.

On his arrival in France, lord Lovat found the earl of Middleton and the exiled queen, as much opposed to him and his projects as ever, but he continued his assiduities with the French courtiers, who informed him, that he might expect very soon "to be the first of the Scottish nobility, since he would be called on to head the insurrection not only as a general officer to king James, but as a general officer in the army of France; every thing necessary for the success of the expedition, land forces, a squadron of ships, arms, and ammunition, being already prepared, and nothing remaining to be done but the form of carrying it through the privy council, which a day or two would accomplish. In a day or two it was proposed in the council, when the king himself declared, that, though he had the highest opinion of the excellence of the proposed plan, the queen of England had positively refused to sign commissions for her subjects to engage in it, and therefore, for the present it was necessary to lay it aside. This was a sad blow to the hopes of Lovat; and being always fond of letter-writing, he wrote a letter to the queen, in which he told her, that she had at one blow overturned a project which he had sacrificed his property and exposed his life to bring to perfection; and he affirmed, that, so long as her majesty followed implicitly the advice of the people who were at the head of the English parliament, Jesus Christ would come in the clouds before her son would be restored; and he concluded by saying, that, for his own part, he would never draw a sword for the royal cause, so long as the regency was in her majesty's hands.

In consequence of this letter, lord Lovat was at the queen's instance imprisoned thirty-two days in a dark dungeon, three years in the castle of Angouleme, and seven years in the city of Saumur. In the meantime the project was not abandoned. Colonel Hooke succeeded to the part that Lovat had played or attempted to play. A large armament under admiral Forbin was fitted out in the year 1708, in which James himself embarked, and had a sight of the Scottish shore, when meeting first with admiral Byng and afterwards with a violent storm, the whole was driven back upon the French coast with great loss. In this expedition the friends of Lovat had requested James to employ him, and they had met with the most determined refusal, which finally, with the failure of the expedition, cut off all his hopes from that quarter. What added greatly to the bitterness of his reflections, the heiress of Lovat was now married to Mr Alexander Mackenzie, (son of lord Prestonhall,) who had assumed the title of Fraserdale, with the estate of Lovat settled on him for life, with remainder to the heirs of the marriage, who were to bear the name of Fraser, and of which there were already more than one. Thus circumstanced, he confessed, that he "would not merely have inlisted himself in the party of the house of Hanover, which was called to the crown of Scotland, England, and Ireland, by all the states of the kingdom, but with any foreign prince in the universe, who would have assisted him in the attainment of his just and laudable design of re-establishing his family, and proclaiming to all Scotland the barbarous cruelty of the court of St Germains." In this state of mind he formed the resolution of escaping from Saumur, in company with some English prisoners, and throwing himself at the feet of the dukes of Marlborough and Argyle, entreating them to interpose in his favour with queen Anne. This design circumstances prevented him from executing; but he transmitted on various occasions, letters to the duke of Argyle and others of his friends, upon whom he supposed he could depend, stating the determination he had come to, and requesting their good offices to effect his reconciliation with the queen. Some of these letters were returned to the court of St Germains, shown to the court of France, and nearly occasioned his being shut up in the Bastile for life. He

was very soon, however, engaged in forming another plan for the invasion of Scotland, in which he expected to be employed; but the terrible campaigns of 1710 and 1711, put it out of the power of the court of France to attend to any thing beyond domestic concerns; and the marquis de la Fuziliere, the principal friend he possessed at the French court, dying at the same time, rendered all his prospects in that country hopeless. The conclusion of peace, and the appointment of the duke of Hamilton to represent queen Anne at the court of Versailles, filled him with still more gloomy apprehensions, from which he was not delivered till he read in the public papers the fatal duel that had been fought between that nobleman and lord Mohun, when he again took courage, and applied once more to the French court to be set at liberty. The person he employed, however, had no success; his character seemed to be losing rather than gaining at that court, and he was advised to make his escape. Others, certain that the king would be immediately restored by Anne and her ministers, and was even now on the point of setting out for Scotland to be at hand when wanted, assured him that to depart for Scotland without his permission was only to rush upon inevitable destruction. This seems to have filled him with great apprehension, and he laboured to be reconciled to the Pretender with the greatest but the most fruitless industry, till he was driven to utter despair by the death of queen Anne, and tidings that all the Jacobite clans in the north were arming in behalf of James, who had again and again declared, that, without the consent of the duke of Athol, he would never hear of his name. In this dilemma, one of the Frasers arrived to request his presence with the clan, and advising him to join the party of Argyle, who was their old friend, and the only one that was likely to be able to afford them protection. He had previously to this written to Argyle, but does not seem to have had any reply. He now despatched a trusty servant to consult with him and Ilay, Culloden, Grant, Kilravock, and other of his old friends, who stated, that if he could make his way safe to London, the business was done. This at once determined him to set out for England, taking the best precautions he could to avoid being arrested. On the 1st of November, 1714, after an imprisonment of ten years, he arrived at Dover, where, on account of extreme fatigue, he rested for one night. He then, by a journey of two days, arrived safely in London.

Here his first care was to despatch his trusty friends, James and Alexander Fraser for the earl of Ilay and brigadier general Grant. The brigadier lost not a moment in waiting on him, expressed great joy to see him safe and well, and assured him of every good office in his power. Ilay, on the contrary, expressed considerable regret at his having quitted the provision which, amid all the severe treatment he met with, had been made for him in France, while in England he had not even the security of his life, but he engaged to bring his case before the king and the prince that very night, and to let him know the result next day. The circumstances in which Lovat had thus placed himself were by no means pleasant. In Scotland there was a sentence of death in full force against him, and a price set upon his head, while he had nothing to rely upon but a precarious promise from a few friends, who, after all, might neither have the will nor the power to protect him. He was, however, too deeply embarked to draw back, and he determined, regardless of consequences, to throw himself upon the protection of the duke of Argyle and the earl of Ilay, to take no step in his affairs but by their direction, and to live and die in their service. How happy had it been for his lordship had he never lost sight of this prudent determination. Next day Ilay informed him that he had spoken of his case both to the king and the prince, who were well disposed towards him; but,

without some security for his future loyalty, were not willing to grant him a free pardon. It would therefore be necessary for him to present an address to the king, signed by all his friends who were well affected towards the present government, and that, in this address, they should enter into an engagement for his loyalty in any sum the king pleased. Such an address as would be proper, Ilay promised to draw up, which he accordingly did two days after; and Lovat, by his trusty friend, James Fraser, immediately despatched it to the north, with the following letter to his old friend, John Forbes of Culloden, who was at the time canvassing for the county of Inverness:

"Much honoured and dear sir,—The real friendship that I know you have for my person and family makes me take the freedom to assure you of my kind service, and to entreat of you to join with my other friends betwixt Spey and Ness to sign the address the court requires in order to give me my remission. Your cousin James, who has generously exposed himself to bring me out of chains, will inform you of all the steps and circumstances of my affairs since he saw me. I wish, dear sir, you were here; I am confident you would speak to the duke of Argyle and to the earl of Ilay, to let them know their own interest and their reiterated promises to do for me. Perhaps they may have sooner than they expect a most serious occasion for my service. But it's needless now to preach that doctrine to them, they think themselves in ane infallible security. I wish they may not be mistaken. However, I think it's the interest of all those who love this government betwixt Spey and Ness to see me at the head of my clan, ready to join them, so that I believe none of them will refuse to sign ane address to make me a Scotchman. I am persuaded, dear sir, that you will be of good example to them on that head. But secrecy, above all, must be kept, without which all may go wrong. I hope you will be stirring for the parliament, for I will not be reconciled to you if you let Prestonhall outvote you. Brigadier Grant, to whom I am infinitely obliged, has written to Foyers to give you his vote, and he is an ingrate villain if he refuses him. If I was at home, the little pitiful barons of the Aird durst not refuse you. But I am hopeful that the news of my going to Britain will hinder Prestonhall to go north, for I may meet him when he least thinks of me. I am very impatient to see you, and to assure you most sincerely how much I am, with love and respect, right honourable," &c.

The above is a fair specimen of Lovat's manner and address in complimenting those whom he had an interest in standing well with. He had indeed use for all his activity on this occasion. The secrecy which he recommends was also very necessary, for Fraserdale no sooner heard of his intention of coming down to Scotland, which was only a few days after this, than he applied to the lord justice clerk for an extract of the process and sentence against him, no doubt with the intention of putting it in execution, before his friends should be able to interpose any shield of legal authority in his defence. All his friends, however, especially Culloden, were particularly active. The address and bond of security to the king was speedily signed by all the whig gentlemen of consequence in the north, and remitted to lord Ilay, who carried it to London in the month of March, 1715. Culloden, in the meantime, had, through his brother Duncan Forbes, afterwards lord president, transmitted to be presented by lord Ilay, a most loyal address to the king, signed by the Frasers, with a tender of their clan to Argyle as their chief. This was intended to counterbalance the address of the Jacobites that had been transmitted to the earl of Marr, but which he durst not present, and to strengthen the interest of Argyle, which the other was calculated to weaken. Through the opposition of the duke of Montrose, however, who had been gained over by Prestonhall and the

duke of Athol, Lovat's business was protracted till the month of July, 1715; when the news of the preparations of the Pretender for an invasion of Great Britain, transmitted by the earl of Stair, then ambassador at Paris, and the general ferment that prevailed through the country, had aroused the fears of the government. Ilay availed himself of these circumstances for turning the attention of the English minister more particularly to that too long delayed affair. The addresses which had been obtained in his favour were then given in to his majesty, whose gracious pardon he obtained, and in October, making the best of his way for the north, he was arrested by a loyal party at Dumfries as a Jacobite. Referring for his character to the marquis of Annandale, who happened to be in the neighbourhood, and to whom he was known, he was immediately set at liberty. Here he volunteered his services to lead a party of the townsmen in attacking the rebels in their quarters at Lochmaben, but the attack after it had been resolved on was abandoned through the prudent advice of the marquis of Annandale, who was afraid of the consequences both to themselves and the good cause in which they were engaged.

Leaving Dumfries, his lordship found his way into the north, where the insurgents were nearly triumphant, being in possession of the whole country save the shires of Sutherland, Ross, and Caithness, with perhaps a detached castle or two in some of the neighbouring counties. Among these was the castle of Culloden. The Grants and the Munroes had also been able in some measure to preserve their own territories; but the rebels were every where around them in great force. The first of Lovat's proceedings was to hold a counsel with his general, as he long after called him, Duncan Forbes, and his brother the laird of Culloden, who was, perhaps, the most trust-worthy man in the north; after which he went home, where he was waited upon by a considerable number of Frasers, with whom he marched for Stratherrick, one of his estates, and by the way compelled the clan Chattan to lay down their arms and disperse to their homes. Macdonald of Keppoch, too, who had three hundred men assembled on the braes of Abertarf, dismissed them the moment he was apprized of Lovat's approach. At Stratherrick he was waited upon by Fraser of Foyers, and Fraser of Culduthill, with their retainers; and to prevent the Macdonalds from reaching the other side of Lochness, he himself crossed over at Bonat, and with two hundred picked men marched according to agreement for Inverness, by Kinmayles. Colonel Grant, with a number of his own, Elcheiz's and Knockandow's men, captain Grant with three hundred Grants, and all the other gentlemen engaged in the enterprise, were at the same time approaching the northern capital in order to rescue it from the hands of the rebels. For this end, it was proposed that the gentlemen of Moray, in conjunction with lord Lovat and the Grants, should set upon it from the south, while the earl of Sutherland, lord Rae, the Munroes, and the Rosses, should attack it on the north. These latter gentlemen, however, having some of them upwards of fifty miles to march, besides ferries to cross, it was not thought advisable to wait for them. Captain Arthur Rose, brother to Kilravock, was therefore ordered to enter the town, while those that were already come up proceeded to invest it in the best manner they could. Lord Lovat, with his detachment was stationed on the west end of the bridge, captain Grant on the south side, to enter by Castle Street, and the Moray lieutenants, Kilravock, Letham, Brodie, Sir Archibald Campbell, Dunphail, &c. were to attack the east part. The attack was led on with great spirit by captain Arthur Rose, who was unfortunately killed pressing on in the front of his men; and Sir John Mackenzie, the rebel governor, seeing himself about to be overpowered, abandoned the place, escaping with his men across the Frith in a number of

boats, which but a few days before he had intended to destroy, in order to cut off all communication by the ferry. This was upon Saturday the 12th of November, the day before the battle of Sheriffmuir and the surrender of Preston. Thus the rebels were completely broken in the north, and it was a triumph obtained with very little loss. Much of the credit of the achievement was given to Lovat, much more indeed than was his due; but he was in want of something to elevate his character, and his friends were willing to give him all advantages. The immediate consequence of the honour he acquired on this day was the desertion of three hundred Frasers, who, under Fraserdale, were in Marr's camp at Perth; but now denying his authority to lead them, put themselves under the charge of lord Lovat at Inverness, where they remained till the rebellion was finally put down by the earl of Argyle and general Cadogan. But there was another consequence not very remote and of far greater importance: it secured him at once in the estate and all the honours of Lovat, which it had been the great object of his whole life to compass, but which, without some such strange event, joined to the false step of his rival in joining the rebel standard, was most certainly for ever beyond his reach. Prestonhall had married the heiress of Lovat, in whose person, by a decree of the court of session, so far back as the year 1702, rested the honours and dignity of Lovat. He had assumed in consequence the name of Fraser and the title of Fraserdale, and had a numerous offspring to inherit as heirs of marriage the estate which he had so long possessed, and had he maintained his loyalty, nothing but a revolution, with singular folly on his own part, could have dispossessed him of the property. Most fortunately for Lovat, when he arrived in the north, Fraserdale was with the earl of Marr at Perth, and there was nothing to prevent him from executing his purpose, of taking immediate possession of his estates, which he did before proceeding to act vigorously in behalf of the government, every member of which knew that such was the reward he expected. The fortunate issue of this his first action too called forth all the natural arrogancy and presumption of his character. We find him in the ensuing March, only four short months after, writing to Duncan Forbes in the following style. "My dear general, I send you the enclosed letter from the name of Macleod, which I hope you will make good use of, for it's most certain I keeped the Macleods at home, which was considerable service done the government." How had he kept the Macleods at home, when the rebellion was at its height before it was so much as known if ever he would be allowed to enter it? But he goes on to speak of his own achievements still more boastingly, and of the recalling of Argyle, which he says, has made him sick. "I hope my dear general you will take a start to London to serve his grace and do something for your poor old corporal, (meaning himself;) and if you suffer Glengarry, Fraserdale, or the Chisholm to be pardoned, I will never carry a musket any more under your command, though I should be obliged to go to Afric. However, you know how obedient I am to my general's orders; you forgot to give the order signed by you and the other deputes to meddle with Fraserdale's estate for the king's service. I entreat you send it me, for —— is afraid to meddle without authority." How his lordship wished Fraserdale to find no mercy is obvious from what is above stated; but why should Glengarry and the Chisholm find none for the very same reason? Their estate lay contiguous to those of Fraserdale; and if they could be all escheated to the king, why might not Lovat for his own extraordinary services have got all the three as well as one? Fraserdale was escheated and Lovat had only to wait till the month of August, when a grant passed his majesty's privy seal of Scotland "for the many brave and loyal services done and performed to his majesty by Simon lord Lovat, parti-

cularly for the zeal and activity he showed in suppressing the late unnatural rebellion in the north of Scotland, and for his known affection to his majesty's person and government, giving, granting, and disponing the escheat of all goods, gear, debts and sums of money, jewels, gold, silver, coined or uncoined, utensils and domecills, horse, nolt, sheep, corns, cattle, bonds, obligations, contracts, decreets, sentences, compromitts, and all other goods and gear escheatable, which belonged to Alexander Mackenzie of Fraserdale, together with the said Alexander Mackenzie his life-rent escheat of all lands, heritages, tenements, annual rents, tacks, steadings, rooms, possessions, as also five hundred pounds of sterling money, fallen in the king's hands by the said sentence, &c.

This was certainly an abundant reward, though Lovat had been a much better man, and his services more ample than they really were. It was nothing more, however, than he expected, and it excited no gratitude, nor did it yield any thing like content. Fraserdale's plate he had attempted to secure, but it fell into the hands of general Wightman; who, it was at the time remarked, had a happy knack of keeping what he got. However, he engaged to return it, Lovat paying him the one half in money, the whole being only valued at £150, sterling. In the month of April, he was, on his own request allowed to come to London, to look after all those great affairs that were then going on; and his mode of writing about them gives a curious view of a worldly man's morality:—"I want," he says to his friend Duncan Forbes, "but a gift of the escheat to make me easy. But if it does not do, you must find some pretence or other that will give me a title to keep possession, either by the tailie my lord provost has, or by buying off some creditors; in short, you must make a man of it one way or other." He was also at this time on the eve of his marriage with Margaret Grant, daughter of Ludovick Grant, of Grant; and his moral feeling on this subject is equally interesting as that which regarded the estate of Lovat:—"I spake to the duke, and my lord Ilay, about my marriage, and told them, that one of my greatest motives to the design, was to secure the joint interest of the north. They are both fully for it, and Argyle is to speak of it, and propose it to the king. But Ilay desired me to write to you, to know if there would be any fear of a pursuit of adherence from the other person, (the dowager of Lovat) which is a chimerical business, and tender fear for me in my dear Ilay. But when I told him that the lady denied before the justice court, that I had any thing to do with her, and that the pretended marriage had been declared null, which Ilay says should be done by the commissaries only; yet when I told him, that the minister and witnesses were all dead, who had been at the pretended marriage, he was satisfied they could make nothing of it, though they would endeavour it. However, I entreat you, write to me or Mr Stewart a line on this head, to satisfy my lord Ilay's scruple."—This puts an end to all doubt respecting the rape charged upon his lordship, of which he had often before, and did often again declare, that he was as innocent as the child unborn. All was now, however, forgiven; the duke of Argyle wrote in his favour to the Grants, recommending the match, and in the course of the next year he obtained the young lady for his bride.

Lovat might now have been, if worldly success could make any man so, a very happy man. He had been, for many years, an exile and a prisoner, proscribed at home and abroad, and alike odious to both parties in the state, and both claimants of the crown. He had ventured home at the hazard of his life, had obtained the grace of the reigning prince, the countenance of all his friends, possession of the inheritance of his fathers, two honourable commissions among his countrymen, a young and beautiful wife, and a handsome pension; yet he was the same as before, querulous and discontented.

In the beginning of the year 1717, we find him resuming the subject of the grant, and he requests Duncan Forbes to employ Sir Walter Pringle, and any one else he pleases, and consult together of some legal way for his keeping possession of his estate; "for," says he, "I must either keep violent possession, which will return me my old misfortunes, or I must abandon the kingdom and a young lady whom my friends have engaged me to marry. So, my dear general, I beg you may give me some prospect of not being again forced to leave the kingdom, or to fight against the king's forces. The one or the other must be, if I do not find any legal pretence of possessing the estate but by this gift." And all this was because a Mr Murray or a lord Murray had made a motion in the house of commons, for a redeeming clause to be added in favour of Fraserdale's lady, which occasioned a few hours' debate, and was improved for making remarks on lord Lovat's character and conduct, but at last came to nothing. Perhaps he was also a little disturbed by the movements of the Spanish court in favour of James, which were still more contemptible than any party motion that ever was made in the house of commons.

For a number of years after this, Lovat was fully occupied with the legal campaigns which he carried on under the direction of Duncan Forbes, for the final settlement of the Lovat estate, during all which time the affairs of the pretender gave him no trouble; nay, they seem to have been totally forgotten. After the lapse of a number of years, however, when he had got every thing secured in his own way, we then find him again treating with the pretender for a generalship and a dukedom, and all his old uneasinesses returning upon him. Having no more to expect from his "dear general" the lord president, he ceased to correspond with him; and on the breaking up of the black watch, one of the companies of which had belonged to him, he withdrew his affections entirely from the existing government, and became ready once more to act for the exiled family of Stuart.

The nation was now involved in war; and the friends of the pretender, stirred up by the emissaries of the court of France, which protected him for no other purpose but to make him a tool on such occasions—began to bestir themselves. Lovat, whose political views were very limited, never doubted but that France had at all times the power to restore the pretender, if she had but the will, and now that her promises were so magnificent, he fell at once into the snare, and was the first to sign, in the year 1740, that association which brought entire ruin upon the cause, and nearly all that had connected themselves with it. Still he acted upon the old principle: he stipulated that he was to have a patent creating him a duke, and a commission constituting him lieutenant of all the Highlands, and of course elevating him above even the great Argyle.

Though Lovat had now committed himself, and was fairly in the way of "having all his old troubles returned upon him," common sense, as in most cases, did not forsake him all once. He was employed in making preparations for the new scenes of grandeur that to his heated fancy lay before him, but he did not run the hazard of disappointment by any ridiculous parade, or any weak attempts prematurely to realize them. When prince Charles landed at Boradale, accompanied, not, as had been agreed upon with the association, at the head of which Lovat had unfortunately placed his name, by thirteen thousand men with all necessary equipments, but with seven persons and a few domestics; his friends were perfectly astonished, and none of them more so than Lovat. Accordingly, when he received Lochiel's letter stating that Charles was come, and that he had brought the papers stipulated upon, viz. the patent for the dukedom, and the general's commission, Lovat returned a cold and general answer, that he might rely upon what he had promised. Lochiel, however, being

led to take part in the enterprise, drew in some of his neighbours, and when the gathering had begun, who could tell where it would end? It might be at last successful, and all who had been backward at the outset might expect no mercy in the end. Still Lovat was cautious. He only sent one of his distant relations, "mad Tom of Gortuleg," to meet Charles at Invergarry, and to advise him to come by Stratherrick to Inverness, and by the time he reached the latter place, Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod would have time to come up; besides, he might expect to be there joined by the Grants, the Mackenzies, and the Mackintoshes. These were all engaged to come forward, as well as Lovat, who was now, from a number of circumstances, doubtful of their constancy, and, while he preserved the character of a leader, wished to see them all committed before he began to play his part. All his *finesse*, however, was of no avail. Charles took other advice. Sir Alexander Macdonald, and his powerful neighbour, Macleod, stood entirely aloof; and to crown all, his "dear general," the lord president, to whom he owed all that he possessed in the world, and to whose acute powers of perception he was no stranger, became his next door neighbour, with the almost avowed purpose of watching his every action. All these circumstances reduced him to the necessity of acting with the utmost caution, and at the same time subjected him to the most tormenting anxiety. His preparations for joining the pretender he dared not entirely suspend, lest some inferior neighbour might rise to that pre-eminent place in the prince's favour, that, in case he were successful, it was the dearest wish of his soul to occupy, and he knew not how to proceed, lest he might stand fairly committed, and be compelled to abide by the consequences. He did, however, what he could: he compelled his son to leave his studies with a view to make him the leader of his clan, and he employed, in an underhand way, his dependents to bring all matters connected with the expedition into a state of forwardness, while he himself wrote letters to the lord president, filled with lamentations for his unhappy country, and his more unhappy situation, as having to do with such mad people, and such an untoward and ungrateful son. After the brilliant affair at Gladsmuir, however, when he saw "that as sure as God was in the heavens, the mad young man would prevail," he took a little more courage, and sent to congratulate him on the victory, and to say, that being an old man, he could not come himself with five thousand men, as he had originally intended, but that he would send his son, which he hoped would be regarded the same as if he had come himself. As the course of events seemed to favour or frown upon the attempt, his lordship's conduct continued to be more open, or more concealed, till lord Loudon found it to be his duty to take him into custody. Still, as he appeared undecided, and but few of his men had gone south, and it was hoped he might still countermand them, his confinement was only nominal. In an evil hour he made his escape from lord Loudon, and, when it was utterly useless, threw the whole weight of his influence into the rebellion. The master of Lovat had a share in the affair of Falkirk, but was only coming up with his reinforcements to join the army of Charles, when he met it, totally routed, a few miles from the fatal field of Culloden. On the evening of that fatal day, Lovat was petrified with the first and the last sight he ever had of Charles. This was at Gortuleg, where the unfortunate prince arrived about sunset, a miserable fugitive, accompanied by his Irish counsellors, Sheridan, Sullivan, O'Neil, and his secretary John Hay. Lovat, on being told of his approach in this forlorn condition, poured forth against him the bitterest execrations, as having brought utter ruin on the house of Lovat, and on the entry of his unexpected visitant, he is said to have run about the house in a state of distraction, calling upon his domestics to chop off his aged head. Charles,

however, who possessed the art of flattery in great perfection, soothed him by the promise of another and better day with the elector, observing at the same time, that he had already had two, while the elector had but one. That one, however, unluckily for him and Lovat, was better than all the days either of them had seen, or were ever again to see. But the joke satisfied the old man; supper was hastily prepared, as hastily eaten, and at ten o'clock Charles changed his dress, and bade his entertainer an everlasting farewell.

Lovat had now abundance of leisure to reflect upon his folly in rejecting the sound advice of his friend the lord president; but as he could have little hope of being again pardoned, he studied to prolong his liberty and life in the best manner he could, first by proposing a mountain campaign, which, was found impracticable, and then by betaking himself to the fastnesses of his country, with which he was well acquainted. From one of these retreats he had the misery of seeing his house of Castledownie laid in ashes, and his estates every where plundered, the cattle driven off, the sheilings set on fire, and the miserable inmates driven to the mountains. He had also the misfortune to see it given over by commission from the duke of Cumberland to James Fraser of Castle Cullen for the behoof of the government, which, considering what it had cost him, and the value he set upon it, must have been worse than many deaths. As he had been so long a conspicuous character, and one of the most active movers of this rebellion, the search after him was continued with the utmost patience and perseverance, and he was at last found upon an island in Loch Morar, where he was living comfortably with Macdonald of Morar, the proprietor of the island, without any suspicion of being found out, having carried all the boats upon the loch into the island, and being at a considerable distance from the sea. Information, however, having been obtained, captain Ferguson, of his majesty's ship Furnace, sailed round till directly opposite the island, when the men of war boats were carried over land and launched into the loch. Most of those that were upon the island fled by their boats and escaped; but Lovat being totally lame, was unable to escape in this manner. He was, however, carried upon his bed into the woods, and was not found till after a search of three days. Being in no condition to make any resistance, he surrendered himself at once, delivered up his arms and his strong box, was carried aboard captain Ferguson's ship, and brought round to Fort William, where he wrote a letter to the duke of Cumberland, boasting of the extraordinary services he had performed for his family, of the great kindnesses he had then met with, and of the vast benefits he was still capable of bestowing, should he be made a participant of the royal mercy. Of this letter the duke took no notice, but he treated him with much kindness. A litter having been provided for him, he was brought to Fort Augustus on the 15th of June, 1746. On the fifteenth of July he was sent to Stirling castle, where he remained some days. From Stirling he was sent to Edinburgh, and thence by Berwick to London, the journey being divided into twenty stages, one only of which he was required to travel in a day. In this easy way he reached Barnet on the 14th of August, and on the 15th, the Friday before the execution of the lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino, he arrived in London. On his way to the Tower, he passed the scaffold that had been erected for the execution of those noblemen, which he looked at with some emotion, exclaiming "Ah! is it come to this!" When brought to the Tower, he was received by general Williamson and conducted to the apartment prepared for him, where, as his trial did not come on till the beginning of next year, he had abundance of leisure to contemplate the ruin he had brought upon himself and his house by indulging a most insatiable avarice and a ridiculous ambition. He, however, took possession of his dreary habitation

with a degree of fortitude and an equanimity of mind worthy of a better man and a better cause.

On the 11th of December he was impeached of high treason by the house of commons, a committee of which was appointed to draw up the articles and prepare evidence. On the 11th, he was brought to the bar of the house of lords and the articles read to him. On this occasion his lordship made a long speech, in which he expressed the highest esteem for his majesty and all the royal family, enumerating at great length the many services he had performed for them during the rebellion in 1715, and singular favours bestowed upon him in return by the late king and his ministers. He then enlarged with great eloquence upon his age and infirmities, particularly his deafness, in consequence of which he said he had not heard one word of the charges preferred against him. They were of course read over to him again, when he presented a petition, praying that he might have a copy of them, and counsel and solicitors might be assigned him. He also acquainted their lordships that his estate had been taken forcible possession of, in consequence of which he had nothing either to support him or to bear the expenses of his trial. Their lordships gave orders that he should be allowed the income of the estate for his subsistence. He also petitioned for his strong box; but this was refused. On this day his lordship displayed great ability and excited considerable sympathy. On the 13th of January, 1747, his lordship was again placed at the bar and gave in an answer to the articles of impeachment, every one of which he denied. After making a very long speech, his trial was fixed for February the 23d. He was this day carried back to the Tower amid the hissings and execrations of a vast mob that attended him. In consequence of a petition from his lordship, his trial was put off till the 5th, and on a second petition till the 9th of March, on which day [Monday] it commenced, and was continued till Thursday the 19th, when it was concluded, his lordship having been found guilty by an unanimous vote of his peers, by the lord chancellor pronouncing upon him the awful sentence of the law.

To give any particular account of this trial would be to give a history of the rebellion. Suffice it to say that on Wednesday, the sixth day occupied by his trial, his lordship read his defences, which were drawn up with all that sarcastic shrewdness for which he was remarkable, and displayed his talents to very great advantage. After being sentenced, the old man made a short speech, begging their lordships to recommend him to his majesty's mercy. Turning to the commons at the same time, he said, that he hoped the worthy managers, as they were stout, would be merciful. Going from the bar, he added, "My lords and gentlemen, God Almighty bless you all. I wish you an everlasting farewell, for we shall never all meet again in one place."

Though he was sentenced on the 19th of March, there were no orders issued respecting his execution till the 3d of April, when it was fixed for the 9th of that month. He had been in the meantime to all appearance perfectly at his ease, and indifferent alike to life or death. Being importuned to petition his majesty for a pardon, he replied he was so old and infirm that his life was not worth asking. He presented, however, a petition for the life of his son, who was a prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh, and who had been drawn into the rebellion solely by his counsels. The notification of his death he received with perfect composure, drank a glass of wine to the health of the messenger who brought it, and entertained him for a considerable time with a most cheerful conversation, assuring him that he would not change situations with any prince in Europe. Next day he talked freely of his own affairs, and took praise to himself for having been concerned in all the schemes that had been

formed in behalf of the Stuarts since he was fifteen years of age, and boasted that he never betrayed a private man nor a public cause in his life. He added, perhaps with more truth, that he never shed a drop of blood with his own hand, nor ever struck a man except one young nobleman [meaning, we suppose, lord Fortrose in a public meeting at Inverness] whom he caned for his impertinence and impiety. On the sabbath he talked of his family and showed to his attendants a letter he had written to his son in a style affectionate and pious, breathing the resignation of a martyr. Being asked this day some question about his religion, he answered that he was a Roman catholic, and would die in that faith. Wednesday, the day before his execution, he awoke early and prayed for a considerable time with great fervency, but was very merry during the day, talking generally of public affairs, particularly of the bill that was in its progress through parliament for abolishing heritable jurisdictions, which he highly reprobated. Thursday, the day of his execution, he awoke about three in the morning, and prayed with great fervour. At five he rose, called as usual for a glass of wine and water, and being placed in his chair, sat and read till seven, when he called for another such refreshment. The barber shortly after brought him his wig, which he found fault with for not being powdered so deeply as usual, saying that he went to the block with pleasure, and if he had a suit of velvet would put it on for the occasion. He then ordered a purse to put money in for the executioner, which when brought, was not to his taste, "yet he thought no man could dislike it with ten guineas in it." At nine he called for a plate of minced veal, of which he ate heartily, and afterwards in wine and water drank the healths of several of his friends. In the meantime the crowd was collecting on Tower hill, where, about ten o'clock, the fall of a scaffold converted many idle spectators into real mourners, upwards of twenty persons being killed and a vast number maimed. Lovat, it is said, made the remark that "the more mischief the better sport." About eleven the sheriff came to demand the body, and he was conducted to a house near the scaffold, where he delivered to his lordship a paper saying he might give the word of command when he pleased and he would obey. He then said a short prayer, desired that his clothes might be given to his friends along with his body, took a little brandy and bitters, and was conducted to the scaffold, in going up to which he looked round him and exclaimed, "God save us, why should there be such a bustle about taking off an old grey head, that can't get up three steps without two men to support it." Observing one of his friends very much dejected, his lordship clapped him on the shoulder, saying "Cheer up, man, I am not afraid: why should you?" On the scaffold, the first object of his attention was the executioner, to whom he gave his purse with ten guineas, bidding him do his work well. He then felt the edge of the axe, saying he believed it would do, looked at his coffin, on which was written "Simon Dominus Fraser de Lovat decollat. April. 9, 1747, ætat. suæ 80," and sitting down in a chair set for him, repeated from Horace

"Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori,"

and from Ovid,

"Nam genus et proavos et quæ non fecimus ipsi
Vix ea nostra voco."

He then said a short prayer, called for his solicitor, William Fraser, to whom he gave his gold headed cane and his hat, and requested him to see that the executioner did not touch his clothes. Being undressed he kneeled to the block, gave the signal in half a minute, and the executioner at one blow severed his head from his body.

Thus died Simon lord Lovat, one of the most extraordinary characters re-

corded in Scottish history. He was possessed of good natural talents, which, considering the age in which he lived, and the troubled life he led, had been considerably cultivated, but he was totally destitute of that which alone constitutes true dignity of character, moral worth. His private character, as may well be conceived, from what we have detailed of his public one, was vicious, his appetites coarse, and his pleasures low and unscrupulous. He had, however, seen much of the world, possessed great address, and when he had a purpose to serve, could make himself peculiarly agreeable. Few men have ever been so very fortunate, and as few have recklessly thrown their good fortune from them. "A protracted course of wickedness," one writer has remarked "seems at last to have impaired his natural shrewdness; he digged a pit into which he himself fell, spread a snare with his own hands in which he was caught, and in the just judgment of God, his hoary hairs came to the grave with blood."

Besides his early affair with the dowager of Lovat his lordship was twice married, first to Margaret, daughter to the laird of Grant, and secondly to Primrose, daughter to John Campbell of Mamore. This latter marriage was singularly unfortunate, and after the most unheard of barbarities exercised upon the lady, his lordship was under the necessity of granting her a separate maintenance. By his first wife he had three children, two sons and one daughter, and by the second one son, who eventually succeeded to the estate of Lovat.

FULTON, George, the author of an improved system of education, was born, February 3, 1752. He served an apprenticeship to a printer in Glasgow, and afterwards worked as journeyman with Mr Willison of Edinburgh. He also practised his profession for a time at Dumfries. In early life he married the daughter of Mr ——— Tod, teacher in Edinburgh. His first appearance as a teacher was in a charity school in Niddry's Wynd, which he taught for twenty pounds a-year. There an ingenious and original mind led him to attempt some improvements in what had long been a fixed, and, we may add, sluggish art. Adopting his ideas partly from the system of Mr Sheridan, and partly from his late profession, he initiated his pupils with great care in a knowledge of the powers of the letters, using moveable characters pasted on pieces of wood, (which were kept in cases similar to those of a compositor in a printing house,) the result of which was, a surprising proficiency generally manifested by his scholars, both in the art of spelling, and in that of pronouncing and reading the English language.

Having thus given full proof of his qualifications as an instructor of youth, Mr Fulton was appointed by the town council one of the four teachers of English under the patronage of the city corporation, in which situation he continued till about the year 1790, when a dispute with the chief magistrate induced him to resign it, and set up on his own account. He then removed from Jackson's Close in the Old Town, to more fashionable apartments in Hanover Street, where he prospered exceedingly for more than twenty years, being more especially patronised by Thomas Tod, Esq., and the late Mr Ramsay of Barnton. In teaching grammar and elocution, and in conveying to his pupils correct notions of the analogies of our language, Mr Fulton was quite unrivalled in his day. Many teachers from other quarters became his pupils, and were successful in propagating his system; and he had the honour to teach many of the most distinguished speakers of modern times, both in the pulpit and at the bar. During the long course of his professional life, he was indefatigable in his endeavours to improve his method, and simplify his notation; and the result of his studies was embodied in a Pronouncing Dictionary, which has been introduced into almost all the schools of the kingdom.

Mr Fulton was an eminent instance of the union of talent with frugal and

virtuous habits. Having realized a considerable fortune by teaching, he resigned his school to his nephew, Mr Andrew Knight, and for the last twenty years of his life, enjoyed *otium cum dignitate*, at a pleasant villa called Summerfield (near Newhaven), which he purchased in 1806. In the year 1820, Mr Fulton married, for the second wife, Miss Eliza Stalker, but had no children by either connection. He died, September 1, 1831, in the 80th year of his age.

G.

GALL, Richard, a poet of considerable merit, was the son of a notary in the neighbourhood of Dunbar, where he was born in December, 1776. He received a limited education at Haddington, and at the age of eleven was apprenticed to his maternal uncle, who was a house-carpenter and builder. A decided repugnance to this mechanical art induced him soon after to abandon it, and enter the business of a printer, which was only a degree more suitable to his inclinations, from its connection with literature, to which he was already much attached. In the course of an apprenticeship to Mr David Ramsay, the liberal and enlightened printer of the Edinburgh Evening Courant, he made great advances in knowledge, and began at length to attempt the composition of poetry in the manner of Burns. At the expiry of his time, he had resolved to abandon even this more agreeable profession, as affording him too slight opportunities of cultivating his mind, when fortunately he obtained the appointment of travelling clerk to Mr Ramsay, an employment which promised him much of that leisure for literary recreation, of which he was so desirous. He continued to act in this capacity till his death by abscess in his breast, May 10, 1801, when he wanted still some months to complete his twenty-fifth year.

In the course of his brief career, Mr Gall had secured, by his genius and modest manners, the friendship of various literary characters of considerable eminence, in particular Mr Alexander Murray, afterwards Professor of Oriental Languages, Mr Thomas Campbell, author of the Pleasures of Hope, and Mr Hector Macneill, author of many admired poems in the Scottish dialect. His poetical remains were published in 1819, in one small volume, and include some pieces which have retained their place in the body of our popular poetry, though in general they are characterised by a tameness of thought and language, which will for ever prevent their author from ranking in nearly the same form with Fergusson, Ramsay, and Burns.

GARDEN, Francis, a distinguished judge under the designation of lord Gardenstone, was born at Edinburgh on the 24th of June, 1721. He was the second son of Alexander Garden of Troup, in Banffshire, and of Jane, daughter of Sir Francis Grant, lord Cullen, one of the judges of the court of session. He followed the usual course of education at the grammar school and university, and being destined for the bar, entered as a member of the faculty of advocates on the 14th of July, 1744. During the earlier stages of his professional career, Mr Garden was distinguished for his conviviality, at a period when, especially in Scotland, it must be admitted that real proficiency was requisite to procure fame in that qualification. A strong hale body and an easy benevolent mind gave him a particular taste for social hilarity; had he lived at a different age, he might have turned these qualities into a different channel, but they suited with the period, and he accordingly became the prince of jolly livers. Nor, when he reached that period of life when certain bodily feelings generally

make ancient bacchanalians look back with bitterness on their youthful frolics, did his ever contented mind lose its equanimity. If he was no longer able to indulge himself, he bore the indulgences of others with charity. His mind was of the same overflowing description, and continued, after the body was disabled, to perform its part in the social circle. Many characteristic anecdotes have been preserved of his convivial propensities during his early practice at the bar. On one occasion, during the time when prince Charles Edward was in possession of Edinburgh, he and a Mr Cunningham (afterwards general) are said to have so far preferred wine and oysters, to watching and warding, that, when sent as a patrol by Sir John Cope, to watch the coast towards Musselburgh, instead of proving a protection to the army, they were themselves taken prisoners, just when the feast was at its highest, by a single individual, who happened to be prowling in the neighbourhood. It must, however, be allowed, that at that period, there were not many inducements to exertion held out to Scotsmen of the higher rank. There were few men eminent for their genius, or even for the more passive acquirements of classical learning, which distinguished the neighbouring country. The bar was the only profession which, from its respectability and emoluments, offered itself as a resource to the younger sons of the landed proprietors, then sufficiently poor; and while the learning and information at that time required by its members in their professional capacity were not great, the jealousy of England, just after the Union, allowed but to one family in Scotland, the rational prospect that time and labour might be well spent in preparing for the duties of a statesman. The state of the country and its political influence was singularly discouraging to the upper classes, and from leaving many naturally active spirits unemployed, it turned to indolence or unprofitable amusements, the talents of those who might have been the best ornaments of their country. The nation had then, indeed, begun by degrees to shake off its lethargy, and by the time the subject of this memoir had advanced a little in life, he became one of the most admired and beloved social members of a circle of illustrious philosophers and historians, whose names are dear to the memory of their countrymen, as those who first roused their slumbering energies.

On the 14th of July, 1744, Mr Garden was made sheriff of Kincardineshire, and he soon after showed the soundness of his perception and the liberality of his mind, by stretching forth his hand to assist the modest talent, and elegant taste of the author of the Minstrel: to those who may, from its lingering remnants at the present time, have formed any idea of the stately coldness preserved by the higher classes in Scotland towards their inferiors, in the middle of the eighteenth century, it will operate as no small evidence of the discernment and kindness of the judge, that he began his acquaintance with the poet and philosopher, when that individual was only a cotter boy sitting in a field writing with a pencil. In August, 1759, Mr Garden was chosen one of the legal assessors of the town of Edinburgh; and as a higher step in professional advancement, in April, 1761, accepted office in the latter days of Mr Pitt's administration, as joint solicitor-general of Scotland, along with Mr James Montgomery, afterwards lord chief baron. What were his professional attainments as a lawyer, it is at this distance of time difficult to determine, as he has left behind him no professional work, the only index which can lead to a knowledge of his mere technical attainments of a barrister. As a pleader, however, we know he was highly estimated—as his connexion with a renowned lawsuit, which spread its fame over all Europe, and created in Scotland a ferment of disputation inferior only to the heat of religious controversy, has well shown. The appearance made by Mr Garden in the Douglas cause rendered his name better known, and his talents more ap-

preciated, than generally falls to the lot of a mere forensic pleader. He was early connected with the proceedings of this great case, in the Tournelle process in France, where he appeared as senior to his future friend and literary associate, the classical Burnet of Monboddo, and is generally reported to have left behind him a high opinion of his learning, and the powers of his eloquence, even when clothed in a foreign language. He became connected with the case on its transference to England, but amidst its multifarious changes, he was raised to the bench as successor to lord Woodhall on the 3rd of July, 1764, in time to act as a judge on the case, then very different in its aspect and material from what it was when he performed the part of a counsel.

In 1762, Mr Garden had purchased the estate of Johnston, in Kincardineshire, and in 1765, he commenced those improvements on his estate, which, if not among the most brilliant acts of his life, are perhaps among those which deserve to be longest and best remembered. At the time when the estate of Johnston was purchased, the village of Lawrencekirk, if a village it could then be called, contained but fifty-four inhabitants, living there, not because it was a centre of commercial or industrial circulation, but because chance had brought a few houses to be built in each other's vicinity. Lord Gardenstone caused a new line of street to be planned out on his own property; he gave extremely moderate leases of small farms, and ground for building upon, to the last, for the period of 100 years; he established a linen manufactory, built an inn, and with a singular attention to the minute comforts and happiness of his rising flock, seldom equalled by extensive projectors, he founded a library for the use of the villagers. To assist the progress of society in reducing men dispersed over the country into the compact limits of a town, is an easy, and generally a profitable process, but to found towns or villages where there is no previous spirit of influx, is working to a certain degree against nature, and can only be accomplished by labour and expense. Although the benevolent mind of lord Gardenstone, caused a mutual understanding and kindness betwixt himself and his tenants, which mere commercial speculators fail in producing, yet many of his best formed plans for the prosperity of the village proved unavailing, and he was frequently subject to disappointment and needless expense. He seems, however, to have felt the pleasure of being kind without profiting himself. At much expense he supported a printfield and manufacture of stockings, and purchased a royal charter erecting Lawrencekirk into a burgh of barony, with a regular magistracy. He had the satisfaction before his death to find the population increase to five hundred souls, and in a letter to the inhabitants which he published late in life, he says,—"I have tried in some measure a variety of the pleasures which mankind pursue; but never relished any thing so much as the pleasure arising from the progress of my village."

In 1776, lord Gardenstone, in addition to his seat on the civil bench, was appointed to fill the office of a lord commissioner of justiciary, or ordinary judge in the criminal court, as successor to lord Pitfour. Nine years afterwards, having succeeded, by the death of his elder brother, to the extensive estate of Troup, he relieved himself for ever from some of his laborious judicial duties, and for a time from them all, and resolved to attempt to recruit his failing constitution, by making a pleasure tour through the continent. Accordingly, in 1786, he passed into France by Dover, visiting Paris and Lyons, remaining during part of the winter at Marseilles. In the ensuing spring he passed to Geneva, where he saw the ruined remnant of Voltaire's village at Ferney, from which he was able to draw a comparison much in favour of his own, where the people enjoyed permanent political rights, which would render them independent of any future superior who might not be disposed to imitate

the beneficence of the original patron. Lord Gardenstone spent the remainder of his allotted time in traversing the Netherlands, Germany, and Italy; making, in his progress, a collection of natural curiosities, and committing to writing a number of cursory remarks on the men and manners he encountered, and the works of art he had seen on his tour or met any where else, part of which were submitted to the world in two duodecimo volumes, denominated "Travelling Memorandums made in a Tour upon the Continent of Europe in the year 1792," and a remaining volume was published after his death. About the same time he published "Miscellanies in Prose and Verse," a collection of petty productions which had given him amusement, either in composing or hearing, during his earlier days. Perhaps without affectation, the gravity of the judge might have restrained the man from giving to the world a publication which could not have raised the better part of his reputation. Lord Gardenstone was either not a poet born, or his imagination had not stood the ordeal of a profession which deals in fact and reason. His serious verses have all the stiffness of the French school, without either the loftiness of Pope, or the fire of Dryden. The author had to be sure an ever teeming mind, which never emitted any thing common or contemptible, but it is to be feared, that the merits his verses possess, are those of rhetoric rather than of poetry; for, though constructed in the same workshop which formed words and ideas that thrilled through the minds of a subdued audience, they are certainly very flat and inelegant as poetical productions. The satirical pieces have a singular pungence and acuteness, and are fine specimens of the early natural powers of the author; but they are rather destitute of the tact acquired by professed satirists. A biographer, who seems to have been intimate with his lordship,[1] describes him as having expressed great contempt for the affectation of those who expressed disgust at the indelicacies of Horace or Swift, and it must certainly be allowed, that, in his humourous fragments, he has not departed from the spirit of his precepts, or shown any respect for the feelings of these weaker brethren. Lord Gardenstone spent the latter days of his life, as he had done the earlier, in an unrestricted benevolence, and a social intercourse with the world, indulging in the same principles, which years had softened in their activity, but had not diminished. He was still an ornament and a useful assistant to the circle of great men which raised the respectability of his country. He continued to use his then ample fortune, and his practised acuteness, in giving encouragement to letters, and in useful public projects, the last of which appears to have been the erection of a building over the mineral spring of St Bernard's, in the romantic vale of the water of Leith, a convenience which seems to have been much more highly appreciated formerly than now, and is always mentioned as one of the chief incidents of the judge's life. He died at Morningside, near Edinburgh, on the 22nd of July, 1793. The village which had afforded him so much benevolent pleasure exhibited, for a considerable period after his death, the outward signs of grief, and, what seldom happens in the fluctuations of the world, the philanthropist was mourned by those who had experienced his public munificence, as a private friend.

In person, lord Gardenstone is described as having been a commanding man, with a high forehead, features intellectually marked, and a serious penetrating eye. He was generally a successful speaker, and differed from many orators in being always pleasing. The effect appears to have been produced more by a deep-toned melodious voice, a majestic ease, and carelessness of manner, which

1 Life introductory to vol. 3d of Travelling Memorandums, the only life of Gardenstone hitherto published—at least the one which, *mutatis mutandis*, has been attached to his name in biographical dictionaries.

made him appear unburdened with difficulties, and a flow of language which, whether treating of familiar or of serious subjects, was always copious—than by the studied art of theatrical oratory. His political principles were always on the side of the people, and so far as may be gathered from his remarks, he would have practically wished that every man should enjoy every freedom and privilege which it might be consonant with the order of society to allow, or which might with any safety be conceded to those who had been long accustomed to the restraints and opinions of an unequal government. From all that can be gathered from his life and character, it is to be regretted that lord Gardenstone, like many other eminent persons of his profession in Scotland, should have left behind him no permanent work to save his memory from oblivion. His "Travelling Memorandums" display the powers of a strongly thinking mind, carelessly strewed about on unworthy objects; the ideas and information are given with taste and true feeling; but they are so destitute of organization or settled purpose, that they can give little pleasure to a thinking mind, searching for digested and useful information, and are only fit for those desultory readers, who cannot, or, like the author himself, will not devote their minds to any particular end. The author's criticisms, scattered here and there through his memorandums, his letters to his friends in the Edinburgh Magazine, and numberless pencil marks on the margins of his books, are always just and searching, and strikingly untrammelled by the prejudices of the day, a quality well exhibited in his praises of Shakspeare, then by no means fashionable, and of the satellites of the great bard, Shirley, Marlow, Massinger, and Beaumont and Fletcher, who were almost forgotten.

GARDINER, James, a distinguished military officer, and christian hero, was born at Carriden in Linlithgowshire, January 11, 1688. Of this remarkable person we shall abridge the pleasing and popular memoir, written by Dr Doddridge, adding such additional particulars as have fallen under our observation in other sources of intelligence.

Colonel Gardiner was the son of captain Patrick Gardiner, of the family of Torwood-head, by Mrs Mary Hodge, of the family of Gladsmuir. The captain, who was master of a handsome estate, served many years in the army of king William and queen Anne, and died abroad with the British forces in Germany, shortly after the battle of Hochstet, through the fatigues he underwent in the duties of that celebrated campaign. He had a company in the regiment of foot once commanded by colonel Hodge, his brother-in-law, who was slain at the head of that regiment, at the battle of Steinkirk, 1692.

Mrs Gardiner, the colonel's mother, was a lady of a very valuable character; but it pleased God to exercise her with very uncommon trials; for she not only lost her husband and her brother in the service of their country, but also her eldest son, Mr Robert Gardiner, on the day which completed the 16th year of his age, at the siege of Namur in 1695.

She took care to instruct her second son, the subject of this memoir, at a very early period of his life in the principles of Christianity. He was also trained up in human literature at the school of Linlithgow, where he made a very considerable progress in the languages. Could his mother, or a very religious aunt, of whose good instructions and exhortations he often spoke with pleasure, have prevailed, he would not have thought of a military life. But it suited his taste; and the ardour of his spirit, animated by the persuasions of a friend who greatly urged it, was not to be restrained. Nor will the reader wonder, that thus excited and supported, it easily overbore their tender remonstrances, when he knows, that this lively youth fought three duels before he attained to the stature of a man; in one of

which, when he was but eight years old, he received from a boy much older than himself, a wound in his right cheek, the scar of which was always very apparent. The false sense of honour which instigated him to it, might seem indeed something excusable in those unripened years, and considering the profession of his father, brother, and uncle; but he was often heard to mention this rashness with that regret, which the reflection would naturally give to so wise and good a man in the maturity of life.

He served first as a cadet, which must have been very early; and when at fourteen years old, he bore an ensign's commission in a Scots regiment in the Dutch service; in which he continued till the year 1702, when he received an ensign's commission from queen Anne, which he bore in the battle of Ramillies, being then in the nineteenth year of his age. In this memorable action, which was fought May 23, 1706, our young officer was of a party in a forlorn hope, commanded to dispossess the French of the church-yard at Ramillies, where a considerable number of them were posted to remarkable advantage. They succeeded much better than was expected; and it may well be supposed, that Mr Gardiner, who had before been in several encounters, and had the view of making his fortune, to animate the natural intrepidity of his spirit, was glad of such an opportunity of signalizing himself. Accordingly, he had planted his colours on an advanced ground; and while he was calling to his men, he received a shot into his mouth; which, without beating out any of his teeth, or touching the fore part of his tongue, went through his neck, and came out about an inch and a half on the left side of the *Vertebræ*. Not feeling at first the pain of the stroke, he wondered what was become of the ball, and in the wildness of his surprise, began to suspect he had swallowed it; but dropping soon after, he traced the passage of it by his finger, when he could discover it no other way. This accident happened about five or six in the evening; and the army pursuing its advantages against the French, without ever regarding the wounded, (which was the duke of Marlborough's constant method,) the young officer lay all night in the field, agitated, as may well be supposed, with a great variety of thoughts. When he reflected upon the circumstances of his wound, that a ball should, as he then conceived it, go through his head without killing him, he thought God had preserved him by miracle; and therefore assuredly concluded, that he should live, abandoned and desperate as his state seemed to be. His mind, at the same time, was taken up with contrivances to secure his gold, of which he had a good deal about him; and he had recourse to a very odd expedient, which proved successful. Expecting to be stripped, he first took out a handful of that clotted gore, of which he was frequently obliged to clear his mouth, or he would have been choked; and putting it into his left hand, he took out his money, (about 19 pistoles,) and shutting his hand, and besmearing the back part of it with blood, he kept it in this position till the blood dried in such a manner, that his hand could not easily fall open, though any sudden surprise should happen, in which he might lose the presence of mind which that concealment otherwise would have required.

In the morning the French, who were masters of that spot, though their forces were defeated at some distance, came to plunder the slain; and seeing him to appearance almost expiring, one of them was just applying a sword to his breast, to destroy the little remainder of life; when, in the critical moment, a Cordelier, who attended the plunderers, interposed, taking him by his dress for a Frenchman; and said, "Do not kill that poor child." Our young soldier heard all that passed, though he was not able to speak one word; and, opening his eyes, made a sign for something to drink. They gave him a sup of some

spirituous liquor, which happened to be at hand; by which he said he found a more sensible refreshment than he could remember from any thing he had tasted either before or since. He was afterwards carried by the French to a convent in the neighbourhood, and cured by the benevolent lady-abbess in the course of a few months. His protectress called him her son, and treated him with all the affection and care of a mother; and he always declared, that every thing which he saw within these walls, was conducted with the strictest decency and decorum. He received a great many devout admonitions from the ladies there, and they would fain have persuaded him to acknowledge what they thought so miraculous a deliverance, by embracing the *Catholic Faith*, as they were pleased to call it. But they could not succeed: for though no religion lay near his heart, yet he had too much of the spirit of a gentleman, lightly to change that form of religion which he wore, as it were, loose about him.

He served with distinction in all the other glorious actions fought by the duke of Marlborough, and rose through a course of rapid and deserved promotion. In 1706, he was made a lieutenant, and very quickly after he received a cornet's commission in the Scots Greys, then commanded by the earl of Stair. On the 31st of January, 1714-15, he was made captain-lieutenant in colonel Ker's regiment of dragoons. At the taking of Preston in Lancashire, 1715, he headed a party of twelve, and, advancing to the barricades of the insurgents, set them on fire, notwithstanding a furious storm of musketry, by which eight of his men were killed. A long peace ensued after this action, and Gardiner being favourably known to the earl of Stair, was made his aid-de-camp, and accompanied his lordship on his celebrated embassy to Paris. When lord Stair made his splendid entrance into Paris, captain Gardiner was his master of the horse; and a great deal of the care of that admirably well-adjusted ceremony fell upon him; so that he gained great credit by the manner in which he conducted it. Under the benign influences of his lordship's favour, which to the last day of his life he retained, a captain's commission was procured for him, dated July 22, 1715, in the regiment of dragoons commanded by colonel Stanhope, then earl of Harrington; and in 1717, he was advanced to the majority of that regiment; in which office he continued till it was reduced, November 10, 1718, when he was put out of commission. But his majesty, king George I., was so thoroughly apprised of his faithful and important services, that he gave him his sign manual, entitling him to the first majority that should become vacant in any regiment of horse or dragoons, which happened about five years after to be in Croft's regiment of dragoons, in which he received a commission, dated June 1st, 1724; and on the 20th of July, the same year, he was made major of an older regiment, commanded by the earl of Stair.

The remainder of his military appointments may be here summed up. On the 24th January, 1729-30, he was advanced to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the same regiment, long under the command of lord Cadogan, with whose friendship this brave and vigilant officer was also honoured for many years; and he continued in this rank and regiment till the 19th of April, 1743, when he received a colonel's commission over a new regiment of dragoons, at the head of which he was destined to fall, about two years and a half after he had received it.

Captain Gardiner lived for several years a very gay and dissolute life, insomuch as even to distinguish himself at the dissolute court of the regent Orleans. His conduct was characterized by every species of vice, and his constitution enabled him to pursue his courses with such *insouciance* of manner, that he acquired the name of "the happy rake."

Still the checks of conscience, and some remaining principles of good education, would break in upon his most licentious hours; and I particularly remember, says Dr Doddridge, he told me, that when some of his dissolute companions were once congratulating him on his distinguished felicity, a dog happening at that time to come into the room, he could not forbear groaning inwardly, and saying to himself "Oh that I were that dog!" But these remonstrances of reason and conscience were in vain; and, in short, he carried things so far, in this wretched part of his life, that I am well assured, some sober English gentlemen, who made no great pretences to religion, how agreeable soever he might have been to them on other accounts, rather declined than sought his company, as fearing they might have been ensnared and corrupted by it.

The crisis, however, of this course of wickedness, arrived at last. "I am now come," says his biographer, to that astonishing part of his story, the account of his conversion, which I cannot enter upon without assuring the reader, that I have sometimes been tempted to suppress many circumstances of it; not only as they may seem incredible to some, and enthusiastical to others, but I am very sensible they are liable to great abuses; which was the reason that he gave me for concealing the most extraordinary from many persons to whom he mentioned some of the rest.

This memorable event happened towards the middle of July, 1719; but I cannot be exact as to the day. The major had spent the evening (and, if I mistake not, it was the Sabbath) in some gay company, and had an unhappy assignation with a married woman, of what rank or quality I did not particularly inquire, whom he was to attend exactly at twelve. The company broke up about eleven; and not judging it convenient to anticipate the time appointed, he went into his chamber to kill the tedious hour, perhaps with some amusing book, or some other way. But it very accidentally happened, that he took up a religious book, which his good mother or aunt had, without his knowledge, slipped into his portmanteau. It was called, if I remember the title exactly, *The Christian Soldier, or Heaven taken by Storm;* and was written by Mr Thomas Watson. Guessing by the title of it, that he should find some phrases of his own profession spiritualized, in a manner which he thought might afford him some diversion, he resolved to dip into it; but he took no serious notice of any thing he read in it: and yet, while this book was in his hand, an impression was made upon his mind, (perhaps God only knows how,) which drew after it a train of the most important and happy consequences. There is indeed a possibility, that while he was sitting in this solitude, and reading in this careless and profane manner, he might suddenly fall asleep, and only dream of what he apprehended he saw. But nothing can be more certain, than that, when he gave me this relation, [1739,] he judged himself to have been as broad awake during the whole time, as he ever was in any part of his life; and he mentioned it to me several times afterwards as what undoubtedly passed, not only in his imagination, but before his eyes.

He thought he saw an unusual blaze of light fall on the book while he was reading, which he at first imagined might happen by some accident in the candle. But lifting up his eyes, he apprehended, to his extreme amazement, that there was before him, as it were suspended in the air, a visible representation of the Lord Jesus Christ upon the cross, surrounded on all sides with a glory; and was impressed, as if a voice, or something equivalent to a voice, had come to him, to this effect, (for he was not confident as to the very words,) 'Oh, sinner! did I suffer this for thee, and are these the returns?' But whether this were an audible voice, or only a strong impression on his mind equally strik-

ing, he did not seem very confident, though to the best of my remembrance, he rather judged it to be the former. Struck with so amazing a phenomenon as this, there remained hardly any life in him, so that he sank down in the arm-chair in which he sat, and continued, he knew not exactly how long, insensible; which was one circumstance, that made me several times take the liberty to suggest, that he might possibly be all this while asleep; but however that were, he quickly after opened his eyes, and saw nothing more than usual.

It may easily be supposed, he was in no condition to make any observation upon the time in which he had remained in an insensible state. Nor did he, throughout all the remainder of the night, once recollect that criminal and detestable assignation, which had before engrossed all his thoughts. He rose in a tumult of passions, not to be conceived; and walked to and fro in his chamber, till he was ready to drop down, in unutterable astonishment and agony of heart; appearing to himself the vilest monster in the creation of God, who had all his lifetime been crucifying Christ afresh by his sins, and now saw, as he assuredly believed, by a miraculous vision, the horror of what he had done. With this was connected such a view, both of the majesty and goodness of God, as caused him to loath and abhor himself, and to *repent as in dust and ashes.* He immediately gave judgment against himself, that he was most justly worthy of eternal damnation: he was astonished, that he had not been immediately struck dead in the midst of his wickedness: and (which I think deserves particular remark,) though he assuredly believed that he should ere long be in hell, and settled it as a point with himself for several months, that the wisdom and justice of God did almost necessarily require, that such an enormous sinner should be made an example of everlasting vengeance, and a spectacle as such both to angels and men, so that he hardly durst presume to pray for pardon; yet what he then suffered, was not so much from the fear of hell, though he concluded it would soon be his portion, as from a sense of that horrible ingratitude he had shown to the God of his life, and to that blessed Redeemer who had been in so affecting a manner *set forth as crucified before him.*

The mind of major Gardiner continued from this remarkable time till toward the end of October, (that is, rather more than three months, but especially the two first of them,) in as extraordinary a situation as one can well imagine. He knew nothing of the joys arising from a sense of pardon; but, on the contrary, for the greater part of that time, and with very short intervals of hope towards the end of it, took it for granted, that he must in all probability quickly perish. Nevertheless, he had such a sense of the evil of sin, and of the goodness of the Divine Being, and of the admirable tendency of the Christian revelation, that he resolved to spend the remainder of his life, while God continued him out of hell, in as rational and as useful a manner as he could; and to continue casting himself at the foot of divine mercy, every day, and often in a day, if peradventure there might be hope of pardon, of which all that he could say was, that he did not absolutely despair. He had at that time such a sense of the degeneracy of his own heart, that he hardly durst form any determinate resolution against sin, or pretend to engage himself by any vow in the presence of God; but he was continually crying to him, that he would deliver him from the bondage of corruption. He perceived in himself a most surprising alteration with regard to the dispositions of his heart; so that, though he felt little of the delight of religious duties, he extremely desired opportunities of being engaged in them; and those licentious pleasures which had before been his heaven, were now absolutely his aversion. And indeed, when I consider how habitual all those criminal indulgences were grown to him, and that he was now in the prime of life, and all this while in high health too, I cannot but be astonished to reflect

upon it, that he should be so wonderfully sanctified in body, as well as in soul and spirit, as that, for all the future years of his life, he, from that hour, should find so constant a disinclination to, and abhorrence of, those criminal sensualities, to which he fancied he was before so invincibly impelled by his very constitution, that he was used strangely to think and to say, that Omnipotence itself could not reform him, without destroying that body and giving him another.

Nor was he only delivered from that bondage of corruption which had been habitual to him for many years, but felt in his breast so contrary a disposition, that he was grieved to see human nature, in those to whom he was most entirely a stranger, prostituted to such low and contemptible pursuits. He, therefore, exerted his natural courage in a very new kind of combat, and became an open advocate for religion, in all its principles, so far as he was acquainted with them, and all its precepts, relating to sobriety, righteousness and godliness. Yet he was very desirous and cautious that he might not run into an extreme, and made it one of his first petitions to God, the very day after these amazing impressions had been wrought in his mind, that he might not be suffered to behave with such an affected strictness and preciseness, as would lead others about him into mistaken notions of religion, and expose it to reproach or suspicion, as if it were an unlovely or uncomfortable thing. For this reason he endeavoured to appear as cheerful in conversation as he conscientiously could; though, in spite of all his precautions, some traces of that deep inward sense which he had of his guilt and misery, would at times appear. He made no secret of it, however, that his views were entirely changed, though he concealed the particular circumstances attending that change. He told his most intimate companions freely, that he had reflected on the course of life in which he had so long joined them, and found it to be folly and madness, unworthy a rational creature, and much more unworthy persons calling themselves Christians. And he set up his standard, upon all occasions, against principles of infidelity and practices of vice, as determinately and as boldly as ever he displayed or planted his colours, when he bore them with so much honour in the field."

Such is the account given by an exceedingly honest and well-meaning writer of the remarkable conversion of colonel Gardiner; an account too minute and curious to be passed over by a modern biographer, whatever credence may be given to the circumstances of which it is composed. While the minds of our readers will probably find an easy explanation of the "phenomenon" in the theories which some late writers have started respecting such impressions of the senses, we shall present a remarkably interesting notice of the pious soldier, which was written twenty years before his death, and a still longer period antecedent to Doddridge's publication, and must therefore be considered as entitled to particular attention and credit. It is extracted from a journal of the historian Wodrow, [MS. Advocates' Library,] where it appears under date May 1725, as having just been taken down from the mouths of various informants:

"From him and others, I have a very pleasant account of major Gardiner, formerly master of horse to the earl of Stairs, and now lately on the death of ——— Craig, made major of Stair's grey horse. He seems to be one of the most remarkable instances of free grace that has been in our times. He is one of the bravest and gallantest men in Britain, and understands military affairs exactly well. He was a lieutenant or a captain many years ago in Glasgow, where he was extremely vicious. He had a criminal correspondence with ——— ———,[1] as my informer tells us he owns with sorrow. He acknow-

1 The name is expressed in a secret hand used by the venerable historian.

ledges with the deepest concern there was scarce an evil but what he was addicted to it, and he observes that he on many accounts has reason to reckon himself the chief of sinners, much more than Paul, for besides the multitude of the most horrid sins, he did them not ignorantly and through unbelief, but over the belly of light and knowledge. When he was with my lord Stair, ambassador at Paris, he was riding on one of his most unruly and fiery horses, which could not bear the spur, and in the streets met the hostie and crowd with it. Whether of design or accidentally I cannot say, but his horse and he soon made a clean street, and the hostie came to the ground. The ambassador's house was attacked for the abuse of the hostie, and he was obliged to write over to court about it. The change wrought on the Major a few years ago was *gradual and imperceptible.* I think profane swearing was the first thing he refrained from, and then other vices, and still as he refrained from them, he bore testimony against them in others, in the army, at court, and every where, and reproved them in great and small with the utmost boldness. At length he is thoroughly reformed, and walks most closely in ordinances, and while with his troops in Galloway, he haunts mostly at the houses of the ministers; and has made a sensible reformation among the troops he commands, and nothing like vice is to be seen among them. His walk and conversation is most tender and christian; he rises by four in summer and winter, and nobody has access to him till eight, and some later, and these hours he spends in secret religion. He is a close and exemplary keeper of ordinances, and a constant terror to vice wherever he is, and a serious keeper of the Sabbath. We have at this time several excellent officers in the army, and who have been in it. Colonel Blackader, colonel Erskine, lieutenant-colonel Cunningham, and this gentleman. May the Lord increase them!"

"This resolute and exemplary Christian now entered upon that methodical manner of living, which he pursued through so many succeeding years of life. A life any thing like his, could not be entered upon in the midst of such company as he had been accustomed to keep, without great opposition; especially as he did not entirely withdraw himself from all the circles of cheerful conversation; but, on the contrary, gave several hours every day to it, lest religion should be reproached, as having made him morose. He, however, early began a practice, which to the last day of his life he retained, of reproving vice and profaneness; and was never afraid to debate the matter with any, under the consciousness of such superiority in the goodness of his cause.

A remarkable instance of this happened about the middle of the year 1720, though I cannot be very exact as to the date of the story. It was, however, on his first return, to make any considerable abode in England, after this remarkable change. He had heard, on the other side of the water, that it was currently reported among his companions at home, that he was stark mad: a report at which no reader, who knows the wisdom of the world in these matters, will be much surprised, any more than himself. He concluded, therefore, that he should have many battles to fight, and was willing to despatch the business as fast as he could. And therefore, being to spend a few days at the country-house of a person of distinguished rank, with whom he had been very intimate, (whose name I do not remember that he told me, nor did I think it proper to inquire after it,) he begged the favour of him that he would contrive matters so, that a day or two after he came down, several of their former gay companions might meet at his lordship's table; that he might have an opportunity of making his apology to them, and acquainting them with the nature and reasons of his change. It was accordingly agreed to; and a pretty large company met on the day appointed, with previous notice that major Gardiner

would be there. A good deal of raillery passed at dinner, to which the major made very little answer. But when the cloth was taken away, and the servants retired, he begged their patience for a few minutes, and then plainly and seriously told them what notions he entertained of virtue and religion, and on what considerations he had absolutely determined, that by the grace of God he would make it the care and business of life, whatever he might lose by it, and whatever censure and contempt he might incur. He well knew how improper it was in such company to relate the extraordinary manner he was awakened; which they would probably have interpreted as a demonstration of lunacy, against all the gravity and solidity of his discourse; but he contented himself with such a rational defence of a righteous, sober, and godly life, as he knew none of them could with any shadow of reason contest. He then challenged them to propose any thing they could urge, to prove that a life of irreligion and debauchery was preferable to the fear, love, and worship of the eternal God, and a conduct agreeable to the precepts of his gospel. And he failed not to bear his testimony from his own experience, that after having run the widest round of sensual pleasures, with all the advantages the best constitution and spirits could give him, he had never tasted any thing that deserved to be called happiness, till he had made religion his refuge and his delight. He testified calmly and boldly, the habitual serenity and peace that he now felt in his own breast, and the composure and pleasure with which he looked forward to objects, which the gayest sinner must acknowledge to be equally unavoidable and dreadful. I know not what might be attempted by some of the company in answer to this; but I well remember he told me, the master of the table, a person of a very frank and candid disposition, cut short the debate, and said, 'Come, let us call another cause: we thought this man mad, and he is in good earnest proving that we are so.' On the whole, this well-judged circumstance saved him a great deal of future trouble. When his former acquaintance observed that he was still conversable and innocently cheerful, and that he was immoveable in his resolutions, they desisted from farther importunity. And he has assured me, that instead of losing any one valuable friend by this change in his character, he found himself much more esteemed and regarded by many who could not persuade themselves to imitate his example.

I meet not with any other remarkable event relating to major Gardiner, which can properly be introduced here, till the year 1726; when, on the 11th of July, he was married to the right honourable lady Frances Erskine, daughter to the fourth earl of Buchan, by whom he had thirteen children, five only of which survived their father,—two sons and three daughters. From this period till the commencement of the French war, he lived either at his villa of Bankton in East Lothian, or moved about through the country with his regiment. Towards the latter end of 1742, he embarked for Flanders, and spent some considerable time with the regiment at Ghent; where he much regretted the want of those religious ordinances and opportunities which had made his other abodes delightful. As he had the promise of a regiment before he quitted England, his friends were continually expecting an occasion of congratulating him on having received the command of one. But still they were disappointed; and on some of them the disappointment seemed to sit heavy. As for the colonel himself, he seemed quite easy about it; and appeared much greater in that easy situation of mind, than the highest military honours and preferments could have made him. His majesty was at length pleased to give him a regiment of dragoons, which was then quartered just in the neighbourhood of his own house in Scotland. It appeared to him, that by this remarkable event providence called him home. Accordingly, though he had other preferments

offered him in the army, he chose to return, and I believe, the more willingly, as he did not expect there would have been an action."

The latter years of his life were rendered gloomy by bad health, and for some time before his death he appeared to move constantly under a serious anticipation of that event. When the insurrection of 1745 commenced in the Highlands, his raw regiment of dragoons constituted an important part of the small military force with which Sir John Cope was required to meet the coming storm. Cope marched in August into the Highlands, leaving Gardiner's and Hamilton's dragoon regiments in the low country; and when the insurgents, by a strange manœuvre eluded the government general and descended upon the Lowlands, these inexperienced troops were all that remained to oppose their course. After an ineffectual attempt to protect Edinburgh, the two regiments fled in a panic to Dunbar, where they were rejoined by the foot under the command of Sir John Cope, and the whole army then marched towards the capital in order to meet and give battle to the clans. The worthy colonel was much depressed by the conduct of his men, and anticipated that they would not behave better in the action about to take place: he said, however, that though he could not influence the conduct of others, he had one life to sacrifice for his country's safety, and he would not spare it.

"The two hostile bodies came into view of each other on the 20th of September in the neighbourhood of his own house near Prestonpans. The Colonel drew up his regiment in the afternoon, and rode through all their ranks, addressing them at once in the most respectful and animating manner, both as soldiers and as Christians, to engage them to exert themselves courageously in the service of their country, and to neglect nothing that might have a tendency to prepare them for whatever event might happen. They seemed much affected with the address, and expressed a very ardent desire of attacking the enemy immediately: a desire, in which he and another very gallant officer of distinguished rank, dignity, and character, both for bravery and conduct, would gladly have gratified them, if it had been in the power of either. He earnestly pressed it on the commanding officer, as the soldiers were then in better spirits than it could be supposed they would be after having passed the night under arms. He also apprehended, that by marching to meet them, some advantage might have been secured with regard to the ground; with which, it is natural to imagine, he must have been perfectly acquainted. He was overruled in this advice, as also in the disposition of the cannon, which he would have planted in the centre of our small army, rather than just before his regiment, which was in the right wing. And when he found that he could not carry either of these points, nor some others, which, out of regard to the common safety, he insisted upon with unusual earnestness, he dropped some intimations of the consequences he apprehended, and which did in fact follow; and submitting to providence, spent the remainder of the day in making as good a disposition as circumstances would allow.

He continued all night under arms, wrapped up in his cloak, and generally sheltered under a rick of barley which happened to be in the field. About three in the morning, he called his domestic servants to him, of which there were four in waiting. He dismissed three of them, with most affectionate Christian advice, and such solemn charges relating to the performance of their duty and the care of their souls, as plainly seemed to intimate, that he apprehended it at least very probable he was taking his last farewell of them. There is great reason to believe, that he spent the little remainder of the time, which could not be much above an hour, in those devout exercises of soul, which had so long been habitual to him, and to which so many circumstances did then

concur to call him. The army was alarmed by break of day by the noise of the approach of the enemy, and the attack was made before sunrise; yet it was light enough to discern what passed. As soon as the enemy came within gun-shot, they made a furious fire; and it is said that the dragoons which constituted the left wing immediately fled. The Colonel, at the beginning of the onset, which in the whole lasted but a few minutes, received a wound by a bullet in his left breast, which made him give a sudden spring in his saddle; upon which his servant, who had led the horse, would have persuaded him to retreat: but he said, it was only a wound in the flesh, and fought on, though he presently after received a shot in his right thigh. In the meantime it was discerned that some of the insurgents fell by him.

Events of this kind pass in less time than the description of them can be written, or than it can be read. The Colonel was for a few moments supported by his men, and particularly by lieutenant-colonel Whitney, who was shot through the arm here, and a few months after fell nobly in the battle of Falkirk; and by lieutenant West, a man of distinguished bravery; as also by about fifteen dragoons, who stood by him to the last. But after a faint fire, the regiment in general was seized with a panic: and though their Colonel and some other gallant officers, did what they could to rally them once or twice, they at last took a precipitate flight. And just in the moment when colonel Gardiner seemed to be making a pause, to deliberate what duty required him to do in such a circumstance, he saw a party of the foot, who were then bravely fighting near him, and whom he was ordered to support, had no officer to head them; upon which he said eagerly, "Those brave fellows will be cut to pieces for want of a commander;" or words to that effect: which while he was speaking, he rode up to them, and cried out aloud, "Fire on, my lads, and fear nothing." But just as they were out of his mouth, a Highlander advanced towards him with a scythe fastened on a long pole, with which he gave him such a deep wound on his right arm that his sword dropped out of his hand; and at the same time several others coming about him while he was thus dreadfully entangled with that cruel weapon, he was dragged off his horse. The moment he fell, another Highlander gave him a stroke, either with a broad sword, or a Lochaber-axe, on the hinder part of his head, which was the mortal blow. All that his faithful attendant saw farther at this time was, that as his hat was falling off, he took it in his left hand, and waved it as a signal to him to retreat; and added, what were the last words he ever heard him to speak, "Take care of yourself:" upon which the servant retired, and fled to a mill, at the distance of about two miles from the spot of ground on which the Colonel fell; where he changed his dress, and disguised like a miller's servant, returned as soon as possible; yet not till nearly two hours after the engagement. The hurry of the action was then over, and he found his much honoured master, not only plundered of his watch and other things of value, but also stripped of his upper garments and boots; yet still breathing, though not capable of speech. In this condition, he conveyed him to the church of Tranent, from whence he was immediately taken into the minister's house and laid in bed; where he continued breathing and frequently groaning, till about eleven in the forenoon; when he took his final leave of pain and sorrow. Such was the close of a life, which had been so zealously devoted to God, and filled up with so many honourable services.

His remains were interred the Tuesday following, September 24, at the parish church at Tranent—where he had usually attended divine service—with great solemnity. His obsequies were honoured with the presence of some persons of distinction, who were not afraid of paying that piece of respect to his memory, though the country was then in the hands of the enemy. But indeed

there was no great hazard in this; for his character was so well known, that even they themselves spoke honourably of him, and seemed to join with his friends in lamenting the fall of so brave and so worthy a man.

In personal appearance, colonel Gardiner was tall, well proportioned, and strongly built, his eyes of a dark grey, and not very large; his forehead pretty high; his nose of a length and height no way remarkable, but very well suited to his other features; his cheeks not very prominent, his mouth moderately large, and his chin rather a little inclining to be peaked. He had a strong voice, and lively accent; with an air very intrepid, yet attempered with much gentleness: and there was something in his manner of address most perfectly easy and obliging, which was in a great measure the result of the great candour and benevolence of his natural temper; and which, no doubt, was much improved by the deep humility which divine grace had wrought into his heart; as well as his having been accustomed from his early youth, to the company of persons of distinguished rank and polite behaviour."

GED, William, the inventor of stereotype printing, was a goldsmith in Edinburgh, in the early part of the eighteenth century. He is said to have first attempted stereotyping in the year 1725. The invention, as may be generally known, consists in casting, by means of a stucco mould, a representation of the superficies of arranged types, which, being fitted to a block, may be used under the press exactly as types are used, and, being retained, may serve at any time to throw off an additional impression. As the metal required for this process is very little compared to that of types, stereotyping is accomplished at an expense, which, though it might come hard upon ordinary jobs, is inconsiderable in others, where it may be the means of saving a new composition of types for subsequent impressions. In the case of a book in general use, such as the Bible, and also in cases where the publication takes place in numbers, and one number is in danger of being sold to a greater extent than another, the process suggested by Ged is of vast utility.[1] In July, 1729, Mr Ged entered into a partnership with William Fenner, a London stationer, and, for the purpose of carrying his invention into practice, allowed Fenner half the profits, in consideration of his advancing the necessary funds. Afterwards, Mr John James, an architect, was taken into the scheme for the same purpose, as was likewise Mr Thomas James, a letter-founder, and Mr James Ged, the inventor's son. In 1730, the association applied to the university of Cambridge for printing Bibles and Common-Prayer books, by stereotype, and, in consequence, the lease was sealed to them, April 23, 1731. In their attempt they sank a large sum of money, and finished only two prayer-books, so that it was forced to be relinquished, and the lease was given up in 1738. Ged imputed his disappointment to the villany of the pressmen, and the ill treatment of his partners, particularly Fenner, whom John James and he were advised to prosecute, but declined. In 1733, this ingenious man returned with blighted prospects to Edinburgh. Afterwards, however, by the advice of his friends, he gave to the world, a specimen of his invention, in an edition of Sallust, finished, it is said, in 1736, but not published till 1744, as the following imprint on the title page testifies:— "Edinburgi, Gulielmus Ged, Aurifaber, Edinensis, non typis mobilibus, ut vulgo fieri solet, sed tabellis seu laminis fusis, excudebat, MDCCXLIV." James

[1] The editor trusts he may mention, without any appearance of obtrusiveness, that his elder brother and himself have found an advantage in stereotyping which was not formerly experienced, and which may be described as a new power developed in the art. In a periodical work published by them, the process is employed to cast more plates than one, in order that the work may be published in various parts of the empire at the same time, without the cost of a different composition of types for each place, and so as to avoid a carriage of paper, which would otherwise be enormously expensive.

Ged, his son and former partner, engaged in the insurrection of 1745, as a captain in the duke of Perth's regiment, and being taken at Carlisle, was condemned, but, on his father's account, by Dr Smith's interest with the duke of Newcastle, was released in 1745. He afterwards went to Jamaica, where he settled, and where his brother William was already established as a printer. William Ged, the inventor of an art which has been of incalculable advantage to mankind, experienced what has been the fate of too many ingenious and useful men; he died, October 19, 1749, in very indifferent circumstances, after his utensils had been shipped at Leith for London, where he intended to renew partnership with his son James. The Misses Ged, his daughters, lived many years after in Edinburgh, where they kept a school for young ladies, and were much patronized by the Jacobite gentry.[2] Another member of the family, by name Dougal, was a captain in the town guard, or military police, of Edinburgh, in the days of Fergusson the poet.

GEDDES, Alexander, celebrated as a poet, a critic, and miscellaneous writer, was born at Arradowl, in the parish of Ruthven, Banffshire, in the year 1737. His father, Alexander Geddes, rented a small farm on the Arradowl estate, and, in common with that class of people in Scotland at that time, was in very poor circumstances. His mother was of the Mitchells of Dellachy, in the neighbouring parish of Bellay, and both were of the Roman catholic persuasion. The parents being anxious to procure for their son the benefits of learning, he was, with a view to the service of the church, at a very tender age, put to learn his letters under a woman who kept a school in the village, of the name of Sellar. Here he learned to read the English Bible, which seems to have been the only book his parents possessed, and which, contrary to the general practice of people of their communion, they encouraged him "to read with reverence and attention." In perusing this book, young Geddes took a singular delight, and, by the time he was eleven years of age, had got the historical parts of it nearly by heart. At this period the laird of Arradowl having engaged a tutor of the name of Shearer, from Aberdeen, for his two sons, was looking about him for three boys of promising parts, whom he might educate gratuitously along with them, and who might afterwards be devoted to the service of the church. Young Geddes, already celebrated for his talents, and for his love of study, immediately attracted his notice, and, along with a cousin of his own, John Geddes, who afterwards became titular bishop of Dunkeld, and another boy, was taken into the house of Arradowl, where he enjoyed all the advantages peculiar to the laird's superior situation in life, and, we may reasonably suppose, though we have not seen it noticed, that his improvement was correspondent to his privilege. From the hospitable mansion of Arradowl, he was, by the influence of the laird himself, admitted into the Catholic free seminary of Sculan, a seminary intended solely for young men who were to be afterwards sent abroad to receive holy orders in some of the foreign universities. No situation was ever better chosen for the educating of monks than Sculan, standing in a dismal glen, overhung with mountains on all sides, so high as to preclude the sun from being seen for many months in the year. "Pray, be so kind," said Geddes, writing from that dreary spot, to one of his fellow students, who had obtained leave to visit his friends, "as to make particular inquiries after the health of the sun. Fail not to present my compliments to him, and tell him I still hope I shall one day be able to renew the honour of

2 Among the curiosities preserved in Fingask castle, Perthshire, the seat of Sir Peter Murray Threipland, Bart., is a page of the stereotypes of Ged's Sallust, which had probably been obtained from the inventor or his family by the late Sir Stewart Threipland, who was a distinguished partisan of the family of Stuart.

personal acquaintance with him." Here, to a knowledge of the vulgar English Bible, he added a knowledge of the vulgar Latin one, which appears to have been all the benefit he received by a seven years seclusion from the sun, and from the world which he illuminated. Having attained the age of twenty-one, he was removed to the Scots college at Paris, where he completed his knowledge of the Latin language, to which he added Hebrew, Greek, Italian, French, Spanish, German, and Low Dutch. Theology and biblical criticism were the principal objects of his attention, for he had already formed the design of making a new translation of the Bible for the use of his Catholic countrymen, to the accomplishing of which all his studies seem to have been directed from a very early period of his life. When he had completed his course in the Scots college at Paris, he was solicited to take a share of the public labours of the college, and to fix, of course, his residence in that gay metropolis. This, however, after some hesitation, he declined, and, after an absence of six years, returned to his native country in the year 1764. Having entered into orders, Geddes, on his arrival in Scotland, was, by his ecclesiastic superior, ordered to reside at Dundee, as officiating priest to the Catholics of Angus. This situation he did not long fill, being invited by the earl of Traquair to reside in his family at Traquair house, whither he repaired in the month of May, 1765.

Here Mr Geddes was situated as happily as his heart could have wished, he had plenty of time, with the use of an excellent library, and he seems to have prosecuted his favourite study with great diligence. He had been in this happy situation, however, little more than a year, when the openly displayed affection of a female inmate of the house, a relation of the earl, rendered it necessary for him, having taken the vow of perpetual celibacy, to take an abrupt departure from the Arcadian scenery of the Tweed. Leaving with the innocent author of his misfortune a beautiful little poem, entitled The Confessional, he again bade adieu to his native land, and in the varieties and volatilities of Paris, endeavoured to forget his pain. Even in this condition, however, he did not lose sight of his great object, as, during the time he remained in Paris, he made a number of valuable extracts from books and manuscripts which he consulted in the public libraries.

Paris never was a place much to his mind, and it was less so now than ever, when it presented him with no definite object of pursuit. He therefore returned to Scotland in the spring of the year 1769. He had by this time recovered, in some degree, possession of himself, but he dared not encounter the fascination of the beloved object, or re-engage in the domestic scenes from which he had found it necessary to fly. Turning, therefore, to the scenes of his early life, he was offered the charge of a Catholic congregation at Auchinhalrig, in the county of Banff, which he accepted. The members of this little community were poor, their chapel was in ruins, and the most inveterate rancour subsisted among themselves, and between them and their Protestant neighbours. Mr Geddes, however, was not to be appalled by the prospect of difficulties, however numerous and formidable. His first object was to pull down the old chapel, and to build a new one on the spot. His own house, too, which his biographer dignifies with the name of a parsonage-house, he found necessary to repair almost from the foundation, and he added to it the luxury of an excellent garden, from which he was able, on many occasions, to supply the necessities of his people. In these proceedings, Mr Geddes was not only useful, in directing and overseeing the workmen, but as a workman himself, many of the most important operations being performed with his own hands. Having thus provided for the assembling of his congregation, his next object was to correct that extreme bigotry by which they were characterised. For this end,

he laboured to gain their affections by the most punctilious attention to every part of his pastoral duty, and by the most unbounded charity and benevolence. The ceremonies of popery he despised as heartily as any presbyterian. The Scriptures he earnestly recommended to his people, and exhorted them to think for themselves, and to allow the same privilege to others. Many of the peculiarities of popery, indeed, he denounced as most iniquitous, and utterly repugnant to the spirit of genuine catholicity. In his judgment of others, Geddes himself showed the utmost liberality; and he even ventured to appear as a worshipper in the church of a neighbouring parish on different occasions. By these means, if he did not convert to his views the papists of Auchinhalrig, which we believe he did not, he acquired a very high character to himself, and formed many valuable friendships among men of all descriptions. Than this conduct nothing could be better fitted to attain the object which the papists were by this time very generally beginning to entertain,—that of obtaining political power and influence; and in this respect, Geddes, by dereliction of principle, did more for their cause than all other men beside: yet their zeal could not be restrained, even for this most obvious purpose, and he had the mortification to find that he was provoking very generally the resentment of his clerical brethren. His diocesan bishop, Hay, threatened him with suspension if he did not behave with greater circumspection, particularly in regard to the dangerous and contaminating influence of heretical intercourse; but having no supreme court before which to bring the refractory and rebellious priest, the bishop was under the necessity of letting the controversy drop. Unfortunately the poor priest had become personally bound for considerable sums expended in building the chapel and repairing the manse, for the payment of which he had trusted to the liberality of his people. There was no appearance of his expectations being realized, and his creditors—a class of people whom he could not so easily set at defiance as the bishop,—becoming clamorous, a "charge of horning," was likely to suspend him more effectually than the order of his diocesan, when, through the friendship of the earl of Traquair, he was introduced to the notice of the duke of Norfolk, who, having learned the extent of the obligations he had come under in his pastoral capacity, claimed the privilege of discharging them as an earnest of future friendship. Geddes was thus relieved from serious embarrassments, but his income was far too scanty to supply his necessities, though they were by no means so numerous as those of many others in his situation. In order to provide for himself without burdening his congregation, he took a small farm at Enzie, in Fochabers, in the vicinity of Auchinhalrig, which he stocked by means of a loan, built a little chapel upon it, where he proposed to officiate as well as at Auchinhalrig, and in imagination saw himself already happy and independent. There have been men of letters, who have been, at the same time, men of business. They have been, however, but few; and Geddes was not of the number. It was in the year 1775 that he commenced his agricultural speculations, and by the year 1778, he found himself in a still deeper state of embarrassment than when he had been relieved by the duke of Norfolk. The expedient he adopted on this occasion, was one that was much more likely to have added to his embarrassments than to have relieved them. He published at London "Select Satires of Horace, translated into English verse, and for the most part adapted to the present times and manners." This publication, contrary to all human probability, succeeded so well that it brought him a clear profit of upwards of one hundred pounds, which, with some friendly aid from other quarters, set him once more clear of pecuniary embarrassments. The remark of one of his biographers on this circumstance ought not to be suppressed:—"To be brought to the brink of ruin by farming and kirk building,

and to be saved from it by turning poetaster, must be allowed to be rather out of the usual course of events."

Finding that his pen was of more service to him than his plough, Mr Geddes now seriously thought of quitting his retirement, and trying his fortune in London. He was, however, so strongly attached to his flock, that it might have been long before he put his design into execution, had not a circumstance occurred to give it new vigour. Lord Findlater had about this time married a daughter of count Murray of Melgum, who, being educated abroad, was unacquainted with English. Mr Geddes was employed by his lordship to teach her that language. In the house of his lordship he was introduced to the Rev. Mr Buchanan, who had been tutor to his lordship, and was now minister of the parish of Cullen, with whom he formed a most intimate acquaintance, and did not scruple to attend occasionally upon his ministry in the church of Cullen. This latter circumstance rekindled the long smothered ire of bishop Hay, who sent him an angry remonstrance, which he followed up by suspending him from all his ecclesiastical functions. This at once dissolved the tie between Mr Geddes and his congregation, from whom, in the end of the year 1779, he took an affectionate leave; and selling off what property he possessed at Enzie by public roup, prepared, without regret, to leave once more his native country. His people testified their affection for him, by buying up, with extraordinary avidity every thing that belonged to him, even to the articles of broken cups and saucers. Nor were his protestant friends wanting to him on this occasion. Through their joint influence, the university of Aberdeen stepped forward with praiseworthy liberality, and conferred on him the degree of doctor of laws.

Leaving Enzie, Dr Geddes devoted a few weeks to visits of friendship, and in company with lord Traquair, repaired to London in the beginning of the year 1780. Through the influence of lord Traquair he was almost immediately nominated to be officiating priest in the chapel of the imperial ambassador. The literary fame he had already acquired by his imitations of Horace, and the letters with which he was honoured by his friends in the north, introduced him at once to the most celebrated literary characters of the day, which gave great elasticity to his naturally buoyant spirits. Several libraries, too, both public and private, being thrown open to him, he resumed with redoubled ardour his early project of translating the Bible for the use of his Roman Catholic countrymen. Through the duchess of Gordon he was also introduced to lord Petre, who was like himself a catholic, and was anxious to have a translation of the Bible such as Dr Geddes proposed to make. To enable him to go on without any interruption, his lordship generously allowed him a salary of two hundred pounds a year till the work should be finished, besides being at the expense of whatever private library he might find necessary for his purpose. This was encouragement not only beyond what he could reasonably have hoped for, but equal to all that he could have wished; and the same year he published a sketch of his plan under the title of an "Idea of a new version of the Holy Bible, for the use of the English catholics." This Idea in general, for we have not room to be particular, was "a new and faithful translation of the Bible, from corrected texts of the original, unaccompanied with any gloss, commentary, or annotations, but such as are necessary to ascertain the literal meaning of the text, and free of every sort of interpretation calculated to establish or defend any particular system of religious credence." At the close of this year he ceased to officiate in the imperial ambassador's chapel, the establishment being suppressed by an order from the emperor Joseph II. He continued to preach, however, occasionally at the chapel in Duke Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, till the

Easter holidays of 1782, when he found his time so completely taken up by his literary projects, especially his translation, that he voluntarily withdrew from every stated ministerial function. The following year Dr Geddes paid a visit to Scotland, during which he wrote "Linton, a Tweeddale pastoral, in honour of the birth of a son and heir to the noble house of Traquair." He passed with the earl and his countess on a tour to the south of France, came back with them to Scotland, and shortly after returned to London. He was about this time introduced to Dr Kennicot, by whom he was introduced to Dr Lowth, and both of them took a deep interest in his undertaking. At the suggestion of the latter, Dr Geddes wrote a new prospectus, detailing more fully and explicitly the plan he meant to follow. This was given to the public in 1786: it had a very general circulation, and was well received. In the year 1785, he was elected a corresponding member by the Society of Scottish Antiquaries,—an honour which he acknowledged in a Poetical Epistle to that respectable body. This epistle is printed in the first volume of the transactions of the society, as also a dissertation on the Scoto-Saxon dialect, with the first eclogue of Virgil, and the first idyllium of Theocritus, translated into Scottish verse.

He was now advancing with his translation; but in the year 1787, he published an appendix to his prospectus, in the form of a "Letter addressed to the bishop of London, containing queries, doubts, and difficulties relative to a vernacular version of the Holy Scriptures." He published the same year a letter to Dr Priestly, in which he attempted to prove, by one prescriptive argument, that the divinity of Jesus Christ was a primitive tenet of Christianity. About the same time he published his letter on the case of the Protestant dissenters. In the year 1788, he engaged as a contributor to the Analytical Review, for which he continued to furnish many valuable articles during the succeeding five years and a half. It was during the year just mentioned, that he issued "Proposals for printing by subscription a new translation of the Holy Bible," &c. His "General Answer to the counsels and criticisms that have been communicated to him since the publication of his proposals for printing a New Translation of the Bible," appeared in the year 1790. Of the same date was his "Answer to the bishop of Comana's Pastoral Letter, by a protesting Catholic," followed by "A letter to the R.R. the archbishop and bishops of England, &c. *Carmen Seculare pro Gallica*, &c. and an *Epistola Macaronica ad Fratrem*," &c. In the year 1791, he was afflicted with a dangerous fever, and on his recovery, accepted of an invitation to visit lord Petre at his seat at Norfolk. This journey produced "A Norfolk Tale, or a Journey from London to Norwich, with a Prologue and an Epilogue," published in the following year. The same year he published "An Apology for Slavery," a poem, entitled *L'Avocat du Diable*, &c. and "The first book of the Iliad of Homer, verbally rendered into English verse," &c. Amidst these multifarious avocations, he was still proceeding with his translation, and in the year 1792, though his subscription list was far from being filled up, he published "The first volume of the Holy Bible, or the books accounted sacred by Jews and Christians, otherwise called the books of the Old and New Covenants, faithfully translated from corrected texts of the originals, with various readings, explanatory notes, and critical remarks."

Dr Geddes had by this time engaged a house for himself in Alsop's Buildings, New Road, Mary-le-bone, which he had fitted up with his own hands in a curious and convenient style. He had also a garden both before and behind his house, which he cultivated with the industry of a day labourer, and with the zeal of a botanizing philosopher; he had "a biblical apparatus [a library] through the princely munificence of lord Petre," superior to most individuals, and he wanted only the incense of the world's applause to this idol of

a translation, which he had set up to outrage alike the faith of Jews and Christians, to make his triumph perfect and his happiness complete. The vain man had by his "Idea," his "Prospectus," his "Appendix," and his "Answer to counsels and queries," secured, as he supposed, the concurrence of mankind, while he had in fact only excited expectations which, though his talents had been increased a hundred fold, he would have found himself unable to satisfy. What must he have felt or thought when he found that the book, instead of pleasing all the world, as he had vainly hoped, pleased nobody. Christians of every description considered it an insidious attack upon the foundations of their faith, and the Catholics, for whose benefit it was stated to have been mainly intended, were by a pastoral letter from their vicars apostolic forbidden to read it. Geddes, in an address to the public the following year, defended himself with great boldness, laying claim, like every other infidel, to the most fearless honesty and the strictest impartiality. The failure of his hopes, however, affected him so deeply that his biblical studies were for a time nearly suspended, and it required all the attentions of his friends to prevent him from sinking into the deepest despondency. In the meantime, he soothed, or attempted to soothe his chagrin by writing two Latin odes in praise of the French revolution, but which, on the representations of his friends, he allowed to lie unpublished till the period of the peace in the year 1801. He also wrote and published at this time a translation of Gresset's Ver Vert, or the Parrot of Nevers, which did him no honour, the poem having been only a short while before translated more happily by John Gilbert Couper. In the year 1795, he published an Ode to the honourable Thomas Pelham, occasioned by his speech on the Catholic question in the Irish house of commons, which was followed, in 1796, by a Hudibrastic paraphrase of a sermon which had been preached by a Dr Coulthurst on the anniversary of his majesty's accession, before the university of Cambridge. In 1797, he published "The battle of B * ng * r, or the Church's Triumph, a comic heroic poem in nine cantoes." The subject of this poem was suggested by the notable contest between bishop Warren and Mr Grindly, and it is unquestionably the most finished of all his English poems. The same year he published the second volume of his translation of the Bible, which brought it to the end of the Book of Ruth, beyond which it was not destined to advance in its regular form.

During the two succeeding years he published two burlesque sermons, ridiculing the fast-day sermons of the established clergy, and in the year 1800, his Critical Remarks on the Hebrew Scriptures, corresponding with a new translation of the Bible, vol. I., containing remarks on the Pentateuch. If there had been any doubt on the public mind respecting the principles of Dr Geddes, this volume must have removed it. These remarks are less scurrilous perhaps, but not less impious than those of Thomas Paine, and, professing to be the result of laborious learning, sound philosophy, and a most enlarged and enlightened Christianity, are to weak minds much more dangerous, and to the well informed more offensively disgusting, than even the flippancies of that celebrated unbeliever. They had not, however, the merit of meeting the general ideas of mankind, and we believe are already nearly forgotten. The encouragement with which he commenced his publication was greatly inadequate to meet the expense; and this encouragement, instead of increasing, had greatly fallen off;—the work being printed, too, solely at his own expense, he soon found himself involved in pecuniary difficulties, from which he had not the means of extricating himself. Never had a reckless man, however, such a singularly good fortune. We have already seen him twice rescued from ruin in a way, on both occasions, which no one less fortunate than himself could have hoped for, and on

this occasion his situation was no sooner disclosed than a plan was devised for his relief, and executed almost without his knowledge. "It is to the credit of the age in which we live," says his biographer, "that, without any further application on his own part, persons of every rank and religious persuasion, protestants and catholics, clergy and laity, nobility and gentry, several of whom had never known him but by name, and many of whom had professed a dislike of his favourite tenets, united in one charitable effort to rescue him from anxiety and distress; nor should it be forgotten that some part at least of the amount subscribed proceeded from the right reverend bench itself. The sum thus collected and expended for him, from the year 1798 to the middle of the year 1800, independent of his annuity from lord Petre, amounted to nine hundred pounds sterling. Nor was this all: measures were taken at the same time to prevent any such disagreeable occurrence in future. In the buoyancy of spirit which this great deliverance excited, he published a modest apology for the Catholics of Great Britain, addressed to all moderate Protestants, particularly to the members of both houses of parliament. This work was published anonymously; but it had been written twenty years before, and from the style and the whispers of his friends, was soon known to be his. It was translated into the French and German languages, and, considered as the work of a man who professed himself to be a catholic, is certainly a most singular performance. It was about this time the famous rencountre between William Gifford, author of the Baviad, and Dr Walcot, better known by the name of Peter Pindar, took place in the shop of Mr Wright, bookseller in Picadilly, on which Dr Geddes published "Bardomachia, or the Battle of the Bards." This he was at the trouble of composing first in Latin and afterwards translating into English, so that it was published in both languages. In the following year, 1801, Dr Geddes sustained an irreparable loss in the death of his noble patron, lord Petre. His lordship died of an attack of the gout in July 1801, in the sixty-eighth year of his age. By his latter will he bequeathed to Dr Geddes an annuity of one hundred pounds; and his son, the heir of his virtues as well as of his honours, when he intimated the circumstance to the Doctor, politely proposed to add a yearly salary of the same amount. Nor ought it to be suppressed on this occasion, that Mr Timothy Brown of Chiswell street, before Dr Geddes was apprised of lord Petre's generous intentions, had engaged that the two hundred pounds a year which he was likely to lose by the death of his patron, should be supplied by the voluntary contributions of those friends who had so generously come forward on the late occasion, or in case of their declining it, by an equal salary to be annually paid by himself. Though he was thus no loser in a pecuniary point of view, he felt the void hereby produced in his happiness, and almost in his existence, to be irreparable; and it was long before his mind recovered so much calmness as to reason on the subject, or to admit the sympathies of surviving friends. His grief, however, began to assume a milder character, and he attempted to soothe his feelings by composing for his departed friend a Latin Elegy, and he gave successive proofs that the embers of his habitual hilarity still glowed with a few vital sparks. He did not, however, feel himself at any period sufficiently collected for a regular prosecution of his favourite undertaking. At the pressing request of his friends, he began to prepare for the press the Psalms, to be printed in a separate volume. With the translation he did not get further than the one hundred and eighteenth. A trifling Ode on the restoration of peace, written in Latin, was one of his amusements at this time, and a Latin Elegy on the death of Gilbert Wakefield was the last of his compositions. Mr Wakefield died in the month of September, 1801, when Dr Geddes was already deeply affected with

the painful disease that carried him off early in the following spring. Through the whole of the winter, his sufferings must often have been extreme, though he had intervals in which he was comparatively easy. He died suddenly on the 20th of February, 1802, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

As there has been a story told of Dr Geddes having recanted his opinions on his death-bed, it becomes an imperious duty to state the manner of his death, as related by those who were about him at the time. The rites of that communion to which he professed to belong, were, notwithstanding his avowed contempt for the greater part of them, administered to him by his friend M. St Martin, a doctor of the Sorbonne and professor of divinity. The day before his death, Dr Geddes was visited by this friend, who was anxious to recall him from those aberrations he had made from the faith, and for this purpose had a list of questions drawn up, to which he meant to insist upon having answers. The state into which by this time the Doctor had fallen, rendered this impracticable. Sensible that he was in great danger, M. St Martin endeavoured to rouse him from his lethargy, and proposed to him to receive absolution. Geddes observed that in that case it would be necessary for him to make his confession. M. St Martin, aware that this was beyond his strength, replied that *in extremis* this was not necessary, that he had only to examine the state of his own mind, and to make a sign when he was prepared. He could not, however, avoid putting a question or two upon the more important points upon which they differed. "You fully," said he, "believe in the Scriptures?" Geddes, rousing himself from his sleep, said "Certainly." "In the doctrine of the Trinity?" "Certainly, but not in the manner you mean." "In the mediation of Jesus Christ?" "No, no, no,—not as you mean; in Jesus as our Saviour—but not in the atonement." After a pause he said, "I consent to all"—but of these words M. St Martin did not comprehend the meaning. The Doctor shortly after gave the sign that he was ready, and received from M. St Martin absolution in the way he had proposed. It was the intention of M. St Martin to have passed the night with him, but calling in the evening, found that the physician had forbidden any of his friends to be admitted. A domestic, however, in a neighbouring house, of the catholic persuasion, who knocked at the door during the night, just as he was dying, was admitted, and, according to the rites of her church, repeated over him the Creed, Paternoster, and Ave Maria. Dr Geddes opened his eyes as she had concluded, gave her his benediction, and expired.

Perhaps there is not in the history of literary men a character that calls more loudly for animadversion, or that requires a more skilful hand to lay it open, than that of Dr Geddes. He professed a savage sort of straight-forward honesty, that was at war on multiplied occasions with the common charities of life, yet amid his numerous writings, will any man take it on him to collect what were really his opinions upon the most important subjects of human contemplation? He professed himself a zealous catholic; yet of all or nearly all that constitutes a catholic, he has spoken with as much bitterness as it was possible for any protestant to have done. If it be objected that he added to the adjective Catholic the noun Christian, when he says that he admits nothing but what has been taught by Christ, his apostles, and successors in *every age and in every place*, we would ask how much we are the wiser. He professed to believe in Jesus Christ, and in the perfection of his code, but he held Moses to have been a man to be compared only with Numa and Lycurgus; a man who like them pretended to personal intercourse with the Deity, from whom he never received any immediate communication; a man who had the art to take advantage of rarely occurring natural circumstances, and to persuade the Israelites that they were accomplished under his direction by the immediate power of

God; a man, in short, conspicuous above all men as a juggling impostor. Now to the divine mission of Moses, we have the direct testimony of Jesus Christ himself, with the express assurance, that without believing in Moses it was impossible to believe in him. But we cannot here follow out the subject, nor can we enter into any particular analysis of his works, to which the eccentricities of his character, the singularity of his opinions, and the peculiar circumstances of his life, gave for a time an interest, to which they were not at any time entitled. His translation of the Bible, after all the professions he had made, the means he had accumulated, and the expectations he had excited, was a complete failure, and has only added another demonstration to the thousands that had preceded it, how much more easy it is to write fluently and plausibly about great undertakings, than to perform them. We intended here to have noticed more particularly his translation of the first book of the Iliad of Homer, which he undertook for the purpose of demonstrating his superiority to Cowper, but upon second thoughts have forborne to disturb its peaceful slumbers. Upon the whole, Dr Geddes was unquestionably a man of learning and of genius, but from an unhappy temper, and the preponderating influence of arrogance and vanity in his constitution, they were of little avail to himself, and have not been greatly useful to the general interests of mankind.

GEDDES, James, an advocate at the Scottish bar, was born in the county of Tweeddale, about the year 1710, and being the son of a gentleman in good circumstances, was educated by tutors under his father's roof. The progress which he made in the learned languages and philosophy, was considered extraordinary; and he fulfilled every promise at the university of Edinburgh, where he distinguished himself, particularly in mathematics, which he studied under the celebrated Maclaurin. Having prepared himself for the bar, he entered as an advocate, and soon acquired considerable reputation. His labours as a lawyer did not prevent him from devoting much time to his favourite studies—the poets, philosophers, and historians of antiquity; and in 1748, he published at Glasgow his "Essay on the Composition and Manner of Writing of the Ancients, particularly Plato." The year after this publication, he died of lingering consumption, much regretted, both on account of his learning—the fruits of which had not been fully given to the world—and for his manners and disposition, which were in the highest degree amiable.

GEDDES, Michael, a distinguished divine of the church of England, and author of some admired works, was educated at the university of Edinburgh, where, in 1671, he took the degree of master of arts, in which he was incorporated at Oxford, on the 11th of July, in the same year. He was one of the first four natives of Scotland who were permitted to take advantage of the exhibitions founded in Baliol college, Oxford, by bishop Warner, with the view of promoting the interests of the Episcopal church in Scotland. Geddes, however, did not return to propagate or enforce the doctrines of that body in his native country. He went in 1678 to Lisbon, as chaplain to the English factory; the exercise of which function giving offence to the inquisition, he was sent for by that court in 1686, and forbidden to continue it. This persecution obviously arose from the attempts now making by king James at home to establish popery. The English merchants, resenting the violation of their privilege, wrote on the 7th of September to the bishop of London, representing their case, and their right to a chaplain, as established by the commercial treaty between England and Portugal; but before this letter reached its destination, the bishop was himself put into the same predicament as Mr Geddes, being suspended from his functions by the ecclesiastical commission. Finding that his case had become hopeless, Geddes returned to England, in May, 1688, where he took the

degree of doctor of laws, and after the promotion of Burnet to the bishopric of Salisbury, was made by him chancellor of his church.[1] During his residence at Lisbon, he had amassed a great quantity of documents respecting Spanish and Portuguese history, which enabled him, in 1694, to publish a volume, styled "The Church History of Malabar." Of this work, archbishop Tillotson says in a letter to bishop Burnet, dated June 28th, 1694, "Mr Geddes's book finds a general acceptation and approbation. I doubt not but he hath more of the same kind, with which I hope he will favour the world in due time." He was accordingly encouraged in 1696 to publish the "Church History of Æthiopia," and in 1697, a pamphlet entitled "The Council of Trent plainly discovered not to have been a free assembly." His great work, however, was his "Tracts on Divers Subjects," which appeared in 1714, in three volumes, being a translation of the most interesting pieces which he had collected at Lisbon, and of which a list is given in Moreri's Grand Dictionaire Historique, art. Geddes. The learned doctor must have died previous to the succeeding year, as in 1715 appeared a posthumous volume of tracts against the Roman Catholic church, which completes the list of his publications.

GERARD, Alexander, D. D., an eminent divine and writer, was the eldest son of the reverend Gilbert Gerard, minister of the chapel of Garioch, a parish in Aberdeenshire, where he was born on the 22nd of February, 1728. He was removed at the period destined for the commencement of his education, to the parish of Foveran, in the same county, the humble schoolmaster of which appears to have possessed such superior classical attainments, that the reverend gentleman felt justified in delivering his son up to his care,—a preference which he future fame of that son, founded on his correctness of acquisition and observation, must have given his friends no cause to regret. At the age of ten, on the death of his father, he was removed to the grammar school of Aberdeen, whence he emerged in two years, qualified to enter as a student of Marischal college. Having there performed his four years of academical attendance in the elementary branches, he finished his career with the usual ceremony of "the graduation," and appeared before the world in the capacity of master of arts at the age of sixteen,—not by any means the earliest age at which that degree is frequently granted, but certainly at a period sufficiently early to entitle him to the character of precocious genius. Immediately after finishing these branches of education, he commenced in the divinity hall of Aberdeen his theological studies, which he afterwards finished in Edinburgh.

In 1748, he was a licensed preacher of the church of Scotland, and about two years thereafter, Mr D. Fordyce, professor of natural philosophy in Marischal college, having gone abroad, he lectured in his stead; and on the regretted death of that gentleman, by shipwreck on the coast of Holland, just as he was returning to his friends, Mr Gerard was appointed to the vacant professorship. At the period when Mr Gerard was appointed to a chair in Marischal college, the philosophical curriculum, commencing with logic, proceeded immediately to the abstract subjects of ontology and pneumatics, the course gradually decreasing in abstruseness with the consideration of morals and politics, and terminating with the more definite and practical doctrines of natural philosophy. Through the whole of this varied course it was the duty of each individual to lead his pupils; mathematics and Greek being alone taught by separate professors. The evils of this system suggested to the professors of Marischal college, the formation of a plan for the radical alteration of the routine, which has since been most beneficially conducive to the progress of Scottish literature. A very curious and now rare pamphlet, from the pen of Dr Gerard, exists on this subject;

[1] Birch's Life of Tillotson, 334.

it is entitled, "Plan of Education in the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen, with the Reasons of it, drawn up by order of the Faculty," printed at Aberdeen in 1755; a little work of admirable perspicuity and sound logical reasoning. The rationale of the ancient system was founded on the presumption, that, as it is by the use of logic and the other metaphysical sciences alone, that we can arrange, digest, and reason upon the facts which come under our observation, these must be committed to the mind as rules of management, before any facts collected can be applied to their proper purposes, and that before any knowledge of nature, as it exists, is stored in the intellect, that intellect must be previously possessed of certain regulations, to the criterion of which the knowledge gained must be submitted. A quotation from Dr Gerard's little work will afford one of the best specimens of the now pretty generally understood confutation of this fallacy; speaking of logic, he says:—"This is one of the most abstruse and difficult branches of philosophy, and therefore quite improper to begin with. It has a strict dependence on many parts of knowledge: these must of consequence be premised, before it can be rightly apprehended,—the natural history of the human understanding must be known, and its phenomena discovered; for without this, the exertions of the intellectual faculties, and their application to the various subjects of science will be unintelligible. These phenomena must be not only *narrated*, but likewise, as far as possible, *explained:* for without investigating their general laws, no certain and general conclusions concerning their exercise can be deduced: nay, all sciences, all branches of knowledge whatever, must be premised as a groundwork to genuine logic. History has one kind of evidence, mathematics another; natural philosophy, one still different; the philosophy of nature, another distinct from all these; the subordinate branches of these several parts, have still minuter peculiarities in the evidence appropriated to them. An unprejudiced mind will in each of these be convinced by that species of argument which is peculiar to it, though it does not reflect how it comes to be convinced. By being conversant in *them*, one is prepared for the study of *logic;* for they supply them with a fund of materials: in *them* the different kinds of evidence and argument are exemplified: from *them* only those illustrations can be taken, without which its rules and precepts would be unintelligible." * * * "In studying the particular sciences, reason will spontaneously exert itself: if the proper and natural method of reasoning is used, the mind will, by the native force of its faculties, perceive the evidence, and be convinced by it; though it does not reflect how this comes to pass, nor explicitly consider according to what general rules the understanding is exerted. By afterwards studying these rules, one will be farther fitted for prosecuting the several sciences; the knowledge of the grounds and laws of evidence will give him the security of *reflection*, against employing wrong methods of proof, and improper kinds of evidence, additional to that of instinct and *natural genius.*" The consequence of this acknowledgment of the supremacy of reason and practice over argumentation and theory, was the establishment of a course of lectures on natural and civil history, previously to inculcating the corresponding sciences of natural and mental philosophy; an institution from which,—wherever the former part consists of anything better than a blundering among explosive combustibles, and a clattering among glass vessels, or the latter is anything superior to a circumstantial narrative of ancient falsehoods and modern dates,—the student derives a tissue of sound and useful information, on which the more metaphysical sciences may or may not be built, as circumstances or inclination admit. It is a striking instance of the propensity to follow with accuracy the beaten track, or to deviate only when some powerful spirit leads the way, that the system has never advanced further than

as laid down by Dr Gerard ;—according to his system, jurisprudence and politics are to be preceded by pneumatology and natural theology, and is to be mixed up " with the perusal of some of the best ancient moralists." Thus the studies of jurisprudence and politics, two sciences of strictly modern practical origin, are to be mixed with the dogmas of philosophers, who saw governments but in dreams, and calculated political contingencies in the abstract rules of mathematicians ; and the British student finds, that the constitutional information, for which he will, at a more advanced period of life, discover that his country is renowned, is the only science from which the academical course has carefully excluded him, and which he is left to gather in after-life by desultory reading or miscellaneous conversation and practice. The change produced by Dr Gerard was sufficiently sweeping as a first step, and the reasons for it were a sufficient victory for one mind over the stubbornness of ancient prejudice. It is to be also remembered, that those admirable constitutional works on the government and constitutional laws of England, (which have not even yet been imitated in Scotland,) and that new science by which the resources of governments, and the relative powers of different forms of constitutions are made known like the circumstances of a private individual—the work of an illustrious Scotsman—had not then appeared. It will be for some approaching age to improve this admirable plan, and to place those sciences which treat of men—in the methods by which, as divided in different clusters through the earth, they have reduced abstract principles of morals to practice—as an intermediate exercise betwixt the acquisition of mere physical facts, and the study of those sciences which embrace an abstract speculation on these facts ; keeping the mind chained as long as possible to things which exist in the world, in morals as well as in facts—the example of the tyrannical system never deviated from till the days of Bacon and Des Cartes—and of many reasonings of the present day, which it might be presumption to call absurd, showing us how naturally the mind indulges itself in erecting abstract edifices, out of proportions which are useless when they are reduced to the criterion of practice. In 1756, a prize offered by the philosophical society of Edinburgh, for the best essay on taste, was gained by Dr Gerard, and in 1759, he published this essay, the best and most popular of his philosophical works. It passed through three English editions and two French, in which language it was published by Eidous, along with three dissertations on the same subject by Voltaire, D'Alembert, and Montesquieu. This essay treats first of what the author calls taste, resolved into its simple elements, and contains a sort of analytical account of the different perceptible qualities, more or less united, to be found in any thing we admire : he then proceeds to consider the progress of the formation of taste, and ends with a discussion on the existence of a standard of taste. The author follows the system of reflex senses, propounded by Hutchinson. The system of association, upon which Mr Alison afterwards based a treatise on the same subject, is well considered by Gerard, along with many other qualifications, which he looks upon as the sources of the feeling—qualifications which other writers, whose ideas on the subject have not yet been confuted, have referred likewise to the principles of association for their *first* cause. Longinus, in his treatise on sublimity, if he has not directly maintained the original influence of association—or in other words, the connexion of the thing admired, either through cause and affect, or some other tie, with what is pleasing or good—as an origin of taste, at least in his reasonings and illustrations, gives cause to let it be perceived that he acknowledged such a principle to exist.[1] The first person, however, who laid it regularly down and argued upon it as a source of taste, appears to have been Dr Gerard, and his theory was ad-

[1] This is particularly remarkable at the commencement of the 7th section.

mitted by Sir Joshua Reynolds, in as far as maintaining that beauty consists in an aptness of parts for the end to which they are assigned, may be considered an admission of the principle of association, at a period when one of an inversely opposite nature was supported by Burke and Price. To those who have followed these two, the name of Dugald Stewart has to be added; while that eminent scholar and great philosopher, Richard Payne Knight, has, amidst the various and rather ill-arranged mass of useful information and acute remark, accumulated in his inquiry into the principles of taste, well illustrated the theory propounded by Dr Gerard, and it has been finally enlarged and systematized by Dr Alison, and the author of a criticism on that work in the Edinburgh Review, one of the most beautiful and perfect specimens of modern composition. At the period when Dr Gerard produced this work, he was a member of a species of debating institution half way betwixt a society and a club, subject neither to the pompous state of the one, nor the excess of the other. This society is well known in Scottish literary history, as embracing among its members many of the first men of the time. More or less connected with it were the classical Blackwell, and Gregory, and Reid, the parent of that clear philosophy which has distinguished the country, and Beattie, who, though his merits have perhaps been too highly rated, was certainly fit to have been an ornament to any association of literary men. The use of literary societies has been much exaggerated; but still it cannot be denied, that wherever a spot becomes distinguished for many superior minds, there is one of these pleasing sources of activity and enjoyment to be found. That it is more the effect than the cause may be true. Such men as Gerard, Reid, and Blackwell would have been distinguished in any sphere of life; but if the principle should maintain itself in no other science, it is at least true of philosophy, that intercommunication and untechnical debate, clear and purify the ideas previously formed, and ramify them to an extent of which the thinker had never previously dreamed. It must have been grateful beyond conception to the members of this retired and unostentatious body, to have found learning and elegance gradually brightening under their influence, after a dreary and unlettered series of ages which had passed over their university and the district,—to feel that, though living apart from the grand centres of literary attraction, they had the enjoyments these could bestow beside their own retired hearths and among their own professional colleagues,—and to be conscious that they bestowed a dignity on the spot they inhabited, which a long period of commercial prosperity could never bestow, and gave a tone to the literature of their institution which should continue when they were gone. In June 1760, Dr Gerard was chosen professor of divinity in Marischal college, being at the same time presented with the living of the Grey Friars' church, in Aberdeen. During his tenure of these situations, he published his "Dissertations on the Genius and Evidences of Christianity," a subject which he treated with more soundness, reason, and gentlemanly spirit, than others of the same period have chosen to display. In June 1771, he resigned both these situations, and accepted the theological chair of King's college, and three years afterwards published "An Essay on Genius;" this production is stamped with the same strength of argument, and penetrating thought, every where to be found in the productions of the author. The heads of the subject are laid down with much philosophical correctness, and followed out with that liberal breadth of argument peculiar to those who prefer what is reasonable and true, to what supports an assumed theory. The language is not florid, and indeed does not aim at what is called elegant writing, but is admirably fitted to convey the ideas clearly and consistently, and seems more intended to be understood than to be admired. It commences with a discussion on the nature of "genius," which is

separated from the other mental powers, and particularly from "ability," with which many have confounded it. Genius is attributed in the first process of its formation to imagination, which discovers ideas, to be afterwards subjected to the arbitration of judgment; memory, and the other intellectual powers, being considered as subsidiary aids in instigating the movements of imagination. Dr Gerard afterwards presented to the world two volumes of sermons, published in 1780-82. He died on his 67th birth-day, 22d February, 1795. A sermon was preached on his funeral, and afterwards published, by his friend and pupil, Dr Skene Ogilvy of Old Aberdeen, which, along with the adulation common to such performances, enumerates many traits of character which the most undisguised flatterer could not have dared to have attributed to any but a good, able, and much esteemed man. A posthumous work, entitled "Pastoral Care," was published by Dr Gerard's son and successor in 1799.

GERARD, Gilbert, D.D., a divine, son of the foregoing, was born at Aberdeen on the 12th of August, 1760, and having acquired the earlier elements of his professional education in his native city, at a period when the eminence of several great and well known names dignified its universities, he finished it in the more extended sphere of tuition furnished by the university of Edinburgh. Before he reached the age of twenty-two, a vacancy having occurred in the ministry of the Scottish church of Amsterdam, a consideration of his father's qualifications prompted the consistory to invite the young divine to preach before them, and he was in consequence waited upon by that body, with an offer of the situation, which he accepted. During his residence in Holland, he turned the leisure allowed him by his clerical duties, and his knowledge of the Dutch language and of general science, to supporting, with the assistance of two literary friends, a periodical called "De Recensent." What may have been the intrinsic merits of this publication, it would be difficult to discover either through the medium of personal knowledge or general report, in a nation where modern Dutch literature is unnoticed and almost unknown; but it obtained the best suffrage of its utility in the place for which it was intended, an extensive circulation. During the same period, he likewise occupied himself in contributing to English literature; and on the establishment of the Analytical Review in 1788, he is understood to have conducted the department of that periodical referring to foreign literature,—a task for which his hereditary critical acuteness, his residence on the continent, and knowledge of the classical and of several modern languages, some of which were then much neglected, or had but begun to attract the attention of educated Englishmen, must have given peculiar facilities.

During his residence at Amsterdam, he received as a token of respect from his native university, the degree of doctor of divinity. Soon after this event, his professional and literary pursuits experienced a check from a severe illness, which compelled him to seek early in life a restorative for his weakened constitution, in breathing the air of his native country. The change of climate had the desired effect, and he returned restored in health to his duties in Holland. These he continued to perform until April, 1791, when strong family motives induced him to relinquish a situation which habit and friendship had endeared to him, and his resignation of which was followed by the regrets of those who had experienced the merits of their pastor. He soon after accepted the vacant professorship of Greek in the King's college of Aberdeen, a situation which he held for four years. Although the students of King's college are not very numerous, and the endowments connected with the institution are by no means affluent, both are very respectable, and there is every opportunity on the part of the instructor to exhibit, both to the world in general, and to his students,

those qualifications which make the man respected and esteemed. From the youth of the scholars generally committed to his care, the professor of Greek is not only the public lecturer in his department of literature, but the instructor of its elements; and he has not only to perform the more ostentatious duty of exhibiting to and laying before them the stores of his own knowledge, but to find the means by which this knowledge shall enter the mind of each individual student. The instructor meets his pupils during a considerable portion of the day, and for several months together; and a knowledge of individuals is thus acquired, which gives the benevolent and active discerner of character an opportunity of uniting the friend and the instructor towards the young man who looks to him for knowledge. The discernment of the young respecting those who have cognizance over them is proverbially acute, and it frequently happens that while the learned world has overlooked, in the midst of brilliant talents or deep learning, the absence or presence of the other more personal qualities requisite for the instruction of youth, the pupils have discovered these, and, as a consequence, have pursued or neglected their proper studies, as they have personally respected or disliked the teacher of them. It was the consequence of the learning and personal worth of Dr Gerard, that his pupils respected his personal character, and acquired, from his knowledge and his kind friendship towards them, an enthusiasm for Greek literature, which few teachers have had the good fortune to inspire, and which has very seldom made its appearance in Scotland. A course of lectures on Grecian history and antiquities, (unfortunately never given to the world,) which he delivered to his students, is still remembered by many to whom they have formed a stable foundation for more extended knowledge of the subject.

During the latter years of his father's life, he had assisted him in the performance of his duties as professor of divinity, and on his death succeeded to that situation, where he brought, to the less irksome and more intellectual duties of instilling philosophic knowledge into more advanced minds, the same spirit of friendly intercourse which had distinguished his elementary instructions. The Scottish student of divinity is frequently a person who stands in need of a protector and friend, and when he has none to trust to but the teachers of the profession, on whom all have a claim, it is very natural that it might happen that these individuals should abstain from the exercise of any little patronage on which there is an indefinite number of claimants. It is, however, worthy of remark, to the honour of the individuals who have filled these situations, that many of them have been the best friends to their students, and that although they had at that period to look to them for no professional remuneration, they considered themselves as being from the commencement of the connexion, not only the temporary instructors, but the guardians of the future conduct, and the propagators of the future fortune, of their students. Of these feelings on the part of Dr Gerard, many now dispersed in respectable ministerial situations through the country, retain an affectionate recollection. His influence, which was considerable, was used in their favour, and where he had not that to bestow, he was still a friend. In 1811, he added to his professorship the second charge of the collegiate church of Old Aberdeen, and continued to hold both situations till his death. During the intervening period, he permitted his useful leisure hours to be occupied with the fulfilment of the duties of the mastership of mortifications for King's college,—certainly rather an anomalous office for a scholar, and one which, with a salary that could have been no inducement, seems to have brought along with it the qualities of its not very auspicious name. The duties, though petty and irksome in the extreme, were performed with the same scrupulous exactness which distinguished the professor's more im-

portant pursuits; and he had in the end, from his diligent discharge of these duties, and his being able to procure, from his personal influence with the government, a grant in favour of the university, the satisfaction of rescuing it from the poverty with which it was threatened, by a decree of augmentation of the stipends of several churches, of which the college was titular. During this period of adversity, Dr Gerard had before his eyes the brighter prospect of a benefice in the Scottish metropolis, which many of his friends there attempted to prevail on him to accept; but the retired habits consequent to a studious life, the small but select circle of intimate friends in the neighbourhood of his college, to whose appearance and conversation long intercourse had endeared him, and a desire to benefit an institution he might almost call paternal, prompted him to continue his useful duties.

Dr Gilbert Gerard died on the 28th of September, 1815; and amidst the regrets of his acquaintances, the professional tribute to his memory was bestowed by the same reverend friend who preached his father's funeral sermon. His only published work is entitled "Institutes of Biblical Criticism," published in Edinburgh in 1808. It has received from his profession that approval which the author's merit had given cause to anticipate. It is characterized by the author of the Biographie Universelle as "Un ouvrage plein d'Erudition, et compose dans un bon esprit."

GIB, Adam, long distinguished as leader of the religious party called Antiburghers, was a native of Perthshire, and born in 1713. He received his education at the university of Edinburgh. In the year 1741, he was ordained a minister of the Associated Presbytery, recently formed by Mr Ebenezer Erskine and others, as detailed in the life of that eminent individual. Mr Gib's charge was one of the most important in the kingdom—namely, the congregation which has so long met in the southern suburbs of Edinburgh, and was recently administered to by Dr Jamieson, the learned author of the Scottish Etymological Dictionary. It is well known, that during the progress of the rebellion of 1745-6, no body of individuals in Scotland manifested a warmer loyalty to the government than that to which Mr Gib belonged. When the insurgents were approaching Edinburgh, about three hundred of the congregation in and around the city took up arms for its defence, hired a sergeant to teach them the military exercise, and were the *last* to deliver up their arms to the castle, when all hope of holding out the town had been abandoned. During the six weeks occupation of the city by prince Charles, the established presbyterian clergy were, with one exception, mute, having mostly fled to the country. Mr Gib was also obliged to abandon his meeting-house; but he did not fly so far as the rest, nor resign himself to the same inactivity. He assembled his congregation at Dreghorn, about three miles from the town, and within a short distance of Collington, where the insurgents kept a guard, and not only preached the gospel as usual, but declared that he was doing so, as an open proof and testimony "that we are resolved, through the Lord's grace, to come to no terms with the enemy that has power in the city, but to look on them as enemies, showing ourselves to be none of their confederacy. In our public capacity," he continued, "it is fit that we make even a voluntary removal from the place where they are, as from the seat of robbers, showing ourselves resolved that their seat shall not be ours." Mr Gib thus discoursed on five different Sundays, "expressly preaching up an abhorrence of the rebellion then on foot, and a hope of its speedy overthrow, and every day making express mention of the reigning sovereign in public prayer; praying for the safety of his reign, the support of his government, a blessing on his family, and the preservation of the protestant succession in that family; at the same time praying for the sup-

pression of the rebellion, expressly under the characters of an unnatural and anti-christian rebellion, headed by a *popish pretender.*" What is most surprising of all, to pursue Mr Gib's own relation of the circumstances, " while I was doing so, I ordinarily had a party of the rebel guard from Collington, who understood English, standing before me on the outside of the multitude. * * * * * * Though they then attended with signs of great displeasure, they were restrained from using any violence: yet, about that time, as I was passing on the road near Collington, one of them, who seemed to be in some command, fired at me; but, for any thing that appeared, it might be only with a design to fright me."

In a subsequent part of the campaign, when the Seceders re-appeared in arms along with the English army, Mr Gib seems to have accompanied them to Falkirk, where, a few hours before the battle of the 17th January, he distinguished himself by his activity in seizing a rebel spy. When the rebels in the evening took possession of Falkirk, they found that person in prison, and, being informed of what Mr Gib had done, made search for him through the town, with the intention, no doubt, of taking some measure of vengeance for his hostility.

Referring the reader to the article Ebenezer Erskine for an account of the schism which took place in 1747, in the Associated Presbytery, respecting the burgess oath, we shall only mention here that Mr Gib took a conspicuous part at the head of the more rigid party, termed Antiburghers, and continued during the rest of his life to be their ablest advocate and leader. A new meeting-house was opened by him, November 4, 1753, in Nicholson Street, in which he regularly preached for many years to about two thousand persons. His eminence in the public affairs of his sect at last obtained for him the popular epithet of *Pope Gib*, by which he is still well remembered. In 1765, when the general assembly took the subject of the Secession into consideration, as a thing that " threatened the peace of the country," Mr Gib wrote a spirited remonstrance against that injurious imputation; and, as a proof of the attachment of the Seceders to the existing laws and government, detailed all those circumstances respecting the rebellion in 1745, which we have already embodied in this notice. In 1774, Mr Gib published " A Display of the Secession Testimony," in two volumes 8vo; and in 1784, his " Sacred Contemplations," at the end of which was " An Essay on Liberty and Necessity," in answer to lord Kames's essay on that subject. Mr Gib died, June 18, 1788, in the 75th year of his age, and 48th of his ministry, and was interred in the Grey Friars' church-yard, where an elegant monument has been erected to his memory, at the expense of his grateful congregation.

GIBBS, James, a celebrated architect, was born in Aberdeen, according to the most approved authority, in the year 1674, though Walpole and others place the date of his birth so late as 1683, a period which by no means accords with that of his advancement to fame in his profession. He was the only son (by his second wife)[1] of Peter Gibbs of Footdeesmire, a merchant, and, as it would appear from his designation, a proprietor or feuar of a piece of ground along the shore at the mouth of the Dee, where his house, called " the white house in the Links," remains an evidence of the respectability and comparative wealth of the family. Old Gibbs retained during the stormy period in which he lived, the religion of his ancestors, and was a staunch non-juror. An anecdote is preserved by his fellow townsmen characteristic of the man, and of the times. The conflicting religious doctrines of presbyterian and episcopalian, and of

1 Cunningham errs in supposing that James Gibbs was the only son and only child of Peter Gibbs. There was a son William, by the first wife, who went abroad after his father's death—what became of him is not known.

course the political doctrines of whig and tory, found in Aberdeen a more equal balance than perhaps in any other part of Scotland; and history has shown, that in the event of a serious struggle, the influence of the Huntly family generally made the latter predominate; in these circumstances, it may easily be supposed that the city was a scene of perpetual petty jargon, and that pasquinades and abuse were liberally given and bitterly received. Gibbs being a Roman catholic, was the friend of neither party, and an object of peculiar antipathy to the presbyterians, who testified their sense of his importance and wickedness, by instructing the children in the neighbourhood to annoy the old gentleman in his premises, and hoot him on the streets. Gibbs, to show his respect for both parties, procured two fierce dogs for his personal protection, and engraved on the collar of the one "Luther," and on that of the other "Calvin;" the compliment was understood by neither party; and the dogs and their master being summoned before the bailies to answer for their respective misdemeanours, the former were delivered over to the proper authorities, and executed according to law, at the cross, the public place of execution.

The subject of our memoir attended the usual course of instruction at the grammar school, and was afterwards sent to Marischal college, where he accepted of the easily acquired degree of master of arts. At that period, when the Scottish colleges were partly remnants of monastic institutions, partly schools for the instruction of boys, having the indolence of the Roman catholic age strangely mingled with their own poverty and the simplicity of presbyterian government, there were but two classes of persons at the universities,—the sons of the noblemen and gentlemen, living in a style superior to the citizens, and a poorer class who were supported by the bursaries, or even common charity; the two classes wore different dresses, and of course had little communication with each other, excepting such as might exist between master and servant. To which of these classes Gibbs may have belonged is not known; that it should have been the latter is not so improbable as it may appear, as custom, the master of every thing, made it by no means degrading to those of inferior rank; while a burgess, whatever might have been his wealth, would hardly in that age have been so daring as to have forced his son upon the company of the offspring of lairds. For some time after his father's death, he was reared and educated by his uncle-in-law and aunt, Mr and Mrs Morrison, people in much the same respectable circumstances with his father; but, destitute perhaps from his religious principles, of influence sufficient to enable him to follow his father's business with success, or more probably having a natural bent for more tasteful pursuits, Gibbs, at the early age of twenty, left his native town, nor did he ever return to a spot not very congenial to the pursuit of a profession which must be studied among the remains of ancient grandeur, and practised in the midst of luxury and profusion. From 1694 to 1700 he studied architecture and the mathematics in Holland, under an architect to whom the biographers of Gibbs have given the merit of possessing reputation, while neither his own talents, nor the subsequent fame of his scholar has preserved his name from oblivion. Here the young architect made himself acquainted with the earl of Marr, then on a visit to the continent, who, according to the praiseworthy custom for which Scotsmen have received rather uncharitable commendation, of assisting their countrymen when they meet them in a foreign country, gave him recommendatory letters to influential friends, and money to enable him to pursue the study of his profession, for which it would appear the earl had a taste. After leaving Holland he spent ten years in Rome, where, according to Dallaway, he studied under P. F. Garroli, a sculptor

and architect of considerable merit; and where, like many who have afterwards issued from the great manufactory of artists, to astonish and gratify the world, he probably spent his days in labour and unnoticed retirement.

In 1710, Gibbs returned to Britain, and by the influence of the earl of Marr, then secretary of state for Scotland, in queen Anne's tory ministry, the means of exhibiting his knowledge to advantage, and gaining emolument, were amply provided. The renowned legislative measure, by which the metropolis was to be made religious by act of parliament, on the erection of fifty new churches, having been passed, the name of Gibbs was added by his generous patron to the list of those eminent architects who were to put the vast plan in execution. Previous, however, to commencing this undertaking, he completed the first of his architectural labours, the additional buildings to King's college, Cambridge. It is generally allowed that this is a production on which the architect could not have founded much of his fame.—"The diminutive Doric portico," says Dallaway, "is certainly not a happy performance, either in the idea or the execution. Such an application of the order would not occur in a pure and classic instance." While, on the other hand, the historian of the university of Cambridge, remarks,—"It is built of white Portland stone, beautifully carved, with a grand portico in the centre; and contains three lofty floors above the vaults. The apartments, which are twenty-four in number, are exceedingly well fitted up, and in every respect correspond with the outward appearance, which equals that of any other building in the university."—The latter part of the sentence, in reference to the spot which contains King's college chapel and Clare hall, is sufficiently complimentary for the architect's best works. The truth appears to be, that those trammels which architects have had more reason to detest than any other class of artists, restrained the genius of Gibbs in this instance, and that being obliged to apply given form, size, and number of apartments, to given space, he had no opportunity of displaying the beauties which attend his other works. The first of "the fifty," which Gibbs completed, was St Martin's in the Fields, a work which, with its calm tastefulness and simple grandeur, might have been honourable to the fame of the greatest architect the world ever saw. The west front of this building, surmounted by a light and neatly designed spire, is decorated with Corinthian columns, over which is a pediment, bearing the royal arms; the order is continued round the sides in pilasters, and there is a double series of windows in the inter-columniations, an unfortunate sacrifice of architectural effect to internal accommodation. The interior is divided into three unequal parts, by a range of four Corinthian columns and two pilasters on each side, standing on tall pedestals; the central space or nave being covered by a semi-elliptical ceiling, rising from the top of the entablature over each column, and is rich in moulding and ornament. The following plainly told, but judicious opinion of this building, is given by Ralph, in his "Critical Review of Public Buildings,"—"The portico is at once elegant and august, and the steeple above it ought to be considered as one of the most tolerable in town; if the steps arising from the street to the front could have been made regular, and on a line from end to end, it would have given it a very considerable grace: but, as the situation of the ground would not allow it, this is to be esteemed rather a misfortune than a fault. The round columns at each angle of the church are very well conceived, and have a very fine effect in the profile of the building: the east end is remarkably elegant, and very justly challenges particular applause. In short, if there is anything wanting in this fabric, it is a little more elevation, which I presume is apparently wanted within, and would create an additional beauty without."—"All the parts," says Allan Cunningham, "are nicely distributed,

and nothing can be added, and nothing can be taken away. It is complete in itself; and refuses the admission of all other ornament." Much discussion seems to have been wasted on the portico of St Martin's, some insisting that it is a mere model of the portico of the Pantheon, or some other production of classic art; others maintaining its equality in merit and design to the best specimens of Grecian architecture. A portico, to bear the name, must have basements, pillars, capitals, and an entablature, just as a house must have a roof and windows, and a bridge arches; so that all originality can possibly achieve in such a work, is the harmony of the proportions and ornaments with each other, and with the rest of the building; it is in having made the proportions and ornaments different from those of the Pantheon, and adapted them to a totally different building, that Gibbs has been original, and it is on the pleasure which the whole combination affords to the eye, that his merit depends; a merit, however, which cannot come in competition with that of the *inventor* of the portico. The next church of the fifty, undertaken by Gibbs, was St Mary's in the Strand, a work on which, if we may judge from its appearance, he bestowed more labour with less effect. Instead of appearing like the effort of a single grand conception, forming a complete and harmonizing whole, it is like a number of efforts clustered together. Instead of being one design, the interstices in which are filled up by details, it is a number of details united together; in gazing on which, the mind, instead of absorbing the grandeur of the whole at one view, wanders from part to part, finding no common connexion by which the joint effect of all may be summoned before it at once.

Gibbs had just prepared the plans of the buildings we have described, and was in the high and palmy state of his fortunes, when his kind patron, having had his overtures to procure the allegiance of the Highland clans contumeliously rejected, and having been disgusted and thrown in fear by the impeachment of Oxford and Stafford, and the exile of Ormond and Bolingbroke, resolved to avenge his personal wrongs, by a recourse to the feudal fiction of the divine origin of hereditary right, to maintain the theoretic purity of which, a nation contented with its king was plunged in civil war, that the king they ought not to have been contented without, should be restored. Family ruin followed the rebellion of the earl; but the architect, fortified by the practice of a profession, the principles of which politics could not sway, and possessing knowledge which, unlike the art of governing, could not be deprived of its efficacy by the influence of the party in power, remained unmolested on the step to which he had advanced, and looked forward to the prospect of other honours.

The most magnificent, though perhaps not the purest of Gibbs's works, is the Radcliffe Library at Oxford, on the completion of which, he received the degree of master of arts from that university. The Radcliffe Library is of a circular form, rising in the centre of an oblong square of 370 feet by 110, with a cupola 140 feet high and 100 feet in diameter. The lofty dome of this building raises itself in the centre of almost every prospect of Oxford, and gives a characteristic richness to the landscape. "The Radcliffe dome," says Allan Cunningham, "in fact conveys to every distant observer the idea of its being the air-hung crown of some gigantic cathedral or theatre. It is, perhaps, the grandest feature in the grandest of all English architectural landscapes; it rises wide and vast amid a thousand other fine buildings, interrupts the horizontal line, and materially increases the picturesque effect of Oxford;" on a nearer and more critical view, however, the spectator is disappointed to find that a want of proportion betwixt the cupola and the rest of the building, slight, but still very perceptible, deadens the effect of the magnificent whole, a mistake on the part of the architect, which has frequently turned the whole mass of taste

and beauty, into an object of ridicule to the bitter critic. It may be in general questioned how far such a building, however much its swelling magnificence may serve to add dignity to a vast prospect without, or solemnity to an important pageant within, is suited for the more retired purposes of a library. The student seldom wishes to have his attention obstructed by the intrusion of a wide prospect in his attention, whenever he raises his eyes; and perhaps when extent and grandeur are desired, a more suitable method of accommodating them with comfortable retirement may be found in a corridore or gallery, where any one, if he is anxious, may indulge himself by standing at one end, and luxuriate in the perspective of the whole length, while he who wishes to study uninterrupted may retire into a niche, whence his view is bounded by the opposite side of the narrow gallery. In the completion of the quadrangle of All Souls, Gibbs had the great good fortune to receive a growl of uncharitable praise from Walpole. "Gibbs," says the imperious critic, "though he knew little of Gothic architecture, was fortunate in the quadrangle of All Souls, which he has blundered into a picturesque scenery not void of grandeur, especially if seen through the gate that leads from the schools. The assemblage of buildings in that quarter, though no single one is beautiful, always struck me with singular pleasure, as it conveys such a vision of large edifices unbroken by private houses, as the mind is apt to entertain of renowned cities that exist no longer." Such is the opinion of one, whose taste in Gothic architecture, as represented by the straggling corridores, and grotesque and toyish mouldings of Strawberry Hill, would not, if curiosity thought it of sufficient importance to be inquired into, bear the test of a very scrutinizing posterity. A comparison of his various opinions of the different works of Gibbs are among the most amusing specimens of the construction of the noble critic's mind. Where the architect has been tasteful and correct, he only shows that mere mechanical knowledge may avoid faults, without furnishing beauties, "and where he has been picturesque and not void of grandeur, the whole is the effect of chance and blunder." Among the other works of Gibbs are the monument of Holles, duke of Newcastle, in Westminster Abbey, the senate house at Cambridge, a very favourable specimen of his correct and tasteful mind, and some buildings in the palace of Stowe. The west church of St Nicholas in his native city, a very fine specimen, if we may believe the accounts of contemporaries, of Gothic taste, having fallen nearly to ruin, Gibbs presented the magistrates with a plan for a church that might reinstate it. In this production we look in vain for the mind which imagined the lofty pomp of the Radcliffe, or the eye that traced the chaste proportions of St Martin's; and one might be inclined to question with what feelings the great architect made his donation. The outside is of no description of architecture under the sun "in particular;" it just consists of heavy freestone walls, with a roof, and plain Roman arched windows. The inside is a degree worse. Heavy groined arches, supported on heavier square pillars, overtop the gallery. There is in every corner all the gloom of the darkest Gothic, with square corners instead of florid mouldings, and square beams instead of clustered pillars; while the great arched windows of the Gothic piles, which send a broken and beautiful light into their farthest recesses, are specially avoided, a preference being given to wooden square glazed sashes, resembling those of a shop—in the whole, the building is one singularly repulsive to a correct taste.

Gibbs, in 1728, published a folio volume of designs, which have acquired more fame for the knowledge than for the genius displayed in them. By this work he gained the very considerable sum of £1900. Besides a set of plans of the Radcliffe Library, this forms his only published work: his other papers and manuscripts, along with his library, consisting of about 500 volumes,

he left as a donation to the Radcliffe Library. After five years of suffering from a lingering and painful complaint, this able, persevering, and upright man died in London, in 1754, having continued in the faith of his ancestors, and unmarried. He made several bequests, some to public charities, others to individuals, one of which in particular must not be passed over. Remembering the benefactor who had assisted him in the days of his labour and adversity, he left £1000, the whole of his plate, and an estate of £280 a year to the only son of the earl of Marr; an uncommon act of gratitude, which, however party feeling may regret the circumstances which caused it, will in the minds of good and generous men, exceed in merit all that the intellect of the artist ever achieved.

GIBSON, (Sir) Alexander, lord Durie, an eminent lawyer and judge, was the son of George Gibson of Goldingstones, one of the clerks of session. The period of his birth we have been unable to discover; but as we find him admitted a clerk of session in 1594, we may conclude that he was born considerably more than twenty years previous to that period. It appears that the appointment of Gibson to this duty created a new clerkship, and as the addition in number would reduce the arbitrary sources of emolument of the other two clerks, it was naturally apprehended that the interloper would be received with the usual jealousy of those whose interests are unduly interfered with. King James the sixth, who had generally some deep and mysteriously wise purpose in all he did, chose to be personally present at the appointment of his nominee, in order that the royal choice might meet with no marks of contempt. The mindful sovereign was on this occasion pleased to be so highly delighted with the disinterested conduct of his obedient clerks, who had so willingly received a partner "at his Highness's wish and special desire," that he promised in presence of the court, to remunerate them with "ane sufficient casualty for said consents." The chamber in the Register house instituted by this appointment still retains the denomination of "Durie's Office." At that period the duties of a principal clerk of session were of a more politically important nature than they have been since the union: these officers had to register the decrees and acts of parliament, in addition to their present duties. The only remnant of their former occupations, is their acting as clerks at the elections of the Scottish representative peers. Gibson continued in his clerkship for all the remainder of his life, notwithstanding the higher offices to which he was afterwards promoted. In 1621, he was appointed a lord of session, and as the duties of judge and clerk were rather anomalous, we find by the books of sederunt, that the prudent clerk had procured in the previous month his son to be engrafted in the office. Mr Alexander Gibson, junior, being appointed conjunct clerk with Mr Alexander Gibson, senior, during the life of the longest liver, the senior it may be presumed continuing to draw the salary, without being much troubled with the duties. Seven years after his appointment to the bench, we find him accepting a baronetcy of Nova Scotia, with a grant of some few square miles of land in that district. In 1633, he was appointed a member of one of the committees for the revision of the laws and customs of the country. In 1640, he appears to have been elected a member of the committee of estates, and his appointment as judge was continued under a new commission to the court in 1641. From the period of his elevation to the bench in 1621, till the year 1642, this laborious lawyer preserved notes of such decisions of the court as he considered worthy of being recorded as precedents, a task for which a previously extensive practice had fitted him. These were published by his son in one volume folio, in 1688, and are valuable as the earliest digested collection of decisions in Scottish law. Their chief peculiarities are their brevity, and, what would not

appear at first sight a natural consequence, their obscurity. But Gibson produced by a too niggardly supply, the effect which is frequently attributed to a too great multitude of words. He appears, however, to have always known his own meaning; and when, with a little consideration, his *ratio nesdecidendi* are discovered, they are found to be soundly stated. The clamours which other judges of the day caused to be raised against their dishonesty and cupidity, were not applied to Durie. He seems, indeed, as far as the habits of the times could allow the virtue to exist, except in an absolutely pure being, to have been a just and fearless judge, for in a period of general legal rapine and pusillanimity, the possession of a very moderate share of honesty and firmness in the judgment seat, made their proprietor worthy of a nation's honour. If the affirmation of a professional brother may be credited, Durie possessed, according to the opinion of Forbes, a later collector of decisions, most of the intellectual and moral qualities which can dignify the bench. It is a proof of the respect in which his brethren held him, that while the office continued elective in the senators of the college, he was repeatedly chosen as president. At that period, the legal practice of Scotland appeared to have improved for the mere purpose of substituting sophism and injustice under form, for rude equity; it was a handle to be made use of, rather than a rule to be applied. The crown had recourse to legal fictions, and unjust and arbitrary presumptions, in its dealings with the subject. The subject, instead of calling for a recourse to constitutional principles, sometimes rose against the administration of the law, just or unjust. With private parties, the more powerful got the command of the law, and used it against the weaker. A striking instance of contempt towards the laws, which took place during one of the presidencies of Gibson of Durie is mentioned in Douglas's Baronage, and Forbes's Journal, and is more fully and pleasingly narrated in the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border. The earl of Traquair had an action depending in court, in which it was understood the president would, by his influence, cause the court to give judgment against him. A border freebooter, or gentleman thief, known by the name of Christie's Will, owed to the peer some gratitude and allegiance, having gained his protection by an insolent jest on the subject of his having been imprisoned for theft. This person being a gentleman both by descent and education, insinuated himself into the president's company during his usual morning ride on the sands of Leith. On the two reaching a very lonely spot, the judge was snatched from his horse, rolled into a blanket, and carried off he knew not where. He was imprisoned three months, during which time his friends and himself considered that he was in fairy-land. The case was decided in favour of Traquair, and a new president appointed, when the judge one morning found himself laid down in the exact spot from which he had been so suddenly carried off, and returned to claim his privileges. This useful man died at his house of Durie on the 10th of June, 1644. He left behind him a son of his own name, who was active among the other persons of high rank, who came forward to protect their national church from the imposition of a foreign liturgy. He is known as having boldly resisted one of king Charles the first's prorogations, by refusing the performance of the duty of clerk of parliament, already alluded to. He appears, however, not to have always given satisfaction to the cause he had so well espoused, as he is more than once mentioned in Lamont's Diary as a malignant. He was raised to the bench in 1646. Besides this son, the wealth of the father allowed him to provide a junior branch of the family with the estate of Adistone in Lothian.

GIBSON, Patrick, an eminent artist and writer upon art, was born at Edinburgh, in December, 1782. He was the son of respectable parents, who gave

him an excellent classical education, partly at the High School, and partly at a private academy. In his school-boy days, he manifested a decided taste for literature, accompanied by a talent for drawing figures, which induced his father to place him as an apprentice under Mr Nasmyth, the distinguished landscape-painter; who has been, in this manner, the means of bringing forward many men of genius in the arts. Contemporary with Mr Gibson, as a student in this school, was Mr Nasmyth's son Peter; and it is painful to think, that both of these ingenious pupils have gone down to the grave before their master. Mr Nasmyth's academy was one in no ordinary degree advantageous to his apprentices: such talents as they possessed were generally brought into speedy use in painting and copying landscapes, which he himself finished and sold; and thus they received encouragement from seeing works, of which a part of the merit was their own, brought rapidly into the notice of the world. About the same time, Mr Gibson attended the trustees' academy, then taught with distinguished success by Mr Graham. While advancing in the practical part of his profession, Mr Gibson, from his taste for general study, paid a greater share of attention to the branches of knowledge connected with it, than the most of artists have it in their power to bestow. He studied the mathematics with particular care, and attained an acquaintance with perspective, and with the theory of art in general, which was in his own lifetime quite unexampled in Scottish—perhaps in British—art. Mr Gibson, indeed, might rather be described as a man of high literary and scientific accomplishments, pursuing art as a profession, than as an artist, in the sense in which that term is generally understood. In landscape painting, he showed a decided preference for the classical style of Domenichino and Nicholas Poussin; and having studied architectural drawing with much care, he became remarkably happy in the views of temples and other classical buildings, which he introduced into his works. When still a very young man, Mr Gibson went to London, and studied the best works of art to be found in that metropolis,—the state of the continent at that time preventing him from pursuing his investigations any further.

Mr Gibson painted many landscapes, which have found their way into the collections of the most respectable amateurs in his native country. His own exquisitely delicate and fastidious taste, perhaps prevented him from attaining full success at first, but he was continually improving; and, great as the triumphs of his pencil ultimately were, it is not too much to say, that, if life had been spared to him, he must have reached still higher degrees of perfection.

Mr Gibson's professional taste and skill, along with his well known literary habits, pointed him out as a proper individual to write, not only criticisms upon the works of modern art brought under public notice, but articles upon the fundamental principles of the fine arts, in works embracing miscellaneous knowledge. He contributed to the Encyclopædia Edinensis, an elaborate article under the head "Design," embracing the history, theory, and practice of painting, sculpture, and engraving, and concluding with an admirable treatise on his favourite subject, "Linear Perspective." This article extends to one hundred and six pages of quarto, in double columns, and is illustrated by various drawings. It is, perhaps, the best treatise on the various subjects which it embraces, ever contributed to an encyclopædia. To Dr Brewster's more extensive work, entitled the Edinburgh Encyclopædia, Mr Gibson contributed the articles, Drawing, Engraving, and Miniature-painting, all of which attracted notice, for the full and accurate knowledge upon which they appeared to be based. In the Edinburgh Annual Register for 1816, published in 1820, being edited by Mr J. G. Lockhart, was an article by Mr Gibson, entitled "A View of the Progress and Present State of the Art of Design in Britain." It is written with much

discrimination and judgment, and is certainly worthy of being transferred into some more extended sphere of publication than the local work in which it appeared. An article of a similar kind, but confined to the progress of the Fine Arts in Scotland, appeared in the New Edinburgh Review, edited by Dr Richard Poole. In 1818, Mr Gibson published a thin quarto volume, entitled "Etchings of Select Views in Edinburgh, with letter-press descriptions." The subjects chiefly selected were either street scenes about to be altered by the removal of old buildings, or parts opened up temporarily by the progress of improvements, and which therefore could never again be observable in the point of view chosen by the artist. The most remarkable critical effort of Mr Gibson was an anonymous *jeu d'esprit*, published in 1822, in reference to the exhibition of the works of living artists then open, under the care of the Royal Institution for the encouragement of the Fine Arts in Scotland. It assumed the form of a report, by a society of Cognoscenti, upon these works of art, and treated the merits of the Scottish painters, Mr Gibson himself included, with great candour and impartiality. The style of this pamphlet, though in no case unjustly severe, was so different from the indulgent remarks of periodical writers, whose names are generally known, and whose acquaintance with the artists too often forbids rigid truth, that it occasioned a high degree of indignation among the author's brethren, and induced them to take some steps that only tended to expose themselves to ridicule. Suspecting that the traitor was a member of their own body, they commenced the subscription of a paper, disclaiming the authorship, and this being carried to many different artists for their adherence, was refused by no one till it came to Mr Gibson, who excused himself upon general principles from subscribing such a paper, and dismissed the intruders with a protest against his being supposed on that account to be the author. The real cause which moved Mr Gibson to put forth this half-jesting half-earnest criticism upon his brethren, was an ungenerous attack upon his own works, which had appeared in a newspaper the previous year, and which, though he did not pretend to trace it to the hand of any of his fellow labourers, was enjoyed, as he thought, in too malicious a manner by some, to whom he had formerly shown much kindness. He retained his secret, and enjoyed his joke, to the last, and it is only here that his concern in the pamphlet is for the first time disclosed.

In 1826, he gave to the world, "A Letter to the directors and managers of the Institution for the encouragement of the Fine Arts in Scotland." Towards the close of his life he had composed, with extraordinary care, a short and practical work on perspective, which was put to press, but kept back on account of his decease. It is to be hoped that a work composed on a most useful subject, by one so peculiarly qualified to handle it, will not be lost to the world.

In June, 1818, Mr Gibson was married to Miss Isabella M. Scott, daughter of his esteemed friend Mr William Scott, the well-known writer upon elocution. By this lady he had three daughters and a son, the last of whom died in infancy. In April, 1824, he removed from Edinburgh, where he had spent the most of his life, to Dollar, having accepted the situation of professor of painting in the academy founded at that village. In this scene, quite unsuited to his mind, he spent the last five years of his life, of which three were embittered in no ordinary degree by ill health. After enduring with manly and unshrinking fortitude the pains of an uncommonly severe malady, he expired, August 26, 1829, in the forty-sixth year of his age.

Mr Gibson was not more distinguished in public by his information, taste, and professional success, than he was in private by his upright conduct, his mild and affectionate disposition, and his righteous fulfilment of every moral

duty. He possessed great talents in conversation, and could suit himself in such a manner to every kind of company, that old and young, cheerful and grave, were alike pleased. He had an immense fund of humour; and what gave it perhaps its best charm, was the apparently unintentional manner in which he gave it vent, and the fixed serenity of countenance which he was able to preserve, while all were laughing around him. There are few men in whom the elements of genius are so admirably blended with those of true goodness, and all that can render a man beloved, as they were in Patrick Gibson.

GILLESPIE, George, an eminent divine at a time when divines were nearly the most eminent class of individuals in Scotland, was the son of the Rev. John Gillespie, minister at Kirkaldy, and was born January 21, 1613. His advance in his studies was so rapid, that he was laureated in his seventeenth year. About the year 1634, when he must have still been very young, he is known to have been chaplain to viscount Kenmure: at a subsequent period, he lived in the same capacity with the earl of Cassils. While in the latter situation, he wrote a work called "English Popish Ceremonies," in which, as the title implies, he endeavoured to excite a jealousy of the episcopal innovations of Charles I., as tending to popery. This book he published when he was about twenty-two years of age, and it was soon after prohibited by the bishops. Had episcopacy continued triumphant, it is likely that Mr Gillespie's advance in the church would have been retarded; but the signing of the national covenant early in 1638, brought about a different state of things. In April that year, a vacancy occurring at Wemyss in Fife, he was appointed minister, and at the general assembly which took place at Glasgow in the ensuing November, he had the honour to preach one of the daily sermons before the house, for which he took as his text, "The king's heart is in the hands of the Lord." The earl of Argyle, who had then just joined the covenanting cause, and was still a member of the privy council, thought that the preacher had trenched a little, in this discourse, upon the royal prerogative, and said a few words to the assembly, with the intention of warning them against such errors for the future.

In 1641, an attempt was made to obtain the transportation of Mr Gillespie to Aberdeen; but the general assembly, in compliance with his own wishes, ordained him to remain at Wemyss. When the king visited Scotland in the autumn of this year, Mr Gillespie preached before him in the Abbey church at Edinburgh, on the afternoon of Sunday the 12th of September. In the suceeeding year, he was removed by the General Assembly to Edinburgh, of which he continued to be one of the stated clergymen till his death. Mr Gillespie had the honour to be one of the four ministers deputed by the Scottish church in 1543, to attend the Westminster assembly of divines; and it is generally conceded, that his learning, zeal, and judgment were of the greatest service in carrying through the work of that venerable body, particularly in forming the directory of worship, the catechisms, and other important articles of religion, which it was the business of the assembly to prepare and sanction. Baillie thus alludes to him in his letters: "We got good help in our assembly debates, of lord Warriston, an occasional commissioner, but of none more than the noble youth Mr Gillespie. I admire his gifts, and bless God, as for all my colleagues, so for him in particular, as equal in these to the first in the assembly." It appears that Mr Gillespie composed six volumes of manuscript during the course of his attendance at the Westminster assembly; and these were extant in 1707,[1] though we are not aware of their still continuing in existence. He had also, when in England, prepared his sermons for the press,—part being controversial, and part practical; but they are said to have been suppressed in the hands of the

[1] Wodrow's Analecta, (MS. Adv. Lib.) i. 329.

printer, with whom he left them, through the instrumentality of the Independents, who dreaded their publication. He also wrote a piece against toleration, entitled "Wholesome Severity reconciled with Christian Liberty."

In 1648, Mr Gillespie had the honour to be moderator of the general assembly; and the last of his compositions was the Commission of the Kirk's Answer to the Estates' Observations on the Declaration of the General Assembly concerning the unlawfulness of the engagement. For some months before this assembly, he had been greatly reduced in body by a cough and perspiration, which now at length came to a height, and threatened very fatal consequences. Thinking, perhaps, that his native air would be of service, he went to Kirkaldy with his wife, and lived there for some months; but his illness nevertheless advanced so fast, that, early in December, his friends despaired of his life, and despatched letters to his brother, to Mr Samuel Rutherford, the marquis of Argyle, and other distinguished individuals, who took an interest in him, mentioning that if they wished to see him in life, speed would be necessary. The remainder of his life may be best related in the words of Wodrow, as taken in 1707, from the mouth of Mr Patrick Simpson, who was cousin to Mr Gillespie, and had witnessed the whole scene of his death-bed:

"Monday, December 11, came my lord Argyle, Cassils, Elcho, and Warriston, to visit him. He did faithfully declare his mind to them as public men, in that point whereof he hath left a testimony to the view of the world, as afterwards; and though speaking was very burdensome to him, and troublesome, yet he spared not very freely to fasten their duty upon them.

"The exercise of his mind at the time of his sickness was very sad and constant, without comfortable manifestations, and sensible presence for the time; yet he continued in a constant faith of adherence, which ended in ane adhering assurance, his gripps growing still the stronger.

"One day, a fortnight before his death, he had leaned down on a little bed, and taken a fit of faintness, and his mind being heavily exercised, and lifting up his eyes, this expression fell with great weight from his mouth, 'O! my dear Lord, forsake me not for ever.' His weariness of this life was very great, and his longing to be relieved, and to be where the veil would be taken away.

"December 14, he was in heavy sickness, and three pastors came in the afternoon to visit him, of whom one said to him, 'The Lord hath made you faithful in all he hath employed you in, and it's likely we be put to the trial; therefore what encouragement do you give us thereanent?' Whereto he answered, in few words, 'I have gotten more by the Lord's immediate assistance than by study, in the disputes I had in the assembly of divines in England; therefore, let never men distrust God for assistance, that cast themselves on him, and follow his calling. For my part, the time I have had in the exercise of the ministry is but a moment!' To which sentence another pastor answered, 'But your moment hath exceeded the gray heads of others; this I may speak without flattery.' To which he answered, disclaiming it with a noe; for he desired still to have Christ exalted, as he said at the same time, and to another; and at other times, when any such thing was spoken to him, 'What are all my righteousnesses but rotten rags? all that I have done cannot abide the touchstone of His justice; they are all but abominations, and as an unclean thing, when they are reckoned between God and me. Christ is all things, and I am nothing.' The other pastor, when the rest were out, asked whether he was enjoying the comforts of God's presence, or if they were for a time suspended. He answered, 'Indeed, they are suspended.' Then within a little while he said, 'Comforts! ay comforts!' meaning that they were not easily attained. His wife said, 'What-

reck? the comfort of believing is not suspended.' He said, 'Noe.' Speaking further to his condition, he said, 'Although that I should never more see any light of comfort, that I do see, yet I shall adhere, and do believe that He is mine and that I am His.'"

Mr Gillespie lingered two days longer, and expired almost imperceptibly, December 16, 1646. On the preceding day he had written and signed a paper, in which "he gave faithful and clear testimony to the work and cause of God, and against the enemies thereof, to stop the mouths of calumniators, and confirm his children." The object of the paper was to prevent, if possible, any union of the friends of the church of Scotland with the loyalists, in behalf of an uncovenanted monarch. The Committee of Estates testified the public gratitude to Mr Gillespie by voting his widow and children a thousand pounds, which, however, from the speedily ensuing troubles of the times, was never paid.

GILLESPIE, Rev. Thomas, was the first relief minister, and founder of the Synod of Relief. He was born, A. D. 1708, at Clearburn, in the parish of Duddingstone near Edinburgh, of parents distinguished for their piety. He lost his father, who was a farmer and brewer, when he was very young. His mother, who seems to have been a woman of decided piety, and at the same time of active business habits, continued her husband's business as farmer and brewer after his death. Gillespie, who was of delicate constitution and melancholy temperament, seems throughout life, to have been marked by the shyness of disposition, the reserved manners, the fondness for retirement, and the tenderness, yet conscientiousness of feeling, which usually distinguish the boy brought up in a retired domestic way, under a fond and widowed mother. His mother was accustomed to attend the services, at the dispensation of the Lord's supper, by Mr Wilson of Maxton, Mr Boston of Ettrick, Mr Davidson of Galashiels, and other eminent evangelical ministers, with whom the south of Scotland was at that time favoured. On these occasions she commonly took with her, her son Thomas, in whom the anxious mother had not yet traced those satisfactory evidences of decisive piety which her maternal regard for his best interests so earnestly desired; on one of these occasions she mentioned her distress on account of her son to Mr Boston, who, at her request, spoke to him in private on his eternal interests. His counsels made a decisive impression upon the mind of Gillespie, at that time a young man about twenty years of age, and led him soon after to commence his studies, as preparatory to the ministry, which he prosecuted at the university of Edinburgh.

After the origin of the Secession, his mother became attached to that body; and through her advice and influence, Gillespie went to Perth to study under Mr Wilson, their first theological professor. In this step he seems to have been influenced more by a desire to comply with the wishes of a fond and pious mother, than by personal attachment to the peculiarities of the Secession. His whole stay at Perth was ten days; for as soon as from conversations with Mr Wilson, he fully comprehended the principles on which the Secession were proceeding, he withdrew. He proceeded to England, where he pursued his studies at the Theological Academy in Northampton, at that time superintended by the celebrated Dr Philip Doddridge. When he thus went to England, Dr Erskine states (in his preface to his Essay on Temptations,) that he had attended the humanity, philosophy, and divinity classes in the college of Edinburgh, and that he carried with him attestations of his personal piety, and acquirements in philosophical and theological literature, from several ministers of the church of Scotland: viz. Rev. Messrs Davidson of Galashiels, Wilson of Maxton, Wardlaw of Dunfermline, Smith of Newburn, Gusthart, Webster, and Hepburn, of Edinburgh, James Walker of Canongate, M'Vicar of West Kirk, Kid of Queensferry, Bonnar of Torphichen,

and Wardrope of Whitburn—all of whom mention their having been intimately acquainted with him.

After the usual trials, he was licensed to preach the gospel, 30th October, 1740, by a respectable class of English dissenters, among whom Dr Doddridge presided as Moderator, and ordained to the work of the ministry, 22d Jan. 1741. It is said that his first charge was over a dissenting congregation in the north of England. If so, it must have been for a very short time, for in March following he returned to Scotland, bringing with him warm and ample recommendations from Dr Doddridge, Mr Job Orton, and thirteen other ministers in that neighbourhood, " as a deeply experienced Christian, well qualified for the important work of the ministry, and one who bade fair to prove an ornament to his holy profession, and an instrument of considerable usefulness to the souls of men."

Soon after his return to Scotland he got a regular call to the parish of Carnock near Dunfermline, to which he was presented by Mr Erskine of Carnock. At that time, the forms of procedure in the church of Scotland seem to have been not so strict, and unaccommodating to circumstances, as they are now ; for in inducting him into Carnock, the presbytery of Dunfermline proceeded on his deed of license and ordination by the English dissenters as valid, and dealt by him as one who had already held a charge. At his admission into Carnock, he showed the influence which his theological education at Northampton, and his intercourse with the English dissenters had exerted upon his opinions as to christian liberty, by objecting to the doctrine of the Confession of Faith respecting the power of the civil magistrate in religion ; he was permitted to subscribe with an explanation of his meaning upon this point. The passages of the Confession to which he objected, were the 4th section of the 20th chapter, and the 3d section of the 23d chapter; which declare that those may be proceeded against by the power of the civil magistrate, who publish such opinions, or maintain such practices, as are contrary to the light of nature, the known principles of Christianity, or the power of godliness, or which are destructive to the external peace and order which Christ hath established in the church ; and that the civil magistrate, hath authority, and it is his duty, to take order that unity and peace be preserved in the church, that the truth of God be kept pure and entire, that all blasphemies and heresies, all corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline, be prevented or reformed, and all the ordinances of God duly settled, administered, and observed, for the better effecting of which, he hath power to call Synods, to be present at them, and to provide that whatever is transacted in them be according to the mind of God.

Mr Gillespie laboured as parish minister of Carnock till the year 1752. He was a careful student, a diligent and faithful minister, and generally acceptable and useful in his pulpit labours, both in his own parish, and as an occasional assistant elsewhere. The acceptance which his pulpit discourses met, was not owing to any advantage of manner, for his delivery was uncouth, and his whole manner that of one nervously afraid of his audience. But he was solemn and affectionate, much impressed himself, as conscious of his awful charge. He had struggled hard himself against the oppression of a constitutional tendency to despondency ; and in his discourses he sought especially to comfort and counsel the desponding and tempted Christian. Dr John Erskine, who was several months his stated hearer, and who besides this often heard him occasionally, bears witness in his preface to Mr Gillespie's Essay on the continuance of immediate revelations in the church, that " he studied in his ministry what was most needful for the bulk of his hearers, giving law and gospel, comfort and terror, privileges and duties, their proper place. I never (says he) sat under a minis-

try better calculated to awaken the thoughtless and secure, to caution convinced sinners against what would stifle their convictions, and prevent their issuing in conversion, and to point out the difference between vital Christianity, and specious counterfeit appearances of it."

During the eleven years that Mr Gillespie occupied the charge of Carnock, he kept close to the humble and unostentatious yet useful duties of the pastor of a country parish. He seems never to have taken any prominent part in the business of the church courts; he was, both from habit and disposition, retiring and reserved, fond of the studies of the closet, but destitute alike of the ability and the inclination for managing public affairs, and leading the van in ecclesiastical warfare. It was his scrupulous conscientiousness, not his ambition, that made him the founder of a party. He was thrust on it by circumstances beyond his intention.

Mr Gillespie entered the ministry in the Church of Scotland, when the harsh operation of the law of patronage, was causing painful and lamentable contests between the people and the dominant party in the church courts. It had already caused the Secession; and there still remained in the church of Scotland many elements of discord and sources of heart-burning; whole presbyteries even refused to act, when the settlement of obnoxious presentees was enjoined by the superior courts;—and to effect the execution of their sentences appointing the settlement of unpopular individuals, the general assembly, had at times wholly to supersede the functions of the presbytery, and appoint the induction to be completed by committees of individuals not connected with the presbytery; it might be men who, without scruple, were willing to act on whatever was ecclesiastical law, and carry through the matter intrusted to their care, in the face of the menaces or murmurs of a dissatisfied and protesting people.

This method of settling obnoxious presentees by *riding committees*, as they were called in those days by the populace, was confessedly a most irregular and unconstitutional device. It was a clumsy expedient to avoid coming in direct collision with recusant presbyteries. It was found to answer the purpose very imperfectly; and it was soon seen, that there remained to the General Assembly but two alternatives, either to soften the operation of the law of patronage, and give way to the popular voice, or to compel the presbyteries to settle every man who received a presentation, against whom heresy or immorality could not be proved; otherwise there would be perpetual collision between themselves and the inferior courts. The assembly chose the latter and the bolder alternative. In 1750, accordingly, the assembly referred it to their Commission, "to consider of a method for securing the execution of the sentences of the Assembly and Commission, and empowered them to censure any presbyteries which might be disobedient to any of the sentences pronounced by that meeting of Assembly."

In 1751 Mr Andrew Richardson, previously settled at Broughton, in the parish of Biggar, was presented to the charge of Inverkeithing, by the patron of the parish. He was unacceptable to the body of the people, and his call was signed only by a few non-resident heritors. Opposition being made to his settlement by the parishioners, the presbytery of Dunfermline, and after them the synod of Fife, refused to comply with the orders of the commission to proceed to the settlement of Mr Richardson. The case came before the assembly in 1752; and it was justly anticipated that it would bring to an issue, the conflict between recusant presbyteries, who had a conscientious regard for the rights of the people, and the dominant party in the assembly, who had no regard for them, but were resolved to give effect to every presentation. The lord commissioner, the earl of Leven, in his opening speech, with sufficient plainness indicated the course of procedure which the government desired, and expected the assembly should pur-

sue, in the circumstances; and said that it was more than high time to put a stop to the growing evil of inferior courts assuming the liberty of disputing and disobeying their decisions. The ruling party in the assembly were prompt in obeying these orders of the lord commissioner. They acted with more energy than prudence or tenderness. When the Inverkeithing case came to be considered, the assembly sent the presbytery from their bar to Inverkeithing with orders to complete Mr Richardson's induction: they enjoined every member of presbytery to be present at the admission: they changed the legal quorum from three to five. These orders were issued by the assembly on Monday; the induction was appointed to take place on Thursday, and the members of the presbytery were all commanded to appear at the bar of the assembly, on Friday, to report their fulfilment of these orders.

On Friday when the members of the Dunfermline presbytery were called upon, it appeared that only three had attended at Inverkeithing, and they not being the number required by the decision of the assembly to constitute a presbytery, did not feel themselves authorized to proceed to the admission. Of the other six, Mr Gillespie and other five pleaded conscientious scruples, and gave in a paper in defence of their conduct, quoting in their justification, the language of the assembly itself, who in 1736 had declared, that "it is, and has been ever since the Reformation, the principle of the church, that no minister shall be introduced into any parish contrary to the will of the congregation; and therefore it is seriously recommended to all judicatories of the church, to have a due regard to the said principle in planting vacant congregations, so as none be intruded into such parishes, as they regard the glory of God, and the edification of the body of Christ."

The assembly paid small regard to their own former declarations thus brought under their notice. They felt, indeed, that it would be rather *trenchant* and severe, by one fell swoop to depose six ministers all equally guilty: they resolved, however, by a majority, to depose one of the six. This was intimated to them with orders to attend on the morrow. Next day Mr Gillespie gave in a paper, justifying a statement made in their joint representation, that the assembly had themselves stigmatized the act of 1712, restoring patronages, as an infraction of the settlement made at the union. The proof of this statement, which had been questioned in the previous day's debate, he proved by quotations from the assembly's act of 1736, made at the time when they wished to lure back and reconcile the four seceding brethren—the founders of the Secession.

After prayer to God for direction—which, in the circumstances of the case, and in the predetermined state of mind in which the ruling party in the assembly were, was a profane mockery of heaven,—they proceeded to decide which of the six should be deposed. A great majority of the assembly (a hundred and two) declined voting; fifty-two voted that Mr Gillespie should be deposed, and four that some one of the others should be taken. The moderator then pronounced the sentence of deposition on Mr Gillespie. He stood at the bar to receive it, and when he had heard it to an end, with the meek dignity of conscious innocence, replied, "Moderator, I receive this sentence of the General Assembly of the church of Scotland, with reverence and awe on account of the divine conduct in it. But I rejoice that it is given to me on the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but to suffer for his sake."

This hard measure dealt to him, excited general commiseration and sympathy even among the ministers of the church. He was humble and unassuming, a quiet, retired student, not one versant in the warfare of church courts. Sir H. Moncrieff, in his Life of Dr Erskine, testifies, that he was one of the most inoffensive and upright men of his time, equally zealous and faithful in his pas-

toral duties, but one who never entered deeply into ecclesiastical business, and who was at no time a political intriguer. His sole crime was, that from a conscientious feeling, he would not be present or take any active part in a violent settlement, and they must be strangely fond of stretches of ecclesiastical power, who will pronounce the deposition of such a man in such circumstances, either praiseworthy or wise.

The sentence of deposition was pronounced on Saturday. On Sabbath, the day following, he preached in the fields at Carnock to his people, from the words of Paul, "For necessity is laid upon me, yea, woe is unto me if I preach not the gospel." He told his hearers, that though the assembly had deposed him from being a member of the established church, for not doing what he believed it was sinful for him to do, yet, he hoped through grace, no public disputes should be his theme, but Jesus Christ and him crucified,[1] and then went on to illustrate his text, without saying any thing in justification of himself, or in condemnation of the assembly.

He preached in the fields till the month of September, when he removed to the neighbouring town of Dunfermline, where a church had been prepared for him. At the following meeting of assembly, in 1753, an attempt was made by the evangelical party in the church, to have the sentence of deposition rescinded; but, though some of those who voted for his deposition, stung by their own consciences, or moved by sympathy, expressed their regret in very poignant language,[2] yet the motion was lost by a majority of three.

He laboured in Dunfermline for five years, without any ministerial assistance, and during that period, he dispensed the sacrament of the Lord's Supper thirteen times, preaching on these occasions commonly nine sermons, besides the exhortations at the tables. When he first determined to celebrate the Lord's Supper in his congregation at Dunfermline, he requested the assistance of some of the evangelical ministers in the church of Scotland; but from fear of the censures of the assembly, they refused him their aid.

The first minister who joined Mr Gillespie in his separation from the church of Scotland, was Mr Boston, son of the well known author of the Fourfold State. The parish of Jedburgh becoming vacant, the people were earnestly desirous that Mr Boston, who was minister of Oxnam, and a man of eminently popular talents, might be presented to the vacant charge. No attention, however, was paid to their wishes. The people of Jedburgh took their redress into their own hands, they built a church for themselves, and invited Mr Boston to become their minister; and he resigning his charge at Oxnam, and renouncing his connexion with the church of Scotland, cheerfully accepted their invitation. He was settled among them, 9th December, 1757. He immediately joined Mr Gillespie, to whom he was an important acquisition, from his popular talents, and extensive influence in the south of Scotland. Though associated together, and lending mutual aid, they did not proceed to any acts of government, till by a violent settlement in the parish of Kilconquhar, in Fife, the people were led to erect a place of worship for themselves, in the village of Colinsburgh, to which they invited as their pastor, the Rev. Thomas Collier, a native of the district, who had for some time been settled at Ravenstondale, in Northumberland, in connexion with the English Dissenters. At his admission to the charge of the congregation formed in Colinsburgh, on the 22d of October, 1761, Mr Gillespie and Mr Boston, with an elder from their respective congregations, first met as a presbytery. In the minute of that meeting, they rehearsed the circumstances connected with their separation from the church of Scotland, and

[1] Dr Erskine's Preface to his Essay on Temptations.
[2] Memoir of Gillespie, in the Quarterly Magazine, by Dr Stuart.

declared that they had formed themselves into a presbytery for the relief of Christians oppressed in their privileges.

The number of congregations in connexion with the Relief rapidly increased. It afforded an asylum for those who desired to have the choice of their own ministers, yet could not accede to the peculiarities of the secession. Relief from patronage, the assertion of the people's right to choose their own ministers, the extending of their communion to all visible saints, to all sound in the faith and of holy life—these were the distinguishing peculiarities which marked the Relief. They were distinguished from the two bodies of the Secession by their permission of occasional hearing, their disregard of the covenants sworn by our Scottish ancestors, their neglect of the duty of covenanting, and their not restricting their communion to their own Christian societies. For these defects, as they were called, they were rated soundly by the Secession writers. They may now, perhaps, be set down as merits. Gillespie died, 19th January, 1774.

It has been said, that Gillespie cooled in his attachment to the Relief, in the latter part of his life, and that he even expressd a wish that his congregation should join the established church, as a chapel of ease. This last assertion is certainly questionable. It has been contradicted by Mr Smith, in his Historical Sketches of the Relief Church, who, holding a charge in Dunfermline, and living among the personal associates of Gillespie, may be reckoned a competent witness as to what was known of Mr Gillespie's sentiments. He states, that the church and part of the congregation were carried over to the establishment by the undue influence and representations of Mr Gillespie's brother; and that Mr Gillespie had no difference with his brethren as to the constitution and principles of the Relief church. He never discovered to his people any inclination to be connected again with the establishment. His disapprobation of that church which deposed him, continued to the end of his days.[1] He was, however, dissatisfied with some of his brethren for the willingness they showed to listen to the application of Mr Perrie (1770), to be received into the body. Perhaps, too, his being thrown into the shade in the conduct of the public affairs of the body, by the active business habits of Mr Bain, after his accession to the Relief, might heighten his chagrin. These circumstances, operating on the tenderness of temper incident to old age and increasing infirmities, seem to have created in his mind a degree of dissatisfaction with some of his brethren; but that he repented of the steps he had taken in the formation of the presbytery of Relief, or that he had changed his sentiments in the terms of communion, on the impropriety of the civil magistrate's interference in ecclesiastical affairs, or similar points, there is no evidence.

The only productions of Gillespie that have been published are, an Essay on the Continuance of Immediate Revelations in the Church, published in his lifetime, and a Treatise on Temptation, in 1774, after his death, both prefaced by Dr J. Erskine, of Edinburgh. The first is designed to prove that God does not now give to any individuals by impressions, dreams, or otherwise, any intimations of facts or future events. He argues the point solidly and sensibly, and with some ingenuity. From his correspondence, it appears that the topic had occupied his thoughts much. He corresponded with Doddridge, Harvey, and president Edwards; and his correspondence with Edwards has been published in the Quarterly Magazine, conducted by Dr Stuart, son-in-law to Dr Erskine.

Mr Gillespie always prepared carefully for the pulpit. He left in MS. about eight hundred sermons, fairly and distinctly written. The last set of sermons he composed and preached were on searching the Scriptures, from John v. 39.

1 Pp. 27, 28.

GILLESPIE, (Rev.) William, minister of Kells in Galloway, was the eldest son of the Rev. John Gillespie, who preceded him in that charge; and was born in the manse of the parish, February 18, 1776. After receiving the rudiments of education at the parish school, he entered the university of Edinburgh, in 1792, and was appointed tutor to Mr Don, afterwards Sir Alexander Don, bart., in whose company he was introduced to the most cultivated society. While acting in this capacity, and at the same time prosecuting his theological studies, he amused himself by writing verses, and at this time commenced his poem entitled the "Progress of Refinement," which was not completed or published till some years afterwards. Among other clubs and societies of which he was a member, may be instanced the Academy of Physics, which comprehended Brougham, Jeffrey, and other young men of the highest abilities, and of which an account has already been given in our article, *Dr Thomas Brown*.[1] In 1801, having for some time completed his studies, and obtained a license as a preacher, he was ordained helper and successor to his father, with the unanimous approbation of the parish. Soon after, he was invited by his former pupil, Mr Don, to accompany him in making the tour of Europe; and he had actually left home for the purpose, when the project was stopped by intelligence of the renewal of the war with France. In 1805, Mr Gillespie published "the Progress of Refinement, an allegorical poem," intended to describe the advance of society in Britain, from its infancy to maturity, but which met with little success. It was generally confessed that, though Mr Gillespie treated every subject in poetry with much taste and no little feeling, he had not a sufficient draught of inspiration, or that vivid fervour of thought which is so called, to reach the highest rank as a versifier. In 1806, by the death of his father, he succeeded to the full charge of the parish of Kells. For some years afterwards, he seems to have contented himself in a great measure with discharging his duties as a clergyman, only making occasional contributions to periodical works, or communicating information to the Highland Society, of which he was a zealous and useful member. At length, in 1815, he published, in an octavo volume, "Consolation and other Poems," which, however, received only the same limited measure of applause which had already been bestowed upon his Progress of Refinement. Mr Gillespie, in July 1825, married Miss Charlotte Hoggan; but being almost immediately after seized with erysipelas, which ended in general inflammation, he died, October 15, in the fiftieth year of his age. As the character of this accomplished person had been of the most amiable kind, his death was very generally and very sincerely mourned: his biographer, Mr Murray, in his Literary History of Galloway, states the remarkable fact, that, amidst the many wet eyes which surrounded his grave, "even the sexton—a character not in general noted for soft feelings—when covering the remains of his beloved pastor, sobbed and wept to such a degree that he was hardly able to proceed with his trying duty."

GLASS, John, founder of a sect still known by his name, was the son of the Rev. Alexander Glass, minister of the parish of Auchtermuchty, in the county of Fife, where he was born on the 21st of September, 1695. In the year 1697, his father was transported to the parish of Kinclaven, at which place Mr John Glass received the rudiments of his education. He was afterwards sent to the grammar school of Perth, where he learned the Latin and Greek languages. He completed his studies at the universities of St Andrews and Edinburgh, and having been licensed as a preacher by the presbytery of Perth, was, in 1719, ordained a minister of the church of Scotland, in the parish of

[1] We regret that a mistake occurred in that account, in so far as Mr Thomas Erskine was alluded to, instead of Mr William Erskine, the erudite editor of the Memoirs of Baber.

Tealing, in the neighbourhood of Dundee. Mr Glass had been a diligent student, was deeply impressed with the importance of the ministerial character, and the awful responsibility which attached to it, and was anxious, in no common degree, about the due discharge of the various duties which it involved. In his public services he was highly acceptable, had a singular gift of prayer; and in his sermons, which, according to the fashion of the time, were seldom less than two, sometimes three hours in length, he attracted and kept up the unwearied attention of crowded audiences. His fame as a preacher, of course, soon spread abroad, and his sacramental occasions attracted vast crowds, from distant quarters, the usual concomitant, in those days, of popularity. But it was not public services alone that absorbed his attention; the more private duties of his station were equally attended to. Even so early as 1725, only two years after his settlement, he had formed within his parish a little society of persons, whom he found to be particularly under the influence of serious impressions, with whom he cultivated a more intimate intercourse, though no part of his charge was neglected. It is probable, however, that his peculiar notions of the constitution of a Christian church were by this time beginning to be developed, and this intercourse with a detached and particular part of his charge, must have tended to hasten the process. Breach of covenant engagements, from a combination of circumstances, was at this time very generally insisted on in the ministrations of the Scottish clergy. The binding obligation of both the National Covenant of Scotland, and the Solemn League and Covenant of the three kingdoms, being universally admitted, at which Mr Glass taking offence, began to preach against these covenants, as incompatible with the nature of the gospel dispensation and the sacred rights of conscience. A paper written by him at this time to the above effect excited a very great sensation throughout the country, and called forth some of the ablest defences of these famous deeds that have yet appeared. In the above paper, Mr Glass did not state himself as formally an enemy to the covenants, but only as an inquirer, wishing further light and information respecting them; yet it was evident to every tolerably instructed person, that he was no longer a presbyterian, and that he had adopted principles, with the ramifications of which he was unacquainted, and the remote consequences of which he had never considered. His objections he grounded particularly on certain distinctions which he apprehended to exist between the New and the Old Testament churches, and which he laid down in these and such like propositions—that it was peculiar to the Old Testament church of Israel; that the commonwealth and church were the same; so that to be a member of the commonwealth, was certainly to be a member of the church. But in opposition to this typical church, which was an earthly kingdom, the New Testament church, or kingdom of heaven, consists not of any earthly kingdom, nor of many commonwealths joined in one, but of a society gathered out of all nations into one in Christ. —That the commonwealth of Israel became a church by virtue of the covenants of promise, from which the Gentiles were strangers. These covenants were the covenant of circumcision, and the Sinai covenant, including in it the whole law of commandments contained in ordinances. That the church or commonwealth of Israel had three standing officers in it suitable to the earthly but typical nature of it, viz.—prophet, priest, and king, all of them ecclesiastical offices, the like of which there was never nor will be in any nation, but in the heavenly nation typified by the earthly nation of Israel; and there they are only to be found in the person of Jesus Christ, &c. These, we may observe, though branched out into different propositions, are all one and the same thing, and they betray the distraction of an ingenuous mind bewildered by its own

misconceptions. Nothing admits of easier or more direct proof than that, however closely united, the church and state of Israel were formally distinct. They were distinct in respect of laws, having the ceremonial for the church, the judicial for the state; in respect of officers, as a church having priests and Levites, as a state having magistrates and judges, rulers over tens, hundreds, thousands, &c.; in respect of controversies, as a church, having to deal with the Lord's matters, as a state, dealing with those of the King; in respect of actings, as a church, offering sacrifices of divine appointment, receiving sacraments, &c.; in respect of members, many members of the Jewish church being members of far distant states, such as the Ethiopian eunuch, &c. That the church of Israel was a typical church, and the king an officer in that church, are assertions equally loose and ridiculous. Is not a type a mere shadow, prefiguring something future? and the Jewish church had many of these shadows or typical ordinances; but did that constitute her a typical church? No, surely; she was as really a church, as that under the New Testament, and possessed the same privileges, though less splendidly illuminated. Kings have in all ages been prone to fancy themselves something more than they really are, and some of the Jewish kings were weak enough to fancy themselves priests, but they paid for their temerity,—witness Saul and Joash. Our business, however, is not to combat, but to relate the opinions as far as we can, along with the actions of the subject of our memoir, who was shortly after this processed before the church courts; and refusing to sign the formula and some passages of the Confession of Faith, was by the synod of Angus and Mearns, deposed from his office, on the twelfth of April, 1728.

The same year he published his "King of Martyrs," in which he embodied his views more fully matured, yet not less doubtful than in the propositions we have already adverted to. The book, however, has had no inconsiderable share of popularity, and it has served for a general storehouse, whence Mr Patrick Hutchison, and after him all the modern advocates of spirituality, as a peculiar and distinguishing characteristic of the New Testament church, have drawn their principal arguments. On his deposition, Mr Glass removed from Tealing to Dundee, where several persons joining him, he formed the first church of the kind in Scotland. There seems to have been in Scotland, from their first appearance in England, in the time of the civil wars, a peculiar feeling of dislike towards the *sectaries*, as the independents were called. Robert Baillie wrote a book principally against them, during the sitting of the Westminster Assembly; and in his letters there are many references to them, exceedingly ridiculous. The same feeling was still unbroken; and to hold that every assembly of Christians might form themselves into a church, subject to no judicatory, and having powers of calling, ordination, and government wholly within itself, though advocated and practised by Milton, Owen, Caryle, Goodwin, Howe, and a long list of other names scarcely less illustrious, was considered to display a want of both common sense and piety. Of course this small body was not without its share of reproach, nor were the members without their fears respecting the practicability of the scheme, being doubtful of a sufficiency of gifts in the lay brethren. When they came to the proof, however, they were agreeably disappointed; and wherever they had occasion to form churches, which was in a short time in a great many places, appear to have found no lack of qualified persons. In the year 1733, Mr Glass removed from Dundee to Perth, where he erected a small meeting-house, which was thought great presumption, especially as the handful of people that attended arrogated to themselves the name of a church. Attempts were even made to eject them forcibly from the town, and a certain lady beholding Mr Glass in the street, was heard to exclaim, "why do they not rive [tear] him in pieces." In the year 1739, the General Assembly of the church of Scotland, the same that

gave positive orders to the commission to proceed against the Seceders with the censures of the church, took off, by a very curious act, the sentence of deposition that had been passed against Mr Glass. In this act he is stated to hold some peculiar views, which the Assembly do not think inconsistent with his being a minister. They accordingly restored him to the character of a minister of the gospel of Christ, but declared at the same time, he was not to be esteemed a minister of the established church of Scotland, or capable of being called and settled therein, till he shall renounce these peculiar views. This act, even among the anomalous acts of church courts, was certainly a very strange one. If Mr Glass, however, was satisfied on good grounds that he was the minister or a minister of Christ, it could make certainly little difference, whether he was so of the church of Scotland or not. At the time of his deposition, Mr Glass had a large family, and when he was deprived of his stipend, had no visible means of supporting it. This, taken in connexion with the persecutions of another kind which he was made to endure, affords sufficient evidence, whatever any may think of his principles, that he was sincere and conscientious in their profession. In this sacrifice of worldly interests, it is pleasing to learn, that he had a most efficient coadjutor in his excellent wife, Catharine Black, a daughter of the Rev. Mr Black of Perth, by whom he had fifteen children, all of whom he outlived. This worthy woman, persuaded that the cause in which he was engaged was the cause of God, encouraged him in his darkest moments, to perseverance, and to a cheerful trust in divine providence, even for such things as might be needful for this present frail and transitory life; nor was his confidence in vain. In the death of so many children, their faith and patience was also severely tried, especially in the case of such of them as had arrived at the years of maturity. One of his sons was the occasion of much trouble to him, and left his house a disobedient son. Like the prodigal in the parable, however, he repented in his affliction, and returned a very different person. His son Thomas lived to become a very respectable bookseller in Dundee, where he was settled in life, and became pastor to the congregation his father had left in that place; but he was cut off in the prime of life, by a fever. Another of his sons, George, was a sea-captain, the well known author of the History of the Canary Islands, published by Dodsley, in 1764. He afterwards went out for a London company to attempt forming a settlement on the coast of Africa, where he was seized by the Spaniards and kept a prisoner for several years. The men whom he had conducted to Africa, were in the mean time murdered, and his ship plundered. Having by a pencil note inclosed in a loaf of bread, found means to make his case known to the British consul, the government interfered and he was set at liberty, took his passage with his wife and one daughter for London, intending to revisit his native country. The ship in which he had thus embarked his little all, was unfortunately loaded with specie, which awakening the cupidity of a part of the crew, they conspired to murder the captain and to secure the vessel. Captain Glass, hearing the disturbance on deck when the mutiny broke out, drew his sword and hastened up to the scene of riot, but was stabbed in the back by one of the conspirators, who had been lurking below. Mrs Glass and her daughter clung to one another imploring mercy, but were thrown over board locked in each other's arms. The murderers landed on the coast of Ireland, where they unshipped the money chests, which they hid in the sands, and went to an ale-house to refresh themselves. Here they were taken up on suspicion, confessed the atrocious action, and were subsequently executed. Mr Glass and his friends in Perth had been apprized by letter, that his son was on his voyage home, and were in daily expectation of his arrival, when the above notice of the ship and her crew reached Perth, by means of a

newspaper. It was a most distressing affair, and no one knew how to communicate the tidings to the aged parent. It was at last determined to point him to the paragraph in the paper, and to wait the issue in silence. Mr Glass bore the shock with the most perfect resignation, and in a few hours attended the church meeting, where he took his part of the service, as if nothing had befallen him. When he was afterwards told of the murderers being executed, he only remarked what a glorious instance of Divine grace it would be, if George Glass and his murderers, should have met together in heaven. Mr Glass died in 1773, aged seventy-eight. In the latter part of his life, he had occasion to travel frequently among the churches of his connexion, and on these journeys was always accompanied by some of his friends, who delighted to enjoy his cheerful and entertaining conversation. On one of these occasions, being charged with levity of mind, as contrasted with the gravity of some other ministers, he replied, "I too can be grave at times, when I want money or want righteousness;" intimating that covetousness and self-righteousness, were perhaps the foundation of that gravity they seemed so much to admire. Several of the ministers of the established church of Scotland, were much impressed with the doctrines and practices of Mr Glass, and on that account regularly corresponded with him, but none of them were disposed to relinquish their livings, save Mr Byers of St Boswell's, Tiviotdale, and Mr Ferrier of Largo, in Fife. It would greatly exceed our limits to enter into the peculiarities of doctrine, and of practice, by which the followers of Mr Glass are distinguished. Their doctrines, and perhaps their practices, received considerable modifications from Mr Robert Sandeman, son-in-law to Mr Glass, well known to the world by his letters on Theron and Aspasio, from whom the sect are also denominated Sandemanians. Faith, they assert, is nothing more than a simple assent to the divine testimony concerning Jesus Christ, delivered for the offences of men, and raised again for their justification, as recorded in the New Testament. The word faith or belief, they maintain to be used by the apostles, to signify nothing farther than what it does in ordinary discourse, viz. a persuasion of the truth of any proposition, and that there is no difference between believing any common testimony and believing the apostolic testimony, except that which results from the testimony itself and the divine authority upon which it rests. Their peculiarities of practice consist (if we are correctly informed, for we have never been in any of their meetings) in the weekly administration of the Lord's supper, —love feasts, of which all are required to partake—the kiss of charity practised at these feasts, on the admission of a new member, and on other occasions, when they deem it necessary—weekly collections before the Lord's supper, for the poor, and defraying their necessary expenses—mutual exhortation—abstinence from blood, and from things strangled—washing each other's feet, the precept concerning which, they understand, as well as other precepts, literally—community of goods, so far as that every one is to consider all that he has in possession, liable to the calls of the poor and the church—and the unlawfulness of laying up treasures upon earth, by setting them apart for any distant, and consequently uncertain use. They maintain a plurality of elders, pastors, or bishops in each church, and the necessity of the presence of two elders in every act of discipline, and at the administration of the Lord's supper. In the choice of these elders, want of learning or engagements in business, are not sufficient objections, provided the persons be otherwise qualified, according to the apostolic rule. Second marriages, however, are an insuperable bar to the office. They ordain their elders by prayer, fasting, imposition of hands, and giving the right hand of fellowship. In their discipline, they are strict and severe, and think themselves obliged to separate from the communion and worship of all such religious societies, as

appear to them not to profess the simple truth for their only ground of hope, and who do not walk in obedience to it; and we shall only add, that in all their decisions, they esteem unanimity to be absolutely necessary.

GLENNIE, James, a distinguished geometrician, a native of Fife, was born in 1750. His father was an officer in the army, and saw much severe service. Glennie received the rudiments of his education at a parochial school, and was afterwards removed to the university of St Andrews, where he made considerable proficiency in the Greek and Latin languages, but early discovered a strong and peculiar propensity to the sciences in general, but more particularly to geometry, a branch which he pursued with such zeal and success as to carry off two successive prizes in the mathematical class, when he was only 19 years of age. Glennie was originally intended for the church, and with this view, attended the divinity class, where he also distinguished himself, becoming a keen polemic and theologian, and an acute and able disputant. Whether, however, from his finding a difficulty in obtaining a church, or from the impulse of his own disposition, he abandoned the idea of entering into holy orders, and chose rather to seek his fortune in the army. Through the interest of the earl of Kinnoul, then chancellor of the university of St Andrews and of the professors of that university, to whom Glennie's talents had strongly recommended him, he obtained a commission in the artillery, a branch of the service for which his geometrical knowledge eminently fitted him. On the breaking out of the American war, in 1775, Glennie embarked for that country with the troops sent out by the mother country to co-operate with those already there, in the suppression of the insurgents. On his arrival, now a lieutenant of artillery, he was placed under the command of general St Leger; his reputation however, as a promising officer and skilful engineer, was already so great, that he was left in full command of his own particular department. Throughout the whole campaign which followed, he conducted all his operations with such judgment and intrepidity, as to attract the notice of the marquis of Townshend, who, without solicitation or any interest whatever being made, transferred Glennie to the engineers; and this flattering circumstance, together with the reasons annexed, were certified in the London Gazette. In 1779, he was further gratified by being nominated one of the thirty practitioner engineers, and appointed second, and soon after first lieutenant. So active and industrious were Glennie's habits, that even while engaged in the arduous and dangerous duties of his profession in America, he wrote a number of important papers on abstruse subjects. These he transmitted to the Royal Society, where they were read and deemed so valuable, as to procure him the honour of being elected a member, and that, as in the case of the celebrated Dr Franklin, without fees, and even without his knowledge.

On his return to England, Mr Glennie married Miss Mary Anne Locke, daughter of the store-keeper at Plymouth.

The good fortune, however, which had hitherto attended Glennie, and the prosperous career which apparently lay still before him, were now about to close in darkness and disappointment. The first blow to Glennie's hopes of future promotion, proceeded from a circumstance sufficiently remarkable in itself. The duke of Richmond, who was at the time of Glennie's return from America, master general of the Board of Ordnance, in which he had displaced Glennie's early patron the marquis of Townshend, had conceived the absurd idea of fortifying all our naval arsenals, and of forming lines of defence on the coast, instead of increasing the navy, and trusting to that arm for protection against a foreign enemy. The Duke was much opposed on this point in parliament; but as it was a favourite idea, he persevered, and supported as he was

by the influence and eloquence of Pitt, would have carried the measure, but for the skill and talent of a subaltern of artillery; and that subaltern, who coped successfully with a minister of state on a great national question, was Glennie.

The duke of Richmond, aware of Glennie's talents in the sciences of gunnery and fortification, frequently and anxiously endeavoured to obtain his approbation of his plans; with more candour than wisdom, however, he not only steadfastly withheld this approbation, but unhesitatingly declared them to be absurd and impracticable. Glennie's early patron, the marquis of Townshend, knowing the former's opinion of the duke of Richmond's plans, invited him to his residence, where he detained him until he had composed, which he did at the marquis's request, a pamphlet on the subject. The pamphlet, which was written with great ability and discovered a profound knowledge of the matter of which it treated, was immediately published, and produced a prodigious effect. It instantly opened the eyes of the public to the absurdity of the minister's ideas: his projects were overturned, and the country was saved; but Glennie was ruined.

In this celebrated pamphlet, which is simply entitled "A Short Essay," it was demonstrated that extensive lines produce prolonged weakness, not strength, and showed that troops are much more formidable as an active and movable force, than as an inert body, cooped up in fortifications. It showed further, that the sum (calculated at 40 or 50 millions) which should be required to carry the duke's plans into effect, was more than would be necessary to build a new and complete fleet, superior to that of any power on earth. Besides all this, it was shown, that it would require 22,000 soldiers for the intended fortifications of Portsmouth and Plymouth alone.

Glennie, perceiving that all hopes of further promotion were now at an end, resigned his commission and emigrated to British America with his wife and children. Here he purchased a tract of land, and soon afterwards became a a contractor for ship timber and masts for government. The speculation failed, and both Glennie himself, and a partner, a wealthy man who had joined him in it, were ruined. Driven back to England, but now, as many years had elapsed, forgotten and without friends, Glennie applied to the earl of Chatham, who recognizing his merits, but unable to do more for him, retained rather than employed him as "engineer extraordinary." Soon after, however, he procured Glennie the appointment of instructor to the East India Company's young artillery officers, with salary and emoluments amounting to £400 per annum. Glennie's good fortune was, however, again but of short duration. He was summoned as an evidence on some points in the celebrated trial of the duke of York and Mrs Clarke; his evidence was unfavourable to the duke; the consequence was, that he soon afterwards received an official letter from the board of directors, dispensing with his services.

In 1812, Glennie, now in the 62d year of his age, went out to Copenhagen at the request of a gentleman who then held a seat in parliament, to negotiate the purchase of a certain plantation. Glennie, having set out on his mission without coming to any explicit terms with his employer, his claim for compensation on his return was disputed, and referred to arbitration; but the referees could not agree, and the matter therefore was never adjusted. Glennie, now in an exceedingly destitute condition, without friends who could assist him, his health destroyed, and himself far advanced in life, made an unsuccessful attempt to procure a few mathematical pupils, and finally died of apoplexy on the 23d November, 1817, in the 67th year of his age. His remains were interred in the church-yard of St Martin's in the Fields.

Amongst other proofs of Glennie's geometrical knowledge is to be found a solution of Dr Matthew Stewart's "42d proposition on 39th theorem," which

had remained unsolved and had puzzled the learned for 65 years; and also a demonstration of the impossibility of "Squaring the circle," a question which has long excited public curiosity, and which it is said engaged the attention and eluded the research of the great Newton.

GOODAL, Walter, well known as an historical antiquary, was the eldest son of John Goodal, a farmer in Banffshire, and was born about the year 1706. In 1723, he was entered as a student in King's college, Aberdeen, but did not continue long enough to take a degree. In 1730, he obtained employment in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, under the famous Thomas Ruddiman, who was a native of the same district, and perhaps patronized him on account of some local recommendations. He assisted Ruddiman in the compilation of the first catalogue of the library, which was published in 1742. When Ruddiman was succeeded by David Hume, Goodal continued to act as sub-librarian, probably upon a very small salary. Like both of his successive superiors, he was a tory and a Jacobite, but, it would appear, of a far more ardent character than either of them. Being, almost as a matter of course, a believer in the innocence of queen Mary, he contemplated writing her life, but afterwards limited his design to a publication entitled "An examination of the letters said to be written by Mary to James earl of Bothwell," which appeared in 1754. In this work, says Mr George Chalmers, he could have done more, if he had had less prejudice and more coolness. Hume had become librarian two years before this period; but "the chief duty," we are informed, "fell upon Walter, or, as he good-naturedly permitted himself to be called, *Watty* Goodal. One day, while Goodal was composing his treatise concerning queen Mary, he became drowsy, and laying down his head upon his manuscripts, in that posture fell asleep. Hume entering the library, and finding the controversialist in that position, stepped softly up to him, and laying his mouth to Watty's ear, roared out with the voice of a Stentor, that queen Mary was a whore, and had murdered her husband. Watty, not knowing whether it was a dream or a real adventure, or whether the voice proceeded from a ghost or living creature, started up, and before he was awake or his eyes well opened, he sprang upon Hume, and seizing him by the throat, pushed him to the further end of the library, exclaiming all the while that he was some base presbyterian parson, who was come to murder the character of queen Mary as his predecessors had contributed to murder her person. Hume used to tell this story with much glee, and Watty acknowledged the truth of it with much frankness."

In 1753, Mr Goodal acted as editor of a new edition of the work called Crawford's Memoirs, which he is generally blamed for not having corrected or purified from the vitiations of its author. In 1754, he published an edition, with emendatory notes, of Scott of Scotstarvet's Staggering State of Scots Statesmen, and wrote a preface and life to Sir James Balfour's Practicks. He contributed also to Keith's catalogue of Scottish bishops, and published an edition of Fordun's "Scotichronicon," with a Latin introduction, of which an English version was given to the world in 1769. Goodal died July 28, 1766, in very indigent circumstances, which Mr Chalmers attributes to habits of intemperance. The following extract from the minutes of the faculty of advocates, throws a melancholy light upon the subject and is fully entitled to a place in Mr D'Israeli's Calamities of Authors:—

"A petition was presented in name of Mary Goodal, only daughter of the deceased Mr Walter Goodal, late depute-keeper of the Advocates' Library, representing that the petitioner's father died the 28th last month; that by reason of some accidental misfortunes happening in his affairs, any small pieces of household furniture or other movables he hath left behind, will scarcely defray

the expense of his funeral; that if there is any overplus, [it] will be attached by his creditors; that she is in the most indigent circumstances, and without friends to give her any assistance; that she proposes to go to the north country, where she hath some relations, in order to try if she can be put upon any way of gaining her bread; that she would not be permitted to leave the town until she should discharge some small debts that she was by necessity obliged to contract; that, besides, she was in such want of clothes and other necessaries, that she can scarcely appear in the streets; and that, in her most distressed situation, she hath presumed to make this humble application to the honourable the Dean and Faculty of Advocates, praying that they would be pleased to order her such a sum from their fund as they shall judge her necessities require.

"The Dean and Faculty, taking this clamant case under their consideration, were unanimously of opinion that the petitioner should have some allowance out of their fund." The sum given was ten pounds.

GORDON, Alexander, author of various learned and useful antiquarian works, is one of the numerous subjects for the present publication, of whom nothing is known except their birth *in Scotland*, and their transactions in public life *out of it*. He was a well-educated man, possessing, what was not in his time common among the Scottish literati, an intimate knowledge of the Greek language. In early life, he travelled through France, and other parts of the continent, and spent some years in Italy. His first publication referred to the antiquities of his native country, which he seems to have explored with minute and pains-taking fidelity. The work appeared in 1726, under the title of "Itinerarium Septentrionale, or a Journey through most parts of the counties of Scotland, in two parts, with sixty-six copper-plates," folio: a supplement, published in 1732, was entitled, "Additions and Corrections to the Itinerarium Septentrionale, containing several dissertations on, and descriptions of Roman antiquities discovered in Scotland since publishing the said Itinerary." These were among the first efforts in what may be called pure antiquities which were made in Scotland. The Itinerary was considered so valuable a work, that it was translated into Latin, and published in Holland in 1731, (the Supplement included,) for the use of general scholars throughout Europe. In 1729, Mr Gordon published "The Lives of Pope Alexander VI. and his son Cæsar Borgia, comprehending the wars in the reign of Charles VIII. and Lewis XII., kings of France, and the chief transactions and revolutions in Italy from 1492 to 1516, with an appendix of original pieces referred to in the work." This work was also in folio. In 1730, he published in octavo, "A Complete History of Ancient Amphitheatres, more particularly regarding the architecture of these buildings, and in particular that of Verona; by the marquis Scipio Maffei; translated from the Italian." In 1736, Mr Gordon was appointed secretary to the Society for the encouragement of learning, with an annual salary of fifty pounds; and also secretary to the Antiquarian Society: the former place he resigned in 1739, and the latter in 1741. About the same time, he officiated as secretary to the Egyptian Club, an association of learned individuals who had visited Egypt, comprising lord Sandwich, Dr Shaw, Dr Pococke, and others of nearly equal distinction. Mr Gordon published two other works—"An Essay towards explaining the hieroglyphical figures on the coffin of the ancient mummy belonging to captain William Lethieullier," 1737, and "Twenty-five plates of all the Egyptian mummies and other Egyptian antiquities, in England," about 1739—both in folio.

Mr Gordon was destined, after doing so much to explain the antiquities of the old world, to the extraordinary fate of spending his last years in the new,

where there are no ancient remains whatever. He was induced in 1741, to accompany governor Glen to Carolina in North America, where, besides a grant of land, he had several offices, particularly that of register of the province. He died about 1750, leaving a valuable estate to his family.

GORDON, George, commonly called lord George Gordon, one of the most remarkable Scotsmen who have flourished in modern political history, was the third son of Cosmo George, third duke of Gordon, by Catharine, daughter of William, earl of Aberdeen. He was born in Upper Brook Street, London, in Dec. 1750, and was baptized in Jan., 1752; George II. standing as his sponsor or god-father. Of his boyhood or education, we know little or nothing; nor does there appear to have supervened any peculiar trait of conduct, or bias of disposition, during his juvenile years, to distinguish him from his compeers, or forebode the singular eccentricity and erratic waywardness of his future career. At a very tender age he entered the navy, in which he arrived, by due gradation, at the rank of lieutenant. The reason of his afterwards abandoning the naval profession, was a pretended disappointment at non-promotion in the service, while it was, in fact, a mere job effected by some of the opposition members to win him to their ranks, as will afterwards be seen. In the year 1772, being then scarcely twenty years of age, he went to reside in Inverness-shire, with the view of opposing general Fraser of Lovat, as member for the county, at the next general election, which would, of necessity, take place in two years thereafter at farthest. This was indeed bearding the lion in his den, and appeared about as Quixotic an undertaking, as that of displacing one of the chieftain's native mountains. Such, however, were his ingratiating qualities, the frankness of his manners, the affability of his address, and his happy knack of accommodating himself to the humours of all classes, that, when the day of election drew nigh, and the candidates began to number their strength, Lovat found, to his unutterable confusion and vexation, that his beardless competitor had actually succeeded in securing a majority of votes! Nor could the most distant imputations of bribery or undue influence be charged upon the young political aspirant. All was the result of his winning address and popular manners, superadded to his handsome countenance, which is said to have been of almost feminine beauty and delicacy. He played on the bagpipes and violin to those who loved music. He spoke Gaelic and wore the philabeg, where these were in fashion. He made love to the young ladies, and listened with patience and deference to the garrulous sermonizing of old age. And, finally, gave a splendid ball to the gentry at Inverness,—one remarkable incident concerning which, was his hiring a ship, and bringing from the isle of Skye the family of the M'Leods, consisting of *fifteen* young ladies—the pride and admiration of the north. It was not to be tolerated, however, that the great feudal chieftain should thus be thrust from his hereditary political possession by a mere stripling. Upon an application to the duke, lord George's eldest brother, a compromise was agreed on, by which it was settled, that upon lord George's relinquishing Inverness-shire, general Fraser should purchase a seat for him in an English borough; and he was accordingly returned for Ludgershall, the property of lord Melbourne, at the election of 1774.

It would appear, that for some time after taking his seat, lord George voted with the ministry of the day. He soon, however, and mainly, it is affirmed, by the influence of his sister-in-law, the celebrated duchess of Gordon, became a convert to the principles of the opposition; and it was not long ere, at the instigation of governor Johnstone and Mr Burke, he fairly broke with the ministry, upon their refusal to comply with a most unreasonable demand for promotion over the heads of older and abler officers, which the gentlemen just named had

incited him to make. From this time forward, he became a zealous opponent of government, especially as regarded their policy towards America, where discontents against their measures were becoming rife and loud. It was not, however, until the session of 1776 that he stood forth as a public speaker, when he commenced his career by a furious attack on ministers, whom he accused of an *infamous* attempt to bribe him over to their side by the offer of a sinecure of £1000 a year. Whether this charge was true or false, certain it is that ministers felt the effects of the imputation so severely, reiterated and commented on as it was in the withering eloquence of Fox, Burke, and others, that an attempt was made to induce him to cede his seat in parliament, in favour of the famous Irish orator, Henry Flood, by the offer of the place of vice-admiral of Scotland, then vacant by the resignation of the duke of Queensberry. Notwithstanding that lord George's fortune was then scarcely £700 per annum, he had the fortitude to resist the proffered bait, and seemed determined, like Andrew Marvel, to prefer dining for three days running on a single joint, rather than sacrifice his independence by the acceptance of court-favour. His lordship, indeed, soon began to estrange himself from both parties in the house, and to assume a position then entirely new in parliamentary tactics, and somewhat parallel to the course chalked out for themselves by a few of our patriots in the house of commons at the present day. Disclaiming all connexion with either whigs or tories, he avowed himself as being devoted solely to the cause of the people. Continuing to represent the borough of Ludgershall, he persevered in animadverting with great freedom, and often with great wit, on the proceedings on both sides of the house, and became so marked, that it was usual at that time to say, that "there were three parties in parliament—the ministry, the opposition, and lord George Gordon."

A bill had been brought into parliament, in the session of 1778, by Sir George Saville, who is described by a writer of the whig party as one of the most upright men which perhaps any age or country ever produced, to relieve the Roman catholic subjects of England from some of the penalties they were subject to, by an act passed in the eleventh and twelfth year of King William III.,—an act supposed by many to have originated in faction, and which at all events, from many important changes since the time of its enactment, had become unnecessary, and therefore unjust.

On the passing of this bill, which required a test of fidelity from the parties who claimed its protection, many persons of that religion, and of the first families and fortunes in the kingdom, came forward with the most zealous professions of attachment to the government; so that the good effects of the indulgence were immediately felt, and hardly a murmur from any quarter was heard. This act of Sir George Saville did not extend to Scotland; but in the next winter, a proposition was made by several individuals to revise the penal laws in force against the catholics in that kingdom also: at least a report prevailed of such an intention. The people in general, having still a keen recollection of the religious dissentions of the preceding century, were strongly excited by this rumour, and formed numerous associations throughout the country, for the purpose of resisting, by petition, any remission of the catholic penalties. In this movement, they were countenanced generally by the less moderate section of the national clergy, and, perhaps, the public fervour was raised by no circumstance so much as by the indifference with which the majority of that body had treated the subject in the General Assembly of 1778, when the idea of a prospective declaration against the measure, was coldly negatived. The proceedings in Scotland, and some inflammatory pamphlets, published about the same time, gradually awakened the public mind in England, or at least the less informed part

of it, to a conviction of the danger of Sir George Saville's act, and a powerful society was formed at London, under the name of the "Protestant Association," for endeavouring to procure the repeal of the bill. Large subscriptions were raised in different parts of the kingdom, a secretary was publicly chosen, and correspondences set on foot between the different societies in England and Scotland. To crown all, in November, 1779, lord George Gordon, M. P., was unanimously invited to become president of the association, of which situation he accepted. One thing ought here to be observed, in judging of the sincerity of this nobleman in the part he took in the subsequent public proceedings on this subject, both in and out of parliament, that he offered no opposition whatever to the passing of Sir George Saville's repeal act.

In detailing the fearful events which ensued both in England and Scotland, in consequence of this struggle of parties, it is necessary that some regard be had to chronological order; and we must, therefore, first of all turn our attention to the posture of affairs in our own country.

Soon after the passing of the tolerating act in favour of the English and Irish Catholics, those of that creed in Scotland, encouraged, as we have said, by demonstrations in their favour in various influential quarters, prepared a petition to parliament, praying for the enjoyment of the same rights and privileges which had been extended to their more fortunate brethren. At this juncture an anonymous pamphlet appeared at Edinburgh, which caused an extraordinary sensation throughout the country. Its effects were first developed by the proceedings in the provincial synods, by almost all of which (excepting that of Lothian and Tweeddale) violent and angry resolutions were passed against the papists, and the firmest determination expressed to oppose their petition. These resolutions being published in the newspapers, soon propagated the ferment and fanned the popular excitement into a blaze. Numerous societies were organized at Edinburgh, Glasgow, and elsewhere, who severally passed resolutions to the same effect. That at Edinburgh, together with all the incorporations of the city, excepting the surgeons, the merchant company, and the society of candlemakers, petitioned the town council early in Jan. 1779, to oppose the bill, which was agreed to; and the members for the city and county were instructed accordingly. Similar proceedings also took place at Glasgow.

The populace, however, were far too highly irritated to await patiently the issue of these decided measures, and on the 2d of February their fury burst out at Edinburgh with uncontrollable violence. Incendiary letters had previously been distributed in the streets, calling upon the people to meet at the foot of Leith Wynd on the above day, "to pull down that pillar of popery lately erected there"—alluding to a house, occupied, along with other families, by a Roman catholic bishop, and which was supposed to contain a catholic place of worship. A large mob accordingly assembled, and in spite of the exertions of the magistrates, backed by a regiment of fencibles, the house was set on fire and reduced to ashes. The house of another popish clergyman in Blackfriars' Wynd was completely gutted. The catholics in all the other parts of the town were indiscriminately abused, and their houses pillaged. Nor against these alone was the violence of the mob directed. Every liberal protestant, known to favour toleration towards the catholics, became equally the objects of popular fury. Amongst these were the celebrated professor Robertson, and Mr Crosbie, an eminent advocate, whose houses were attacked, and which, but for the timely interference of the military, would doubtless, like the rest, have been fired and razed to the ground. Seeing no likelihood of a termination to the tumults, the provost and magistrates, after several days' feeble and ineffectual efforts to re-

store order, at length issued a proclamation of a somewhat singular description, *assuring* the people that *no repeal of the statutes against papists should take place*, and attributing the riots solely to the "fears and distressed minds of well meaning people." This announcement, nevertheless, had the effect of partially restoring quiet. The example of Edinburgh was in part copied in Glasgow; but the disturbances there, owing to the exertions and influence of the principal merchants and others, were soon got under;—the provost and magistrates, finding it necessary, however, to issue a notice similar to that of their civic brethren at Edinburgh. But notwithstanding that these magisterial assurances were corroborated by a letter to the same effect, from lord Weymouth, home secretary, dated 12th February, addressed to the lord justice clerk, the excitement throughout the country every day increased, instead of abating. At no period of our history, unless, perhaps, upon a late ever-memorable crisis, has either branch of the legislature been addressed or spoken of in language half so daring, menacing, or contemptuous. The resolutions passed by the heritors and heads of families in the parish of Carluke, Lanarkshire, may vie with the most maledictory philippics poured forth on the heads of the "Boroughmongers" in modern days. To such a height did this anti-catholic feeling at last rise, that the papists deemed it at last prudent to memorialize parliament on the subject, and pray for protection to their lives and property, as well as redress for what they had already suffered. This petition was laid before the house by Mr Burke on the 18th of March, and it is in the debate which thereupon ensued, that we first find lord George Gordon standing forth in parliament as the champion of the protestant interests. In the following August, after the rising of the session, lord George paid a visit to Edinburgh, where he was received with extraordinary attention, and unanimiously chosen president of the "committee of correspondence for the protestant interest." We ought to have mentioned that, in the month of April, the sum of £1600 had been adjudged by arbitration to the catholics in compensation of their loss in the city of Edinburgh, which amount was paid from the city's funds.

The remarkable respect and honours which lord George experienced from the protestant societies in Scotland, appear to have operated like quicksilver in his veins. He forthwith devoted himself heart and hand to their cause; and on his return to London he was, as we have already mentioned, chosen president of the formidable Protestant Association.

Encouraged by the deference paid by government to the wishes of the Scottish protestants, the members of the London association entertained the most sanguine hopes of getting a repeal of the late toleration act for England. The most strenuous exertions by advertisement and otherwise were therefore made to swell the numbers of the society; meetings were called, and resolutions passed, to petition the house of commons for an abrogation of the obnoxious act.

After various desultory motions in parliament, which it is unnecessary to specify, lord George, on the 5th of May, presented a petition from Plymouth, praying for a repeal of Sir G. Saville's act. Finding, however, the government and legislature little disposed to pay any attention to these applications, the members of the association resolved upon adopting more active and unequivocal measures to accomplish their object. A meeting was accordingly held in Coach-maker's Hall, on the evening of the 29th May—at which lord George, who was in the chair, addressed them in a long and inflammatory harangue upon the wicked designs of the papists, the fearful increase of popery in the kingdom, in consequence of the late act—and the measures indispensably necessary to be adopted for the salvation of protestantism. He said their only

resource was to go in a body to the house of commons, and express their determination to protect their religious privileges with their lives; that for his part, he would run all hazards with "the people," and if they were too lukewarm to do the like with him, they might choose another leader. This speech was received with tremendous acclamations; and resolutions were passed, that the whole protestant association should assemble in St George's fields, on the following Friday, (June 2d,) to accompany his lordship to the house of commons, where he was to present the protestant petition, and that they should march to the house in four divisions, and by different routes. His lordship also added, that unless 20,000 people, each decked with a blue cockade, assembled—he would not present the petition. Next evening, lord George gave notice in the house of commons, of his intention of presenting the petition on the appointed day, as also of the proposed processions of the association; and it is a remarkable fact, that although by the act of 1661, such a proceeding was declared quite illegal, not the slightest intimation was given to him by the ministry, to that effect.

On the day appointed, an immense concourse of people, not less it was computed than 100,000, assembled in St George's fields. Lord George, arrived about twelve o'clock, and after haranguing them for a considerable time, directed them how they were to march. One party, accordingly, proceeded round by London bridge, another over Blackfriars, and a third accompanied their president over Westminster bridge. The petition, to which the subscriptions of the petitioners were appended, on an immense number of rolls of parchment, was borne before the latter body. On their assembling at the two houses of parliament, which they completely surrounded, they announced their presence by a general shout, and it was not long ere the more unruly of them began to exercise the power they now felt themselves to possess, by abusing and maltreating the members of both houses, as they severally arrived. At the door of the house of lords, the archbishop of York, the bishops of Litchfield and Lincoln, the duke of Northumberland, lords Bathurst, Mansfield, Townshend, Hillsborough, Stormont, Dudley, and many others, were all more or less abused, both in character and person. Lord Boston, in particular, was so long in the hands of the mob, that it was at one time proposed that the house should go out in a body to his rescue. He entered at last, unwigged, and with his clothes almost torn from his person.

In the meantime, the rioters had got complete possession of the lobby of the house of commons, the doors of which they repeatedly tried to force open; and a scene of confusion, indignation, and uproar ensued in the house, almost rivaling that which was passing out of doors. Lord George, on first entering the house, had a blue cockade in his hat, but upon this being commented upon as a signal of riot, he drew it out. The greatest part of the day was consumed in debates (almost inaudible from the increasing roar of the multitude without,) relative to the fearful aspect of affairs; but something like order being at last obtained, lord George introduced the subject of the protestant petition, which, he stated, was signed by 120,000 protestants, and moved that it be immediately brought up. Leave being given, he next moved that it be forthwith taken into consideration. This informal and unprecedented proposition, was, of course, resisted; but lord George, nevertheless, declared his determination of dividing the house on the subject, and a desultory but violent debate ensued, which was terminated by the motion being negatived by 192 to 9. During the course of the discussion, the riot without became every moment more alarming, and lord George was repeatedly called upon to disperse his followers; but his manner of addressing the latter, which he did from the top of the gallery

stairs, leaves it doubtful whether his intention was to quiet or irritate them still farther. He informed them, from time to time, of the progress of the debate, and mentioned by name (certainly, to put the best construction upon it, an extremely thoughtless proceeding,) those members who opposed the immediate consideration of the petition; saying,—"Mr so and so is now speaking against you."—He told them that it was proposed to adjourn the question to the following Tuesday, but that he did not like delays; that "parliament might be prorogued before that, and there would be an end of the affair." During his harangues, several members of the house warmly expostulated with him on the imprudence of his conduct; but to no purpose. General Grant attempted to draw him back, begging him "for God's sake not to lead these poor deluded people into danger;" and colonel Gordon, (or, as other authorities say, colonel Murray, uncle to the duke of Athol,) a near relative of his lordship's, demanded of him—"Do you intend, my lord George, to bring your rascally adherents into the house of commons? If you do, the first man that enters, I will plunge my sword not into his body, but *yours*."—In this state did matters continue until about nine o'clock at night, when a troop of horse and infantry arrived. Lord George then advised the mob to disperse quietly, observing "that now their gracious king was made aware of the wishes and determination of his subjects, he would no doubt compel his ministers to comply with their demands." Those who attended from purely religious motives, numbering, it is said, not more than 600 or 700, immediately departed peaceably, first giving the magistrates and soldiers three cheers. The remainder also retired about 11 o'clock, after the adjournment of the house; but soon began to display the villanous designs which had congregated them. Dividing themselves into two bodies, one proceeded to the chapel of the Sardinian ambassador in Duke street, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, the other to that of the Bavarian ambassador in Warwick street, Golden square, both of which edifices they completely gutted, burning the furniture, ornaments, &c., in heaps on the public street. A party of guards arrived, but after the mischief was over, who succeeded in capturing thirteen of the rioters. In concluding our account of this eventful day's proceedings, we must mention, that great negligence was charged, and seemingly not without reason, against government as well as the magistracy, for the absence of every thing like preparation for preserving the peace,—aware, as they perfectly were, of the intended multitudinous procession.

Next day (Saturday) passed over without any disturbance; but this quiescence proved only a "lull before the storm." In the afternoon of Sunday, an immense multitude met simultaneously, and evidently by previous concert, in Moorfields, and raising the slogan of "No Popery," "Down with the Papists," &c., immediately attacked and utterly demolished the catholic chapel, burning the altar, images, pictures, &c., in the open street. Here again, the guards arrived (to use an Iricism) in time to be too late; and encouraged by this circumstance, as well as by the lenient deportment of the military, who up to this time, had refrained from the use of either sabre or fire-arms, the rioters hourly grew more daring and outrageous. They renewed their violence early on Monday, (the king's birth-day,) by destroying a school-house and three dwelling houses, with a valuable library, belonging to papists, in Rope-maker's Alley. Separating their force into several detachments, they proceeded into various quarters of the city at once,—thus distracting the attention of the authorities, who appeared to be paralyzed by the fearful ongoings around them—lost all self-possession, and of course, their efficiency in checking the career of the rioters. The houses of Sir George Saville and several other public and private gentlemen, together with several popish chapels, quickly fell a prey to pillage and

flame. The violence of the mob also received an accession of fury this day from two circumstances—viz. a proclamation offering a reward of £500, for the discovery of those concerned in destroying the Bavarian and Sardinian chapels; and the public committal to Newgate of three of the supposed ringleaders on those occasions.

It must here be recorded, that early on the same morning (Monday 5th June,) the Protestant Association distributed a circular, disclaiming all connexion with the rioters, and earnestly counselling all good protestants to maintain peace and good order.

Tuesday the 6th, being the day appointed for the consideration of the protestant petition, a multitude not less numerous than that of the previous Friday, assembled round both houses of parliament, coming in however, not in one body, but in small parties. A disposition to outrage soon manifested itself, and lord Sandwich, who fell into their hands, with difficulty escaped with life, by the aid of the military, his carriage being smashed to pieces. The house of peers, after several of their lordships had commented on the unprecedented circumstances in which they were placed, unanimously decided on the absurdity of transacting business, while in a state of durance and restraint, and soon broke up, after adjourning proceedings till the Thursday following. In the house of commons, after several remarks similar to those in the upper house, and the passing of various resolutions to the same effect, a violent attack was made upon ministers by Mr Burke, Mr Fox, and others of the opposition, on account of the relaxed state of the police, which had left the legislature itself at the mercy of a reckless mob. Lord George Gordon said, if the house would appoint a day for the discussion of the petition, and to do it to the satisfaction of the people, he had no doubt they would quietly disperse. Colonel Herbert, remarked that although lord George disclaimed all connexion with the rioters, it was strange that he came into the house with their ensign of insurrection in his hat, (a blue cockade,) upon which his lordship pulled it out. A committee was then appointed "to inquire into the causes of the riot, &c.," and the house adjourned to Thursday. Upon the breaking up of the house, lord George addressed the multitude, told them what had been done, and advised them to disperse quietly. In return, they unharnessed his horses, and drew him in triumph through the town.

In the meantime, a furious attack had been made on the residence of lord North, in Downing Street, which was only saved from destruction by the interposition of the military. In the evening, the house of justice Hyde was surrounded, sacked, and all the furniture, pictures, books, &c., burned before his door. The rioters then directed their steps towards Newgate, for the purpose of releasing their companions in outrage, who were there confined. On arriving at the gates, they demanded admittance; which being refused by Mr Akerman, the governor, they forthwith proceeded to break his windows, and to batter in the doors of the prison with pick-axes and sledge-hammers. Flambeaus and other firebrands being procured, these were thrown into the governor's house, which, along with the chapel, and other parts of the prison, was speedily in flames. The prison doors were also soon consumed, and the mob rushing in, set all the prisoners, to the number of 300, (amongst whom were several under sentence of death,) at liberty. One most remarkable circumstance attending this daring proceeding must not be passed over in silence,—that from a prison thus enveloped in flames, and in the midst of a scene of such uproar and confusion, such a number of prisoners, many of them shut in cells to which access was at all times most intricate and difficult, could escape without the loss of a single life, or even the fracture of a limb! But what will appear, perhaps,

scarcely less astonishing, is the fact, that within a very few days, almost the whole of the individuals thus unexpectedly liberated were recaptured, and lodged either in their old or more secure quarters.

Still more emboldened by this reinforcement of desperate confederates, the rioters proceeded in different detachments to the houses of justice Cox and Sir John Fielding, as also to the public office in Bow Street, and the new prison, Clerkenwell; all of which they broke in upon and gutted, liberating the prisoners in the latter places, and thereby gaining fresh numbers and strength. But the most daring act of all, was their attacking the splendid mansion of lord chief justice Mansfield, in Bloomsbury Square. Having broken open the doors and windows, they proceeded, as was their custom, to fling all the rich and costly furniture into the street, where it was piled into heaps and burned, amid the most exulting yells. The library, consisting of many thousands of volumes, rare MSS., title-deeds, &c., together with a splendid assortment of pictures—all were remorselessly destroyed. And all this passed, too, in the presence of between 200 and 300 soldiers, and under the eye of the lord chief justice himself, who calmly permitted this destruction of his property, rather than expose the wretched criminals to the vengeance of the military. At last, seeing preparations made to fire the premises, and not knowing where the conflagration might terminate, a magistrate read the riot act; but without effect. The military were then reluctantly ordered to fire; but although several men and women were shot, the desperadoes did not cease the work of destruction until nothing but the bare and smoking walls were left standing. At this time the British metropolis may be said to have been entirely in the hands of a lawless, reckless, and frenzied mob! The vilest of the rabble possessed more power and authority than the king upon the throne; the functions of government were, for a time, suspended; and the seat of legislation had become the theatre of anarchy and misrule. So confident now were the rioters in their own irresistible strength, that on the afternoon of the above day, they sent notices round to the various prisons yet left standing, to inform the prisoners at what hour they intended to visit and liberate them! If any one incident connected with a scene of such devastation, plunder, and triumphant villany, could raise a smile on the face of the reader or narrator, it would be the fact, that the prisoners confined in the Fleet, sent to request that they might not be turned out of their lodgings so late in the evening; to which a generous answer was returned, that they would not be disturbed till next day! In order not to be idle, however, the considerate mob amused themselves during the rest of the evening in burning the houses of lord Petre and about twenty other individuals of note—protestant as well as catholic,—and concluded the labours of the day by ordering a general illumination in celebration of their triumph—an order which the inhabitants were actually compelled to obey!

On Wednesday, this horrible scene of tumult and devastation reached its acme. A party of the rioters paid a visit to lord Mansfield's beautiful villa at Caen-wood in the forenoon, and coolly began to regale themselves with the contents of his larder and wine-cellar, preparatory to their commencing the usual work of destruction. Their orgies were interrupted, however, by a party of military, and they fled in all directions. It was not until the evening that the main body seriously renewed their diabolical work; and the scene which ensued is described by contemporary writers, who witnessed the proceedings, as being too frightful for the power of language to convey the slightest idea of. Detachments of military, foot and horse, had gradually been drawing in from different parts of the interior; the civic authorities, who up to that time had been solely occupied consulting and debating upon the course they should pur-

sue in the awful and unparalleled circumstances in which they were placed, began to gather resolution, to concentrate their force, and to perceive the absolute necessity of acting with vigour and decision—a necessity which every moment increased. The strong arm of the law, which had so long hung paralyzed over the heads of the wretched criminals, once more became nerved, and prepared to avenge the cause of justice, humanity, and social order. The struggle, however, as may well be conceived, was dreadful; and we gladly borrow the language of one who witnessed the awful spectacle, in detailing the events of that ever-memorable night. The King's Bench, Fleet Prison, Borough Clink, and Surrey Bridewell, were all in flames at the same moment, and their inhabitants let loose to assist in the general havoc. No less than *thirty-six* fearful conflagrations in different parts of the metropolis, were seen raging simultaneously, "*licking up every thing in their way*," as a writer at the time expressively described it, and "*hastening to meet each other.*"

"Let those," observes the writer before alluded to, "call to their imagination flames ascending and rolling in vast voluminous clouds from the King's Bench and Fleet Prisons, the Surrey Bridewell, and the toll houses on Blackfriars bridge; from houses in flames in every quarter of the city, and particularly from the middle and lower end of Holborn, where the premises of Messrs Langdale and Son, eminent distillers, were blazing as if the whole elements were one continued flame; the cries of men, women, and children, running up and down the street, with whatever, in their fright, they thought most necessary or most precious; the tremendous roar of the infernal miscreants inflamed with liquor, who aided the sly incendiaries, whose sole aim was plunder; and the repeated reports of the loaded musquetry dealing death and worse than death among the thronging multitude!" But it was not what was doing only, but what *might yet be done*, that roused the fears of all classes. When they beheld the very outcasts of society every where triumphant, and heard of their attempting the bank; threatening Doctors-Commons, the Exchange, the Pay-Office; in short, every repository of treasure and office of record, men of every persuasion and party bitterly lamented the rise and progress of the bloody and fatal insurrection, and execrated the authors of it. Had the bank and public offices been the first objects of attack, instead of the jails and houses of private individuals, there is not the smallest reason to doubt of their success. The consequences of such an event to the nation may well be imagined!

The regulars and militia poured into the city in such numbers during the night of Wednesday and the morning of Thursday, that, on the latter day, order was in a great measure restored; but the alarm of the inhabitants was so great that every door remained shut. So speedily and effectually, however, did the strict exercise of authority subdue the spirit of tumult, that on Friday, the 9th of June, the shops once more were opened, and business resumed its usual course.

So terminated the famous riots of 1780; an event which will long be memorable in the history of our country, and ought to remain a warning beacon to future popular leaders, of the danger of exciting the passions of the multitude for the accomplishment of a particular purpose, under the idea that they can stop the career of the monster they have evoked, *when the wished-for end is attained.* It was impossible to ascertain correctly the exact number of the unhappy beings, whose depravity, zeal, or curiosity hurried them on to a fatal doom. The sword and the musket proved not half so deadly a foe as their own inordinate passions. Great numbers died from sheer inebriation, especially at the distilleries of the unfortunate Mr Langdale, from which the unrectified spirits ran down the middle of the streets, was taken up in pailfuls, and held

to the mouths of the deluded multitude, many of whom dropt down dead on the spot, and were burned or buried in the ruins.

The following is said to be a copy of the returns made to lord Amherst of the killed and wounded by the military, during the disturbances:—

By association troops and guards,	109	Killed
By light horse,	101	
Died in hospitals,	75	
Prisoners under cure,	173	
	458	

To this fatal list, which, it will be seen, is exclusive of those who perished by accident, or their own folly or infatuation, may be added those whom the vengeance of the law afterwards overtook. Eighty-five were tried at the Old Bailey, of whom thirty-five were capitally convicted, forty-three acquitted, seventeen respited, and eighteen executed. At St Margaret's Hill forty were tried under special commission, of whom about twenty were executed. Besides these, several of the rioters were afterwards from time to time apprehended, tried, and executed in various parts of the country. Amongst those convicted at the Old Bailey, but afterwards respited, probably on account of the immediate occasion for his services, was the common *hangman*, Edward Dennis, the first of his profession, we believe, who was dubbed with the *soubriquet* of *Jack Ketch*. In concluding our account of these riots, we may mention that similar disturbances also broke out at the same time at Hull, Bristol, Bath, and other places, but were suppressed without almost any mischief, and no bloodshed.

On Thursday the 8th, the commons met, according to appointment, but as it was still thought necessary to keep a guard of military round the house, a state of investment incompatible with free and deliberative legislation, they immediately adjourned to the 19th. On Friday, a meeting of the privy council was held, when a warrant was issued for the apprehension of lord George Gordon. This was forthwith put into execution, and lord George was brought in a hackney coach to the Horse Guards, where he underwent a long examination, and was afterwards committed a close prisoner to the Tower, being escorted by a strong guard of horse and foot. It is scarcely necessary to state, before tracing the subsequent career and fate of this singular individual, that no repeal of the toleration act took place. The question was taken up in the house of commons on the very first day after the recess, when all parties were unanimous in reprobating the desired repeal, and the "Protestant Petition," which had given occasion, or been made the pretext for so much mischief and loss of life, accordingly fell to the ground.

Having given such ample details of the cause, rise, and progress of what some zealous protestant writers of the day termed, rather inconsistently, the "Popish Riots," it would be equally tedious and supererogatory to enter into a lengthened account of the trial of the individual upon whom government charged the *onus* of the fatal events. The proceedings, as may be imagined, engrossed the undivided attention of the whole kingdom, during their progress, but almost the sole point of interest connected with them now, after such a lapse of time, is the speech of the celebrated honourable Thomas Erskine, counsel for the prisoner, which has been regarded as one of the very highest of those flights of overpowering eloquence with which that remarkable man from time to time astonished his audiences, and, indeed, the whole world. The trial of lord George Gordon did not come on until the 5th of February, 1781; the reason of this delay—nearly eight months—we do not find explained.

During his confinement, lord George was frequently visited by his brother the duke, and other illustrious individuals, and every attention was paid to his comfort and convenience. He was accompanied from the Tower to Westminster hall by the duke, and a great number of other noble relatives. His counsel were Mr (afterwards lord) Kenyon, and the honourable Thomas Erskine. The charge against the prisoner was that of high treason, in attempting to raise and levy war and insurrection against the king, &c. His lordship pleaded *not guilty*. The trial commenced at nine o'clock on the morning of Monday the 5th, and at a quarter past five next morning, the jury returned an unqualified verdict of acquittal. Twenty-three witnesses were examined for the crown, and sixteen for the prisoner. The evidence, as may be imagined, was extremely contradictory in its tendency, proceeding, as it did, from individuals whose impressions as to the cause and character of the fatal occurrences, were so very dissimilar, —one party seeing in the conduct of lord George merely that of an unprincipled, callous-hearted, and ambitious demagogue, reckless of consequences to the well-being of society, provided he obtained his own private ends; while another looked upon him as an ill-used and unfortunate patriot, whose exertions to maintain the stability of the protestant religion, and vindicate the rights and privileges of the people, had been defeated by the outrages of a reckless and brutal mob. By the latter party, all the evil consequences and disreputability of the tumults were charged upon the government and civic authorities, on account of the lax state of the police, and the utter want of a properly organized defensive power in the metropolis. A third party (we mean in the kingdom) there was, who viewed lord George merely as an object of compassion, attributing his, certainly unusual, behaviour to an aberration of intellect,—an opinion which numerous subsequent eccentricities in his conduct, have induced many of a later era to adopt.

The speech of Mr Erskine was distinguished for that originality of style and boldness of manner which were the chief characteristics of his forensic displays. One very remarkable passage in it has been considered by his political friends and admirers as the *ne plus ultra* of rhetorical tact and effective energy, although we confess, that, as a precedent, we would reckon the employment of such terms more honoured in the breach than the observance. In reviewing lord George's conduct and deportment during the progress of the unhappy tumults, the orator abruptly broke out with the following emphatic interjection:—"I say, BY GOD, that man is a *ruffian* who will dare to build upon such honest, artless conduct as an evidence of guilt!" The effect of this most unexpected and unparalleled figure of oratory, is described by those who heard it to have been perfectly magical. The court, the jury, the bar, and the spectators were for a while spell-bound with astonishment and admiration. It is acknowledged by all, that the speech of Mr Erskine on this occasion was almost the very highest effort of his powerful and nervous eloquence. The speech of Mr Kenyon was likewise remarkable for its ability and effect. Great rejoicings took place on account of his lordship's acquittal, amongst his partisans, particularly in Scotland. General illuminations were held in Edinburgh and Glasgow; congratulatory addresses were voted to him; and £485 subscribed to re-imburse him for the expenses of his trial. Although, however, lord George continued in high favour with the party just named, and took part in most of the public discussions in parliament, as usual, his credit seems to have been irretrievably ruined with all the moderate and sober-minded part of the nation. He was studiously shunned by all his legislative colleagues, and was in such disgrace at court, that we find him detailing to his protestant correspondents at Edinburgh, in language of the deepest mortification, his reception at

a royal levee, where the king coldly turned his back upon him, without seeming to recognize him. Repeated efforts appear to have been made by his relatives at this time, to induce him to withdraw from public life, but without success; and his conduct became daily more eccentric and embarrassing to his friends. It is impossible, indeed, to account for it upon any other ground than that of gradual aberration of mind.

In April, 1787, two prosecutions were brought against Lord George at the instance of the crown; one for preparing and presenting a pretended petition to himself from certain prisoners confined in Newgate, praying him to intercede for them, and prevent their being banished to Botany Bay; the other for a libel upon the queen of France and French ambassador. Mr Wilkins, the printer of the petitions, was also proceeded against. Both pleaded not guilty. It is a somewhat curious fact, that on this occasion Mr Erskine, Lord George's former counsel, appeared against him. Lord George acted as his own defendant, on the score of being too poor to employ counsel. The Newgate petition, evidently his Lordship's production, was a mere farrago of absurdity, treason, and blasphemy, reflecting on the laws, railing at the crown-officers, and condemning his majesty by large quotations from the book of Moses. He was found guilty, as was also Mr Wilkins. Upon the second charge, the gist of which was a design to create a misunderstanding betwixt the two courts of France and England, he was also found guilty. His speech on this last occasion was so extravagant, and contained expressions so indecorous, that the attorney general told him "he was a disgrace to the name of Briton." The sentence upon him was severe enough: upon the first verdict he was condemned to be imprisoned two years,—upon the second, a further imprisonment of three years; at the expiration of which he was to pay a fine of £500, to find two securities in £2500 each, for his good behaviour for fourteen years; and himself to be bound in a recognizance of £10,000. In the interval, however, between the verdict and the passing of the sentence, he took an opportunity of escaping to Holland, where he landed in May. Here, however, he was not allowed to remain long. He was placed under arrest, and sent back from Amsterdam to Harwich, where he was landed in the latter end of July. From that place he proceeded to Birmingham, where he resided till December; having in the meantime become a proselyte to Judaism, and performing rigidly the prescribed rites and duties of that faith. Information having reached government of his place of residence, and the increasing eccentricities of his conduct evidently pointing him out as an improper person to be allowed to go at large, a messenger was despatched from London, who apprehended him and brought him to town, where he was lodged in Newgate. His appearance in court when brought up to receive the sentence he had previously eluded, is described as being miserable in the extreme. He was wrapt up in an old greatcoat, his beard hanging down on his breast; whilst his studiously sanctimonious deportment, and other traits of his conduct, too evidently showed an aberration of intellect. He bowed in silence, and with devout humility, on hearing his sentence. Soon after his confinement, he got printed and distributed a number of treasonable handbills, copies of which he sent to the ministry with his name attached to them. These, like his "prisoners' petition," were composed of extracts from Moses and the prophets, evidently bearing upon the unhappy condition of the king, who was then in a state of mental alienation.

In the following July, 1789, this singular and unhappy being addressed a letter, or petition to the National Assembly of France, in which, after eulogizing the progress of revolutionary principles, he requests of them to interfere on his behalf with the English government to get him liberated. He was answered

by that body, that they did not feel themselves at liberty to interfere; but he was visited in prison by several of the most eminent revolutionists, who assured his lordship of their best offices for his enlargement. To the application of these individuals, however, lord Grenville answered that their entreaties could not be complied with. Nothing further worthy of mention remains to be told in the career of this unhappy man. After lord Grenville's answer, he remained quietly in prison, occasionally sending letters to the printer of the Public Advertiser, written in the same half-frenzied style as his former productions. In November, 1793, after being confined ten months longer than the prescribed term of his imprisonment, for want of the necessary security for his enlargement, he expired in Newgate of a fever, having been delirious for three days previous to his death.

GORDON, James, a member of the noble family of Gordon, and distinguished for his erudition, was born in the year 1543. Having been sent to Rome for his education, he there became a jesuit, while yet in the twentieth year of his age, and such was his extraordinary progress in learning, that in six years afterwards (1569,) he was created doctor of divinity. He next became professor of languages and divinity, in which capacity he distinguished himself in various parts of Europe, particularly in Rome, Paris, and Bourdeaux. In these duties he was occupied for nearly fifty years, during which time he acquired much reputation for learning and acuteness. Gordon was frequently deputed as a missionary to England and Scotland, and was twice imprisoned for his zeal in attempting to make converts. He was also, on account of his superior abilities, often employed by the general of his order in negotiating their affairs; a duty for which his penetration and knowledge of the world especially qualified him.

Alegambe describes Gordon as a saint; but with all his talents and learning, he does not seem to have had any very great pretensions to the honour of canonization, since it is beyond doubt that he led, notwithstanding Alegambe's account of him, an exceedingly dissipated life. He, however, rigidly practised all the austerities of his order, and, with all his irregularities, rose every morning at three o'clock. His only writings, are "Controversiarum Fidei Epitome," in three parts or volumes; the first printed at Limoges, in 1612, the second at Paris, and the third at Cologne, in 1620.

GORDON, Robert, of Straloch, an eminent geographer and antiquary, was born at Kinmundy in Aberdeenshire, on the 14th September, 1580. He was the second son of Sir John Gordon of Pitlurg, a gentleman who long stood high in the favour of his sovereign, James VI., as appears, amongst other circumstances, from some curious letters addressed to him by that monarch, in one of which he is laid under contribution, though in the most affectionate terms, for a horse for the king's approaching marriage, and in another is warmly invited to the baptism of the unfortunate Charles I.

Robert Gordon received the first rudiments of his education at Aberdeen, and having passed the usual course of the humanity, mathematical, and philosophical classes, was the *first* graduate of the Marischal university, then recently founded by George earl of Marischal. In 1598, being in his eighteenth year, he was sent to Paris to complete his education. Here he remained for two years. On his father's death, which happened in 1600, he returned to Scotland, and in 1608, having married a daughter of Alexander Irvine of Lenturk, he bought the estate of Straloch, ten miles north of Aberdeen, and now devoted himself to the pursuit of his favourite studies, geography, history, and the antiquities of Britain. To the first of these he seems to have been especially attached, and it was his perseverance, industry, and accuracy in this science, then in an extremely rude state, which first obtained him the celebrity

which he afterwards enjoyed. There were only at this time three maps of Scotland in existence, all of them so rude and inaccurate as to be wholly useless. The infidelity of these sketches had been long known, and was the subject of great and universal complaint. Urged on by this, and the general dissatisfaction, Mr Gordon employed himself in making geographical surveys by *actual* mensuration; a labour which none of his predecessors had ever subjected themselves to. He has, therefore, the merit of being the first who applied this indispensable but tedious and laborious process for securing accuracy in topographical surveys, to Scotland.

One consequence of Mr Gordon's zeal and industry in these patriotic pursuits, was a great extension of his celebrity, which at length even reached the royal ear. In 1641, king Charles was applied to by the celebrated map and atlas publishers, the Bleaus of Amsterdam, for his patronage of an atlas of Scotland, which they were then contemplating, and requesting his majesty to appoint some qualified persons to assist them with information for the intended work; and, in especial, to arrange and amend certain geographic sketches of one Timothy Pont,[1] of which they had been previously put in possession, but in a confused and mutilated state. This task, king Charles, in the following flattering letter, devolved upon Mr Gordon. "Having lately seen certain charts of divers shires of this our ancient kingdom, sent here from Amsterdam, to be corrected and helpit in the defects thereof, and being informed of your sufficiency in that art, and of your love both to learning and to the credit of your nation; we have therefore thought fit hereby, earnestly to entreat you to take so much pains as to revise the said charts, and to help them in such things as you find deficient thereuntil, that they may be sent back by the direction of our chancellor to Holland; which, as the same will be honourable for yourself, so shall it do us good and acceptable service, and if occasion present we shall not be unmindful thereof. From our palace of Holyrood house, the 8th October, 1641."

Mr Gordon readily undertook the task thus imposed upon him, and in 1648, the atlas was published with a dedication from Mr Gordon to Sir John Scott of Scotstarvit, who had greatly encouraged and forwarded the work. A second edition of this atlas, which still remains the most complete and accurate delineation of Scotland, and its numerous islands, was published in 1655, and a third in 1664.

The work consists of 46 maps, general and particular, with ample descriptions and detached treatises on the antiquities of Scotland. Of such importance was this undertaking considered, that, wild and disordered as the times were, Mr Gordon was during its progress made a special object of the care and protection of the legislature. An act of parliament was passed exempting him from all new taxations, and relieving him from the quartering of soldiers. To carry this law into effect, orders were issued from time to time by the various commanders of the forces in North Britain, discharging all officers and soldiers, as well horse as foot, from troubling or molesting, or quartering on Mr Robert Gordon of Straloch, his house, lands, or tenants, and from levying any public dues on the said Mr Robert Gordon, or on any of his possessions.

The charts exclusively executed by Mr Gordon were: 1st. A chart of Great Britain and Ireland, taken from Ptolemy, and the most ancient Roman authors. 2d. A map of ancient Scotland, as described in the Roman Itineraries. 3d. A map of modern Scotland. 4th. A map of the county of Fife, from actual survey and mensuration. 5th. A map of the counties of Aberdeen and Banff, with part of the county of Kincardine. 6th. A large map or geographical view,

[1] Son of Mr Robert Pont, minister of the West Kirk, Edinburgh.

taken from actual survey, of the most inland provinces of Scotland, lying between the river Tay and the Murray frith. 7. A large map, from actual survey, of the most northern, mountainous, and inaccessible parts of Scotland, including part of the island of Sky. To all of these Mr Gordon appended treatises, descriptive of every thing remarkable contained within their various bounds—towns, castles, religious houses, antiquities, rivers, lakes, &c., and occasionally introducing some interesting accounts of the most distinguished families in the different counties.

One of the treatises alluded to is particularly curious, from its containing an attempt to overturn the commonly received opinion as to the ultima Thule of the Romans. This tract, which is entitled "De Insula Thule Dissertatio," endeavours to show that none of the Orkney or Shetland islands, and still less Iceland, answers to Ptolemy's chart of Thule; and Mr Gordon concludes it by giving it as his opinion, that the island of Lewis the most westerly of the Hebrides, is the real Thule of the ancient Romans. Besides these meritorious works, Mr Gordon wrote many detached pieces of much interest and value; none of which, however, though many extracts have been made from them, have yet been published. Amongst the most important of these are, a critical letter in Latin to Mr David Buchanan, containing strictures on the histories of Boyce, Buchanan, and Knox, and on Buchanan's treatise, "De jure Regni apud Scotos;" and a preface intended to be prefixed to a new edition of Spottiswood's history. The last work of any importance which he undertook, was a history of the family of Gordon. This work, however, is incorrect in many important particulars, and in many instances erroneous with regard to its historical facts, especially previous to the year 1403. When Mr Gordon undertook this work he was far advanced in years, led a retired life, and had no ready access to those documents and records which alone could have ensured accuracy, circumstances which may be admitted as some apology in the case of a man who had already done so much, and had rendered such important services to his country. Mr Gordon finally closed a long and active life in August, 1661, having then attained the 81st year of his age. It is much to be regretted, that he did not, as he appears to have contemplated, write an account of his own times, which embraces one of the most important periods of Scottish history. There was no one better fitted for this task, as well from the talents which he possessed, as from the uncommon opportunities which he enjoyed, of studying the leading characters and events of these stirring times, for his superior judgment, peaceable demeanour, and generally judicious conduct, gained him the confidence and esteem of all parties, and thus brought him often in contact, as an adviser and mediator, with the chief men of both the factions which then distracted the state. With the view of compiling such a work as has been alluded to, Mr Gordon had collected a vast quantity of interesting documents relative to the Montrose wars. These his son, Mr James Gordon, afterwards employed, in compiling such an account as his father had contemplated. This work, which was never published, and which contains the transactions of the northern part of Scotland beyond the Forth, from 1637 to 1643, is now in the Advocates' Library, at Edinburgh.

As has been already said, Mr Gordon, though residing in the very midst of civil war and commotion, was not only permitted to live in quiet, and to pursue his studies without interruption, but was frequently summoned to attend the meetings of the commissioners appointed by parliament, and by the general assemblies of the church.

One of these invitations from the earl of Marischal and general Middleton, besides showing the importance which was attached to Mr Gordon's advice, is sufficiently curious in itself. It is addressed "to the right honourable, the laird

of Stralloch," and runs as follows:—"Right Honourable, in regard we are called to be here for the time, for taking course for what may concern the public, &c. these are, therefore, to desire that you will be here at Aberdeen on Friday next, the 3d of October, 1645, when we shall meet you there. So looking assuredly for your meeting us, as you will testify your affection to the business, and have us to remain your affectionate friends. (signed) Marischal, John Middleton."

Another extract, still more interesting, from one of many letters addressed to Mr Gordon, by lord Gordon, craving his advice and assistance, will not only show the deference which was paid to his candour and judgment; but will also show how fully they were appreciated by both parties. Lord Gordon, who was afterwards killed at Alford, after earnestly soliciting a meeting for advice, adds, "If I be too far engaged, or be not well advised, my friends and I both may find the prejudice. In conscience this is no draught, but a mere necessity, which I hope you will consider. I do neither envy you in enjoying your furred gown nor the fireside, I promise you, but do earnestly wish to see you."

Besides his other accomplishments, Mr Gordon was a profound classical scholar, and wrote Latin with much readiness and elegance.

GORDON, Robert, founder of the hospital in Aberdeen which bears his name, was born about the year 1665. His father, Arthur Gordon, was the ninth son of the celebrated Robert Gordon of Pitlurg, (commonly designed of Stralloch,) and rose to some eminence as an advocate in Edinburgh. In the latter part of his life he settled in Aberdeen, where he died 1680, leaving two children,—the subject of this memoir, and a daughter who was married to Sir James Abercromby of Birkenbog, near Cullen.

With regard to the founder of Gordon's hospital, very little is known with certainty. That he was a gentleman by birth is certain, and that he was a man of parts and education, is generally allowed. He is said to have had a patrimony of about £1100; and, according to some accounts, he spent most of this fortune while travelling on the continent with a friend. According to other accounts, he went to Dantzic, and having engaged there in the mercantile line, realized a considerable sum of money. It is probable that he betook himself to business after having acted the prodigal in the earlier part of his life, and therefore both accounts may be in some measure correct. It is certain, however, that he resided on the continent for a considerable time, and returned to his native country about the beginning of the last century, taking up his residence in Aberdeen. From all that can be learned, he did not, during the remaining part of his life, engage in any sort of business, and he must therefore have brought home with him money to a considerable amount, otherwise we cannot well account for the large fortune of which he was possessed at the time of his death, even taking into account his extreme parsimony. Whether he set his heart upon accumulating wealth previous to his return from abroad, or afterwards, cannot be clearly ascertained. It is said that a disappointment in love was the primary cause of his forming this resolution, and there are not wanting instances of men, who, when they found the god of love unpropitious, have transferred their devotions to the shrine of Mammon. The same disappointment is also said to have determined him to live and die a bachelor—a determination to which he most faithfully adhered. We find in the library of Marischal college a copy of Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy which had belonged to him, and which he had purchased in London, as appears from his own hand-writing upon a blank leaf. Might he not have purchased this book to divert his melancholy, while suffering under the pangs of unrequited love?

During the latter part of his life, he carried his parsimonious habits to the utmost extreme. He is said to have lived in a small apartment, which

Painted by Jamieson

Engd by Freeman

ROBERT GORDON,

OF STRALOCH AND PITLURG.

FROM THE ORIGINAL PICTURE IN POSSESSION OF Wm GORDON CUMING SKENE ESQUIRE OF PITLURG & DYCE

Published by Blackie & Son Glasgow

he rented, denying himself all the comforts and conveniencies of life, and even using its necessaries in the most sparing manner; insomuch, that his whole personal expense, room rent included, did not exceed £5 sterling annually. Many of the anecdotes which have been handed down by tradition, respecting the habits and privations of this singular individual, seem to be nearly the same which are related of certain English misers of celebrity. It is told of him, for instance, that he used to keep himself warm by walking backwards and forwards in his room with a bag of coals on his back, judging, no doubt, that this was a more economical method of procuring heat, than burning the coals. Also, that he sometimes contrived to satisfy the cravings of appetite by going to the market, and tasting a little of the various articles of provision, such as meal, butter, cheese, &c., by way of ascertaining their quality before he should make any purchase. Another anecdote is recorded of him, which seems less incredible. A particular friend of his who was in the way of spending an evening with him occasionally, (for he was naturally of a social disposition,) was so highly honoured that, as often as the meeting took place, a small rush-light was produced to enliven the scene. One evening, however, the same friend perceiving the rays of the moon shining brightly into the apartment, observed, no doubt with the view of ingratiating himself more with his host, that it was a pity to waste the candle when the moonlight was quite sufficient. The hint was not lost, and afterwards when the two friends met, the moon was laid under contribution to furnish the necessary light, as often as she could afford it.

Yet although avarice had taken a strong hold of his mind, and subjected him to the most severe privations, it was never able fully to eradicate the natural sociability of his disposition, or to destroy his relish for the luxuries and enjoyments of life: for he is said to have mixed in society as often as he could do so without affecting his purse, and to have indulged pretty freely in the pleasures of the table, when the banquet was furnished by another. As he was a person of shrewdness and intelligence, and one who had seen a good deal of the world, and was also known to possess wealth, it may be supposed he was not an unwelcome guest at the table of many of his fellow citizens.

It has been asserted by some, that Mr Gordon's parsimonious habits arose from the design which he had formed, of founding and endowing an hospital for the benefit of the male children of the poorer class of citizens; and we should be glad to be able to establish the truth of this assertion; but from all we can find, it was not till a considerable time after the desire of amassing wealth by every possible means had taken possession of his mind, that he entertained the benevolent design above alluded to. Yet we are certain, that this design was formed by him a number of years previous to his death, for so it is clearly stated in the preamble to the deed of mortification. This we cannot help looking upon as a redeeming circumstance in his character; for however much we may blame his parsimonious habits, considered in an abstract point of view, yet when we know that they led him to form so noble and so benevolent a design, and to cherish this design for years, should not charity incline us to believe that his better principles and feelings had at length overcome the mere sordid love of gain? Severe animadversions have been passed upon his character, on account of his having bequeathed no part of his fortune to his poorer relations; but before we pass judgment upon him on this account, we ought to know all the circumstances of the case: nor do we see why there was any strictly moral obligation upon him, as there was certainly none of a legal nature, to bestow upon his relations any part of that wealth which he had acquired by his own industry. At all events the best of men have acted in a similar manner; and when we

take into account the invaluable and extensive benefits which he conferred on the public by so acting, we should pause before we condemn his seeming want of natural affection. While conversing on one occasion with the provost of Aberdeen, on the subject of the settlement which he was about to make, the latter is said to have hinted to him that he ought to remember his relations as well as the public; but this, instead of having the desired effect, drew from him the following severe, but we think well-merited rebuke. "What have I to expect, sir, when you, who are at the head of the town of Aberdeen's affairs, plead against a settlement from which your citizens are to derive so great benefits?"

The deed of mortification for founding and endowing the hospital, was drawn up and signed by him, on the 13th December, 1729. By this deed he transferred in favour of the provost, bailies, and town council of the burgh of Aberdeen, together with the four town's ministers, and their successors in their respective offices, the sum of £10,000 sterling, or such sum or sums as his effects might amount to at his death, in trust for erecting and maintaining an hospital, to be called Robert Gordon's Hospital, for educating and maintaining indigent male children, and male grandchildren of decayed merchants, and brethren of guild of the burgh of Aberdeen, of the name of Gordon, in the first place, and of the name of Menzies in the second, (the nearest relations of the mortifier of the names of Gordon and Menzies, being always preferred,) and the male children of any other relations of the mortifier that are of any other name, in the third place, to be preferred to others. After these, male children, or male grandchildren, of any other merchants or brethren of guild of Aberdeen, to be admitted; and after them the sons or grandsons of tradesmen or others, under certain restrictions mentioned in the deed. The provost, bailies, town council, and the four town's ministers, and their successors, were appointed perpetual patrons and governors. A certain sum of money was appointed to be laid out in erecting the building, but no boys were to be admitted till the intended sum of £10,000 sterling, was made good by the accumulation of interest. An appendix to the deed of mortification was executed by the founder, on the 19th September, 1730, containing a few trifling alterations. His death took place in January, 1732, in consequence, it is said, of his having eaten to excess at a public entertainment; but the accounts on this subject are contradictory, and therefore entitled to little credit. His executors buried him with great expense and pomp, and it is likely that the occasion was one of joy rather than of mourning. Mr Gordon was rather tall in person, and of a gentlemanly appearance, if we may judge from an original portrait of him in the hospital. That he was a person of more than ordinary intelligence and good sense, would appear from the excellent regulations which he framed for the management of the hospital; and we are also inclined to believe him well imbued with religious principles and feeling, from the anxiety which he manifests, and the ample provision which he makes in the deed of mortification, for the support and encouragement of true religion and good morals, in the institution which he founded.

His exclusion of females from any office whatever in his projected institution, has been ascribed to an utter antipathy which he entertained towards the sex in general; but we do not see how it necessarily follows, that he framed such a regulation from any antipathy to the fair sex; we rather think it may be accounted for on very different grounds. In the first place, he determined that the hospital should be for the maintenance of boys alone, who were to be admitted not under eight years of age and not above eleven, and might remain till they were sixteen. In the second place, he resolved that the teachers should be all unmarried men, and for this many good reasons may be given, besides the example

of many similar institutions. It would then naturally enough occur to him, that if female servants were admitted, opportunities of forming improper connexions would be thus afforded, and the morals of the institution, even of the youth, would thereby be corrupted; and, hence, that the most effectual way of guarding against such evils, would be to remove as much as possible every temptation out of the way. The view which we have taken of the founder's design, in excluding females from his institution, receives no small degree of support from the fact, that general Anderson, founder of the Elgin institution, at one time entertained a similar design, and for reasons similar to those we have stated, although he afterwards abandoned it, as he found that it could hardly be carried into execution in the present state of society.

At Mr Gordon's death, his property was found to amount to £10,300 sterling, a very large sum in those times. His executors immediately proceeded to the execution of their important trust, and erected an hospital (according to a plan designed by Mr William Adam, architect, Edinburgh, father of the more celebrated architect, Robert Adam;) and the place chosen for the building was the ground which formerly belonged to the Black Friars, situated on the north side of the School-hill. The expense of the erection was £3300; and as this had trenched considerably on the original funds, the plan of the founder could not be carried into effect until the deficiency was made up by the accumulation of interest on the remainder of the fund. Owing also to the disturbances which took place in 1745-6, and certain other causes, the hospital was not ready for the reception of boys till 1750; but the funds by this time had accumulated to £14,000. The number of boys at first admitted was thirty; but as the funds continued to increase, owing to good management, by purchases of lands, rise in rents, and other causes, the number was increased from time to time. At present the number of boys in the house is one hundred and eight; and as a large legacy, which was lately left to the institution, will soon become available, a still greater number will be admitted. A head master superintends the establishment, and three teachers carry on the education of the boys. The branches taught are—English, writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, French, geography, and mathematics. Church-music and drawing are also taught by masters who attend the hospital at stated hours. The funds are at present in a most flourishing state, and the yearly revenue approaches to £3000.

Very extensive additions have lately been made to the original building; and the hospital, as it now stands, presents a spacious and imposing appearance. Accommodations are furnished for about two hundred and forty boys, although many years must elapse before such a number can be admitted, unless the funds be greatly augmented by additional bequests. The concerns of this invaluable institution have been all along managed in a praiseworthy manner, and the benefits arising from it have been visible in numerous instances. How many children have, by means of it, been rescued from poverty, ignorance, and vice—have been fed, clothed, educated, and enabled to pursue honourable callings, acquiring wealth, and often rising to some rank in society—the citizens of Aberdeen can tell. There are, it must be confessed, evils and defects attending all institutions of this kind, in so far as they may be regarded as an engine for the moral and religious training of youth. These evils and defects the best management cannot altogether remedy, because they arise from the very nature of the institutions themselves, inasmuch as these withdraw children from the paternal roof, and cut them off from the maternal care, tenderness, and admonition. It will now be readily allowed, that the moral and religious culture of the young mind is best conducted under the eye of a parent, provided that parent perform aright a parent's duty; and this is the plan which nature herself has established.

The best way to form a proper estimate of the benefits to be derived from such institutions, is to consider what the proper objects of them would have been had they never enjoyed their advantages. In many instances they would have grown up in poverty and vice, without moral and religious culture, and without the very elements of education. Taking this view of the case, we shall, in a great measure, be disposed to overlook the defects we have mentioned; seeing that these defects are greatly overbalanced by the many advantages which are secured by such institutions to their proper objects, and, at the same time, we shall not be in danger of overrating the advantages themselves, as many are apt to do.

GORDON, Thomas, an eminent party writer, and translator of Tacitus, is supposed to have been born in the parish of Kells, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, about the end of the seventeenth century. His father, the representative of an ancient family, descended from the Gordons of Kenmuir, was proprietor of Gairloch in that parish. Thomas Gordon is said to have received a university education in his own country, and then to have gone to London as a literary adventurer: joining these circumstances with his avowed infidelity, it is probable that he was a renegade student of divinity, or licentiate—almost always an unprincipled and odious character. In London, he supported himself at first as a teacher of languages, and gradually became an author by profession. He is said to have been employed as a political writer by the earl of Oxford, in the support of the tory ministry of which that nobleman was the head; but this hardly corresponds with the other dates of his literary exertions, for Mr Gordon appears to have written nothing of which the title has been commemorated, till he formed an intimacy with Mr Trenchard; and, on the 20th of January, 1720, commenced in conjunction with that individual, a weekly political sheet called "the Independent Whig." If Gordon wrote in the reign of queen Anne, what was he doing in the course of the six intervening years? Nor is it of small importance to his reputation that this point should be settled, as he became a distinguished patriot, and a supporter of Sir Robert Walpole—the very reverse, in every respect, of what he is said to have been in the days of queen Anne's tory ministry. It is our own opinion that the latter allegation is not well founded; it does not appear in the original memoir of Gordon in the Biographia Britannica, 1766, an article evidently written by a person that must have known himself, or at least his surviving family; that sketch represents him in the more probable character of a young man taken into employment by Mr Trenchard as an amanuensis, and subsequently so much improved by the conversation and instructions of his employer, as to be fitted to enter into a literary partnership with him as an independent patriotic writer. Thus we see much cause to relieve the memory of this clever person from no small share of the odium which has been cast upon it by subsequent biographical writers.

Trenchard, the partner of Gordon, was a political writer of some standing, and no small influence. It was in consequence of a pamphlet from his pen, that the parliament obliged king William to send home his Dutch guards; a proceeding which is said to have moved that grave monarch to tears, and almost induced him to go back to Holland himself. Mr Trenchard was the author of a work which appeared in 1709, under the title of "the Natural History of Superstition," and held the office of commissioner of the forfeited estates in Ireland. His acquaintance with Gordon appears to have been commenced without the formality of an introduction. "From a perfect stranger to him," says the latter, "and without any other recommendation than a casual coffee-house acquaintance, and his own good opinion, he took me into his favour and care, and into as high a degree of intimacy as ever was shown by one man to another.

This was the more remarkable," continues Gordon, "and did me the greater honour, as he was naturally as shy in making friendships, as he was eminently constant to those which he had already made." The Independent Whig, which seems to have been their first joint production, was continued for a year, stopping in January, 1721. Before its conclusion, namely in November, 1720, the two writers had begun a series of letters signed *Cato*, in the London, and afterwards in the British Journal, which was continued almost to the death of Mr Trenchard, an event that happened in December, 1723. A new edition of the Independent Whig, including a renewed series published by Gordon, after Mr Trenchard's death, appeared in two volumes, 12mo. A similar collection of Cato's Letters, appeared in four volumes, and went into a fourth edition in 1737.

Of the Independent Whig, Mr Murray thus speaks in his Literary History of Galloway. "It is a fortunate circumstance, that this work is known only by name; for it is disfigured by sentiments which are deserving of great reprobation. It was more immediately directed against the hierarchy of the church of England; but it was also meant, or at least has a direct tendency to undermine the very foundation of a national religion, under any circumstances, and to bring the sacred profession, if not religion itself, into contempt. The sacerdotal office, according to this book, is not only not recommended in scripture, but is unnecessary and dangerous; ministers of the gospel have ever been the promoters of corruption and ignorance, and distinguished by a degree of arrogance, immorality, and a thirst after secular power, that have rendered them destructive of the public and private welfare of a nation. 'One drop of priestcraft,' say they, 'is enough to contaminate the ocean.'

"The object of Cato's Letters," continues Mr Murray, "is nearly the same with that of the Independent Whig—with this difference, that its theological and ecclesiastical discussions are much blended with political disquisitions. It was, indeed, directed particularly against the South Sea scheme; the knavery and absurdity of which our authors had the merit of exposing, at a time when almost the whole nation was intoxicated with dreams of wealth and independence, which it artfully cherished, and by which so many were ruined and betrayed.

"Notwithstanding the insuperable objections we have stated to the most of the principles of these works, they are characterized, we must confess, by no mean portion of talents and learning. The authors seem always masters of the subjects of which they treat, and their discussions are clear, close, and vigorous.

"Like every person who, in any way, attempts to undermine the welfare and interests of society, Gordon and Trenchard laid claim to great purity of intention. According to their own statement, they formed the only two wise, patriotic, and independent men of the age in which they lived. 'As these letters,' says Gordon, in his preface, 'were the work of no faction or cabal, nor calculated for any lucrative or ambitious ends, or to serve the purposes of any party whatsoever; but attacked falsehood and dishonesty, in all shapes and parties, without temporizing with any, but doing justice to all, even to the weakest and most unfashionable, and maintaining the principles of liberty against the practices of most parties: so they were dropped without any sordid composition, and without any consideration, save that it was judged that the public, after its terrible convulsions, was again become calm and safe.'"

After the death of Mr Trenchard, his widow, after the manner of ladies in a more expressly commercial rank of life, became the second wife of her husband's journeyman and partner, Mr Gordon,—apparently induced to take this step by the usefulness of Gordon in managing her affairs. By this lady, who survived him, and was living in 1766, he had several children. His circumstances were now very easy and agreeable, and he appears to have contemplated

tasks which required leisure, and promised to give him a permanent fame. A translation of Tacitus executed by him, (the third printed in the English language,) with discourses taken from foreign commentators and translators of that historian, appeared in 1728, two volumes folio; and the subscription being patronized by Sir Robert Walpole, it proved a very lucrative speculation. Of this work, one writer speaks as follows:—"No classic was ever perhaps so miserably mangled. His (Gordon's) style is extremely vulgar, yet affected, and abounds with abrupt and inharmonious periods, totally destitute of any resemblance to the original; while the translator fancied he was giving a correct imitation." [1] Another writer, adverts to it in very different terms. "Though it is now," says Mr Murray,[2] "in a great degree superseded by the elegant translation of Mr Murphy, it is nevertheless a work of no inconsiderable degree of merit. Mr Gordon probably understood his author better than any who have presented him to the world in an English dress; and the only objection that has been made to the work, even by Murphy himself, is, that he foolishly attempted to accommodate the English language to the elliptical and epigrammatic style of the Roman historian." Gordon afterwards published a translation of Sallust in the same style as his version of Tacitus.

During the long period of Walpole's administration, the subject of this memoir acted as his literary supporter, enjoying in return either a regular pay, or the office of first commissioner of wine licenses. After his death, which happened on the 28th of July, 1750, two collections of his fugitive writings appeared under the respective titles of "a Cordial for Low Spirits," and "The Pillars of Priestcraft and Orthodoxy Shaken;" works which had better, both for his own fame and the welfare of society, been suppressed. Finally, a volume entitled "Sermons on Practical Subjects, addressed to different characters," appeared in 1788.

GORDON, William, of Earlston, a zealous defender of the covenant, and this by inheritance as well as principle, being lineally descended from Mr Alexander Gordon, who entertained some of the followers of John Wickliffe, the first of the English reformers—reading to them in their secret meetings in the wood of Airds a New Testament translated into English, of which he had got possession.

As the subject of this notice, however, was—notwithstanding his zeal in the cause of the covenant, and his steady and warm friendship for those who adhered to it—himself a retired and peaceful man, little of any interest is left on record regarding him. And, excepting in one of the last acts of his life, he mingled little with the public transactions of the period in which he lived. So far, however, as his personal influence extended, he did not fail to exhibit, both fearlessly and openly, the religious sentiments which he entertained. He would give no lease of his lands to any one, whatever they might offer, but on condition of their keeping family worship; and he was in the habit of meeting his tenants at a place appointed, every Sunday, and proceeding with them to church. He had also acquired a reputation for his skill in solving cases of conscience, of which some curious enough instances are to be found in Wodrow's Analecta, a manuscript work already more than once referred to in the present publication. His first public appearance, in connexion with the faith to which he was so zealously attached, occurred in the year 1663, soon after the restoration of Charles II. An episcopal incumbent having been appointed by the bishop to the church of Dalry, to which Mr Gordon had a right of patronage, he resisted the appointment, on the twofold ground of its being contrary to the

[1] Chalmers's General Biographical Dictionary, xvi. 107.
[2] Literary History of Galloway, second edition, 182.

religious tenets of the congregation to admit an episcopal minister, and an invalidation of his own private right as patron. For this contumacy he was charged to appear before the council; but not obeying the summons, he was soon after charged a second time, and accused of keeping conventicles and private meetings in his house, and ordered to forbear the same in time coming. Disobeying this also, as he had done the first, he was immediately after sentenced to banishment, and ordered to quit the kingdom within a month, and bound to live peaceably during that time, under a penalty of £10,000. Still disobeying, Gordon was now subjected to all the hardships and rigours of persecution. He was turned out of his house by a military force, and compelled to wander up and down the country like many others of his persecuted brethren. In the meantime the battle of Bothwell Bridge took place, and Gordon, unaware of the defeat of his friends, was hastening to join the ranks, when he was met, not far from the field of battle, by a party of English dragoons, by whom, on refusing to surrender, he was instantly killed. The troubles of the times preventing his friends from removing his body to the burial place of his family, he was interred in the church-yard of Glassford, where a pillar was afterwards erected to his memory.

GOW, Nathaniel, who, as a violinist and composer, well deserves a place in any work intended to perpetuate the names of Scotsmen who have done honour or service to their country, was the youngest son of the celebrated Neil Gow. His mother's name was Margaret Wiseman, and he was born at Inver, near Dunkeld, Perthshire, on the 28th May, 1766. Nathaniel, and his three brothers, William, John, and Andrew, having all given early indications of musical talent, adopted music as a profession, and the violin, on which their father had already gained so much reputation, as the instrument to which their chief study was to be directed. All the brothers attained considerable eminence, and some of them acquired a fortune by the practice of this instrument; but viewing all the circumstances applicable to each, it will not be looked on as invidious or partial, when we say, that Nathaniel must be considered the most eminent of his family or name, not only as a performer and composer, but as having, more than any other, advanced the cause and popularity of our national music during his time, and provided, by his publications, a permanent repository of Scottish music, the most complete of its kind hitherto given to the world.

Nathaniel was indebted to his father for his first instructions. He commenced on a small violin commonly called a *kit*, on which his father Neil had also made his first essay, and which is still preserved in the family. At an early age he was sent to Edinburgh, where he continued the study of the violin, first under Robert M'Intosh, or Red Rob, as he was called, until the latter, from his celebrity, was called up to London. He next took lessons from M'Glashan, better known by the appellation of king M'Glashan, which he acquired from his tall stately appearance, and the showy style in which he dressed; and who besides was in high estimation as an excellent composer of Scottish airs, and an able and spirited leader of the fashionable bands. He studied the violoncello under Joseph Reneagle, a name of some note in the musical world, who, after a long residence in Edinburgh, was appointed to the professorship of music at Oxford. With Reneagle he ever after maintained the closest intimacy and friendship. The following laconic letter from the professor in 1821, illustrates this:—"Dear Gow, I write this to request the favour of you to give me all the particulars regarding the ensuing coronation, viz.—Does the crown of Scotland go? Do the trumpeters go? Do you go? Does Mrs Gow go? If so, my wife and self will go; and if you do not go, I will not go, nor my wife go." Gow's

first professional appearance, it is believed, was in the band conducted by king M'Glashan, in which he played the violoncello. After the death of M'Glashan, he continued under his elder brother William Gow, who succeeded as leader, a situation for which he was well fitted by his bold and spirited style; but having been cut off about the year 1791, at the early age of forty, Nathaniel took his place, and maintained it for nearly forty years, with an eclat and success far beyond any thing that ever preceded or followed him.

So early as 1782, when he could not have been more than sixteen years of age, Gow was appointed one of his majesty's trumpeters for Scotland, a situation which required only partial attendance and duty, being called on only to officiate at royal proclamations, and to accompany the justiciary judges on their circuits for a few weeks, thrice in each year. The salary is small, but it is made up by handsome allowances for travelling expenses, so that in all it may yield the holder about £70 per annum. This situation he held to the day of his death, although during some of his later years, he was forced to employ a substitute, who drew a considerable portion of the emoluments.

He had for many years previously, by assuming the lead of the fashionable bands, become known not only as an excellent violin player, but as a successful teacher, and as having arranged and prepared for publication the first three numbers of the collection of reels and strathspeys published by his father. So much, however, and so quickly did he advance in reputation after this, and so generally did he become acquainted with the great and fashionable world, that in 1796, without giving up or abating his lucrative employment as leader, he commenced business as a music-seller on an extensive scale, in company with the late Mr Wm. Shepherd; and for fifteen or sixteen years, commanded the most extensive business perhaps ever enjoyed by any house in the line in Scotland. In 1813, however, after his partner's death, the business was wound up, and whatever profits he may have drawn during the subsistence of the partnership, he was obliged to pay up a considerable shortcoming at its close.

It was in 1799 that he continued the work commenced by his father and himself; and from that time till 1824, in addition to the three first collections, and two books of Slow Airs, Dances, Waltzes, &c., he published a fourth, fifth, and sixth Collection of Strathspeys and Reels; three volumes of Beauties, being a re-publication of the best airs in the three first collections, with additions,—four volumes of a Repository of Scots Slow Airs, Strathspeys, and Dances—two volumes of Scots Vocal Melodies, and a Collection of Ancient Curious Scots Melodies, besides a great many smaller publications, all arranged by himself for the harp, piano forte, violin, and violoncello. During the life of his father, he was assisted by him, and the first numbers were published as the works of Neil Gow and Son. Many collections had been published previously by ingenious individuals, the best of which, perhaps, was that of Oswald; but Gow's collections, beyond all dispute, are the most extensive and most complete ever submitted to the public; embracing not only almost all that is good in others, but the greater part of the compositions of Neil and Nathaniel Gow, and other members of that musical family.

After an interval of a few years, Gow commenced music-seller once more, in company with his only son Neil, a young man of amiable and cultivated mind, who had received a finished education at Edinburgh and Paris for the profession of surgeon, but who, finding no favourable opening in that overstocked calling, and having a talent and love for music, abandoned it and joined his father. This young gentleman, who was the composer of the beautiful melody of "Bonny Prince Charlie," and a great many others, was not long spared to his father and friends, having been cut off by a lingering disease in 1823. The

business was afterwards continued until 1827; but, wanting a proper head—Gow himself being unable to look after it—it dwindled away; and poor Gow, after a long life of toil, during which he had gathered considerable wealth, found himself a bankrupt at a time when age and infirmity prevented him from doing anything to retrieve his fortunes.

It is difficult to describe the influence, success, and reputation of Nathaniel Gow, during all the time he conducted the fashionable bands in Edinburgh and throughout Scotland; but certain it is, that in these respects he stands at the head of all that ever trode in the same department. Not only did he preside at the peers' balls, Caledonian Hunt balls, and at the parties of all the noble and fashionable of Edinburgh, but at most of the great meetings and parties that took place throughout Scotland; and in several instances he was summoned to England. No expense deterred individuals or public bodies from availing themselves of his services; and it appears from his memorandum books, that parties frequently paid him from one hundred to one hundred and fifty guineas, for attending at Perth, Dumfries, Inverness, &c. with his band. One of the first objects in the formation of fashionable parties, was to ascertain if Gow was disengaged, and they would be fixed, postponed, or altered, to suit his leisure and convenience. He visited London frequently, although he resisted many invitations to settle there permanently. In the year 1797, when in London, the present duke of Gordon, then marquis of Huntly, got up a fashionable ball for him, which was so well attended, that after paying all expenses, £130 was handed over to Mr Gow. He was in the habit, too, during every visit to the capital, of being honoured by invitations to the private parties of his late majesty, George IV., when prince of Wales and prince regent; on which occasions he joined that prince, who was a respectable violoncello player, in the performance of concerted pieces of the most esteemed composers. In 1822, when his majesty visited Scotland, Gow was summoned, with a select portion of the musical talent of Edinburgh, to Dalkeith palace, and the king evinced his enduring recollection of the musician's visits to him in London, by quitting the banquet table to speak to him; ordering at the same time a goblet of generous wine to the musician, and expressing the delight he experienced not only on that, but many former occasions, in listening to his performances. Gow was overcome by his majesty's familiar address, and all he could do was to mutter in a choked manner, "God bless your majesty." At the peers' ball, and the Caledonian Hunt ball, his majesty took pleasure in expressing the satisfaction he derived from Gow's music; so that when the latter rendered his account for his band, he added, "my own trouble at pleasure, or nothing, as his majesty's approbation more than recompensed me."

Gow had an annual ball at Edinburgh during all the time he was leader of the bands; and, until a few years before his retirement, these were attended by all the fashion and wealth of the country, there being frequently above one thousand in the room, many of whom, who were his patrons, did not stint their contributions to the mere price of their tickets. He received, besides, many compliments beyond the mere charge for professional labour. At his ball in 1811, the present earl of Dalhousie, who was his staunch supporter on all occasions, presented him with a massive silver goblet, accompanied by the following note:—"An old friend of Gow's requests his acceptance of a cup, in which to drink the health of the thousands who would wish, but cannot attend him to-night." He was presented with a fine violoncello by Sir Peter Murray of Ochtertyre, and a valuable Italian violin by the late Sir Alexander Don.

While his evenings were occupied at the parties of the great, his days were not spent in idleness. He had as his pupils the children of the first families in

the country, for the violin and piano-forte accompaniment; from whom he received the highest rate of fees known at the time; indeed, it appears from his books, that at one time he went once a week to the duke of Buccleugh's at Dalkeith palace, a distance of only six miles, and received two guineas each lesson, besides travelling expenses.

Although engaged, as already said, in the most extensively patronized musical establishment in Scotland, it is questionable if he ever at any time realized profit from it, while it is certain, that towards the close he was a great loser; indeed, it can seldom be otherwise where the proprietor has other avocations, and leaves the management to his servants. But from his balls, teaching, and playing, the emoluments he derived were very great, and he was at one time worth upwards of £20,000; but this was ultimately swept away, and he was forced, while prostrated by a malady from which he never recovered, to appeal to his old patrons and the public for their support, at a ball for his behoof in March, 1827, which he did by the following circular: "When I formerly addressed my kind patrons and the public, I had no other claim than that which professional men generally have, whose exertions are devoted to the public amusement. By a patronage the most unvarying and flattering; I was placed in a situation of comfortable independence, and I looked forward without apprehension, to passing the decline of my days in the bosom of my family, with competence and with happiness. Unfortunately for me, circumstances have changed. By obligations for friends, and losses in trade, my anxious savings have been gradually wasted, till now, when almost bed-rid, unable to leave my house, or to follow my profession, I am forced to surrender the remnant of my means to pay my just and lawful creditors. In this situation some generous friends have stepped forward and persuaded me, that the recollection of my former efforts to please, may not be so entirely effaced, as to induce the public to think that my day of distress should pass without notice, or without sympathy."

The appeal was not in vain—the ball was crowded, and handsome tokens of remembrance were sent by many of his old friends, so that nearly £300 was produced. The ball was continued annually for three years afterwards, and though not so great as the first, they still yielded sufficient to prove the deep sympathy of the public, and to afford him a consolation and support in his hour of trial and sickness. It should not be omitted, that the noblemen and gentlemen of the Caledonian Hunt, who had, during all his career, been his warmest patrons, voted fifty pounds per annum to him during his life; and we will be forgiven for lengthening this detail a little, by quoting one letter out of the many hundreds received, which was from his ever-generous friend Mr Maule of Panmure: "Your letter has given me real uneasiness, but although Scotland forgot itself in the case of *Burns*, I hope the present generation will not allow a *Gow* to suffer for the want of those comforts in his old age, to which his exertions for so many years for their amusement and instruction, so well entitle him. My plan is this, that an annuity of £200, should be got by subscription, and if the duke of Athol, lords Breadalbane, Kinnoul, and Gray, (all Perthshire noblemen,) would put their names at the top of the list, it would very soon be filled up; this in addition to an annual ball at Edinburgh, which ought to produce at least £200 more, would still be but a moderate recompense for the constant zeal, attention, and civility, which you have shown in the service of the public of Scotland during a long period of years. I, for one, shall do my part, because I never can forget the many happy hours I have passed, enlivened by the addition of your incomparable music." The subscription did not take place, but Mr Maule did *his part* indeed, for every year brought a kind letter and a substantial accompaniment.

In estimating the professional character of Nathaniel Gow, it will be more just to his memory to consider his merits in that department which he made his peculiar province, than as a general musician; for although he was well acquainted with the compositions of the great masters, and joined in their performance, and taught them to his pupils, yet his early aspirations, and his more mature delight and study, were directed to the national music of Scotland. As a performer he had all the fire and spirit of his celebrated father in the quick music, with more refined taste, delicacy, and clearness of intonation in the slow and plaintive melodies. To an equally fine ear, and deep feeling of the beauties and peculiarities of Scottish melody, he added the advantages of a more general cultivation of musical knowledge, with more varied and frequent opportunities of hearing the most classical compositions, executed by the most able performers. These, while they did not tempt him to sacrifice any of the character or simplicity of his native music, enabled him to give a taste and finish to the execution of it; which placed him, by general and ungrudging consent, as the master spirit of that branch or department which he had selected, and in which, for a long course of years, he walked in unapproachable triumph. There are many living contemporaries to whom less than even the little we have said, will be necessary to make them concur in this statement; those who never listened to his playing, can only be referred to the universal subjugation of the world of fashion, taste, and pleasure, to his sway for so long a period, as a pretty certain testimony in support of our humble opinion.

As a composer, his works remain to support his claims. He has published in his collections, and in sheets, upwards of two hundred original melodies and dancing tunes, and has left nearly a hundred in manuscript; which, along with his more recent collections, are now the property of Messrs Robertson of Prince's Street, Edinburgh. Of these we may only refer to a very few—his "Caller Herring," which was so much admired, that it was printed in London, and imitated by celebrated composers—"Sir George Clerk," and "Lady Charlotte Durham," as specimens of his slow compositions,—and to "the Miller of Drone," "Largo's Fairy Dance," and "Mrs Wemyss of Castlehill," to which last air the song of "St Patrick was a Gentleman," is sung, as specimens of his lively pieces. There are many of our finest melodies, of which the composers are *unknown;* but we are persuaded that few will contradict us when we say, that from the number and talent of his compositions, no *known* Scottish composer, not even his celebrated father, can contest the palm with him, as the largest and ablest contributor to the already great stock of our national music.

Independently of these, he has claims upon our gratitude, not only for perpetuating, in his very ample collections, so large a proportion of the scattered gems of national music; but for giving it, during his whole career, such prevalence and eclat, by his admirable execution, and constant encouragement, and exhibition of its spirit and beauty to the public. In all these respects he is entitled to the first praise as its greatest conservator and promoter. It is no doubt true, that of late years the introduction of foreign music and dances, has for a time neutralized his exertions, and kept somewhat in abeyance the native relish for our own music and dancing. But there are such germs of beauty in the former, and such spirit and character in the latter, that we have little fear of their being soon revived, and replaced in all their wonted freshness and hilarity in their proper station among our national amusements. It is painful to hear some of the young ladies at our parties, reddening with a kind of horror at being asked to join in a reel or country dance, and simpering out, "I can't dance reels—they're vulgar;" at the same time that their attempts at the foreign dances are perhaps little superior to the jolting pirouettes of stuffed dolls,

or pasteboard automatons in a raree show. How different from the time when the first nobles in the land were proud when a reel or strathspey was named after them, and would pay considerable sums for the composition. We have before us a letter of the late duke of Buccleugh to Nathaniel Gow, in which he says—"I wish that at your leisure you would compose [start not, gentle misses!] a *reel* according to the *old style*. It should be *wild*, such as your father would have liked—*highland*,—call it 'the Border Raid;'" and we are happy to learn that the present duke and duchess encourage the resumption of our national dances, whenever they have an opportunity. The neglect of them has no way improved the openness and cheerfulness of our female character.

Nathaniel Gow was a man of great shrewdness and good understanding—generally of a lively companionable turn, with a good deal of humour—very courteous in his manners; though, especially latterly, when misfortune and disease had soured him, a little hasty in his temper, He was a dutiful and affectionate son, as his father's letters abundantly prove—a kind brother, having resigned his share of his father's succession to his sister, who wanted it more than he did at the time; and indulgent and faithful in his duties to his own family. In his person he was tall and "buirdly"—and he dressed well, which, added to a degree of courtliness of manner on occasions of ceremony, gave him altogether a respectable and stately appearance. His illness came to a crisis in the beginning of 1831, and finally terminated in his death, on the 17th of January of that year, at the age of sixty-five. He was buried in the Grey-Friars' churchyard; but no stone points out to the stranger, where the Scottish minstrel sleeps.

He was twice married. By his first wife, Janet Fraser, he had five daughters and one son, of whom two of the daughters only survive—Mary, married to Mr Jenkins of London, and Jessy, to Mr Luke, treasurer of George Heriot's Hospital. By his second wife, Mary Hog, to whom he was married in 1814, he had three sons and two daughters, of whom only two survive; John, at present in George Heriot's Hospital, and Augusta, an elegant and accomplished young lady, who, after studying five years in London, has returned to Edinburgh to teach the piano-forte and singing; and who, with a very fine voice, promises to keep up the musical reputation of her family. A spirited likeness of Mr Gow was painted by Mr John Syme of Edinburgh, which, with the portrait of his father Neil, the Dalhousie Goblet, and small kit fiddle, are in the possession of Mrs Luke.

GOW, Neil, a celebrated violin player and composer of Scottish airs, was the son of John Gow and Catharine M'Ewan, and was born at Inver, near Dunkeld, Perthshire, on the 22d of March, 1727. He was intended by his parents for the trade of a plaid weaver, but discovering an early propensity for music, he began the study of the violin himself, and soon abandoned the shuttle for the bow. Up to the age of thirteen, he had no instructor; but about that time, he availed himself of some lessons from John Cameron, a follower of the house of Grandtully; and soon placed himself at the head of all the performers in the country, although Perthshire then produced more able reel and strathspey players than any other county in Scotland. Before he reached manhood, he had engaged in a public competition there, and carried off the prize, which was decided by an aged and blind, but skilful minstrel, who, in awarding it, said, that "he could distinguish the *stroke of Neil's bow* among a hundred players." This ascendency he ever after maintained, not only in his native place, but throughout Scotland, where it has been universally admitted that, as a reel and strathspey player, he had no superior, and, indeed, no rival in his own time.

Neil Gow was the first of his family, so far as is known, who rendered the name celebrated in our national music; but his children afterwards proved that,

in their case at any rate, genius and talent were hereditary. Although Neil was born, and lived the whole of a long life in a small village in the Highlands of Perthshire, with no ambition for the honours and advancement which, in general, are only to be obtained by a residence in great cities; and although he was in a manner a self-taught artist, and confined his labours chiefly to what may be considered a subordinate branch of the profession of music; yet he acquired a notoriety and renown beyond what was destined to many able and scientific professors, of whom hundreds have flourished and been forgotten since his time, while his name continues, especially in Scotland, familiar as a household word.

Many causes contributed to this. The chief ones, no doubt, were his unquestioned skill in executing the national music of Scotland, and the genius he displayed in the composition of a great number of beautiful melodies. But these were enhanced in no small degree by other accessory causes. There was a peculiar spirit, and Celtic character and enthusiasm, which he threw into his performances, and which distinguished his bow amid the largest band. His appearance, too, was prepossessing—his countenance open, honest, and pleasing—his figure compact and manly, which was shown to advantage in the tight tartan knee-breeches and hose, which he always wore. There was also an openness and eccentricity in his manner, which, while it was homely, easy, and unaffected, was at the same time characterised by great self-possession and downrightness, and being accompanied by acute penetration into the character and peculiarities of others, strong good sense, and considerable quaintness and humour, and above all, by a perfect honesty and integrity of thought and action, placed him on a footing of familiarity and independence in the presence of the proudest of the land, which, perhaps, no one in his situation ever attained, either before or since. Many who never heard him play, and who are even unacquainted with his compositions, fired by the accounts of those who lived in his time, talk to this day of Neil Gow as if they had tripped a thousand times to his spirit-stirring and mirth-inspiring strains.

Living in the immediate neighbourhood of Dunkeld house, he was early noticed and distinguished by the duke of Athol and his family, which was soon followed by the patronage of the duchess of Gordon, and the principal nobility and gentry throughout Scotland. But while his permanent residence was at Inver, near Dunkeld, he was not only employed at all the balls and fashionable parties in the county, but was in almost constant requisition at the great parties which took place at Perth, Cupar, Dumfries, Edinburgh, and the principal towns in Scotland. So necessary was he on such occasions, and so much was his absence felt, that at one time, when indisposition prevented him attending the Cupar Hunt, the preses called on every lady and gentleman present to "dedicate a bumper to the better health of Neil Gow, a true Scottish character, whose absence from the meeting, no one could sufficiently regret." We have already said, that he lived on terms of great familiarity with his superiors, in whose presence he spoke his mind and cracked his jokes, unawed by either their rank or wealth—indeed, they generally delighted in drawing out his homely, forcible, and humorous observations; and while he, in turn, allowed all good humoured freedoms with himself, he at the same time had sufficient independence to repel any undue exhibition of aristocratic *hauteur*, and has brought the proud man to his cottage with the white flag of peace and repentance, before he would again consent to "wake the minstrel string" in his halls. With the duke of Athol and his family, a constant, kindly, and familiar intercourse was kept up; indeed, so much did the duke keep his rank in abeyance when Neil was concerned, that, when the latter was sitting for his portrait to the late Sir

Henry Raeburn, his grace would accompany him to the sitting, and on leaving the artist, would proceed arm in arm with the musician through Edinburgh, as unreservedly as he would with one of the noble blood of Hamilton or Argyle. The duke and duchess walked one day with Neil to Stanley hill, in the neighbourhood of Dunkeld, when his grace began pushing and struggling with him in a sportive humour, until the latter at last fairly tumbled down the "brae." The duchess running to him, expressed her hope that he was not hurt, to which he answered, "Naething to speak o',—I was the mair idiot to wrestle wi' sic a fule!" at which they both laughed heartily. The duke, lord Lyndoch, and the late lord Melville, one day calling at Neil's house, were pressed to take some shrub. Lord Melville tasted it, and was putting down the glass, when his host said, "ye maun tak' it out, my lord, it's very good, and came frae my son Nathaniel—I ken ye're treasurer o' the navy, but gin ye were treasurer o' the universe, ye maunna leave a drap." The duke at the same time smelling his glass before he drank it, Neil said, "ye need na put it to your nose; ye have na better in your ain cellar, for Nathaniel sends me naething but the best." Being one day at Dunkeld house, lady Charlotte Drummond sat down to the piano-forte, when Neil said to the duchess, "that lassie o' yours, my leddy, has a gude ear." A gentleman present said, "I thought Neil you had more manners than to call her grace's daughter a lassie." To which our musician replied, "What wud I ca' her? I never heard she was a laddie;" which, while it more astonished the gentleman, highly amused the noble parties themselves. On another occasion in Athol house, after supper was announced, a portion of the fashionable party lingered in the ball room, unwilling to forsake the dance. Neil, who felt none of the fashionable indifference about supper and its accompaniments, soon lost patience, and addressing himself to the ladies, cried out, "Gang doun to your supper, ye daft limmers, and dinna haud me reelin' here, as if hunger and drouth were unkent in the land—a body can get naething dune for you." These sayings are not repeated so much to support any claim to humour, as to illustrate the license which his reputation, popularity, and honest bluntness of character procured him among the highest of the land.

When at home, during the intervals of his professional labours, he was frequently visited by the gentlemen of the county, as well as by strangers, whose curiosity was excited by the notoriety of his character. They would remain for hours with him, in unconstrained conversation, and partaking of whisky and honey, commonly called Athol brose, or whatever else was going. The late Mr Graham of Orchill, used to sit up whole nights with Neil Gow, playing reels with him, and on one occasion Neil exclaimed, "Troth, Orchill, you play weel;—be thankfu', if the French should overturn our country, you and I can win our bread, which is mair than mony o' the great folk can say." On one occasion, when the duchess of Gordon called for him, she complained of a giddiness and swimming in her head, on which he said, "Faith, I ken something o' that mysel', your grace; when I've been fou the night afore, ye wad think that a bike o' bees were bizzing in my bonnet, the next mornin'."

In travelling he was frequently spoken to by strangers, to whom description had made his dress and appearance familiar. At Hamilton, once, he was accosted by two gentlemen, who begged to know his name, which having told them, they immediately said, "Oh! you are the very man we have come from ——— to see." "Am I," replied Neil, "by my saul, ye're the mair fules; I wadna gang half sae far to see you." On another occasion, when crossing in one of the passage boats from Kirkaldy to Leith, several gentlemen entered into conversation with him, and being strangers, instead of *Neil*, as was usual, they always addressed him as *Master* Gow. When about to land, the Dunkeld carrier,

happening to be on the pier, said, "Ou, Neil, is this you?" "Whisht man," answered Neil, with a sly expression, "let me land or ye ca' me Neil; I hae got naething but *Maister* a' the way o'er."

There are few professions where persons are more exposed or tempted to habits of indulgence in liquor, than those whose calling it is to minister music to the midnight and morning revel. The fatigue of playing for hours in crowded and heated rooms—at those times, too, which are usually devoted to sleep—requires stimulants; and not a few have fallen victims to habits acquired in such situations. But, though exposed to these temptations as much as any man ever was, Neil Gow was essentially sober and temperate. He never indulged in unmixed spirits, and when at home, without company, seldom took any drink but water. At the same time, he was of a social disposition, and delighted in the interchange of friendly and hospitable intercourse; and it befits not the truth of our chronicle to deny, that prudence, though often a conqueror, did not on every occasion gain the race with good fellowship, or in plain words, that Neil did not find at the close of some friendly sederunts, "the maut aboon the meal." At least we would infer as much, from an anecdote that has been told of him.—Returning pretty early one morning from Ruthven Works, where he had been attending a yearly ball, he was met with his fiddle under his arm, near the bridge of Almond, by some of his friends who lamented *the length of the road* he had to walk to Inver, when Neil exclaimed, "Deil may care for the *length* o' the road, it's only the *breadth* o't that's fashin' me now." It was, perhaps, with reference to the same occasion, that a friend said to him, "I suspect Neil, ye've been the waur o' drink." "The waur o' drink?" responded the musician, "na! na, I may have been fou, but I ne'er was the waur o't." His son Nathaniel frequently sent him presents of shrub and ale. In acknowledging one of them, he wrote, "I received the box and twenty bottles of ale, which is not good,—more *hop* than faith—too strong o' the water, &c. My compliments to Meg, and give her a guinea, and ask her which of the two she would accept of first."

He was a man most exemplary in all the private relations of life—a faithful husband, an affectionate parent, and a generous friend. In more cases than one, he refused lands which were offered to him at a trifling purchase, and which would have been worth thousands to his successors, and chose the more disinterested part, of giving money to the unfortunate owners to enable them to purchase their lands back. He not only had religion in his heart, but was scrupulous in his external observances. He was constant in his attendance at divine worship, and had family prayers evening and morning in his own house. In regard to his private character altogether, we may quote from a very elegant biographical sketch from the pen of Dr Macknight, who knew him well, and which appeared in the Scots Magazine in 1809. "His moral and religious principles were originally correct, rational, and heartfelt, and they were never corrupted. His duty in the domestic relations of life, he uniformly fulfilled with exemplary fidelity, generosity, and kindness. In short, by the general integrity, prudence, and propriety of his conduct, he deserved, and he lived and died possessing as large a portion of respect from his equals, and of good will from his superiors, as has ever fallen to the lot of any man of his rank."

In a professional point of view, Neil Gow is to be judged according to circumstances. He never had the advantage of great masters, and indeed was almost entirely self-taught. It would be idle to inquire what he might have been had he devoted himself to the science as a study. He did not, so far as is known, attempt the composition of difficult or concerted pieces; and it is believed, did not do much even in the way of arrangement to his own melodies.

He was one of nature's musicians, and confined himself to what genius can conceive and execute, without the intervention of much science—the composition of melodies: and, after all, melody is the true test of musical genius;—no composition, however philosophical, learned and elaborate, can live, if it wants its divine inspiration, and the science of Handel, Haydn, and Mozart would not have rescued their names from oblivion, had the soul of melody not sparkled like a gem through all the cunning framework and arrangement of their noble compositions. He composed a great number of tunes, nearly a hundred of which are to be found in the collections published by his son Nathaniel at Edinburgh. The greater portion of them are of a lively character, and suited for dancing, such as reels, strathspeys, and quick steps. It would not be interesting in a notice like this to enumerate the titles of so many compositions; but we may safely refer to the beautiful air of "Locherroch side," to which Burns wrote his pathetic ballad of "Oh! stay, sweet warbling woodlark, stay," and which is equally effective as a quick dancing tune—to the "Lament for Abercairney," and his "Farewell to Whisky"—as specimens which entitled him to take his place among the best known composers of Scottish music, which our country has produced.

As a performer of Scottish music on the violin, we have already said that he was acknowledged to have been the ablest of his day; and we cannot do better than once more quote from the biographic sketch written by Dr M'Knight, himself a skilful violinist, and who frequently heard Neil play, to illustrate the peculiar character of his style: "There is perhaps no species whatever of music executed on the violin, in which the characteristic expression depends more on the power of the *bow*, particularly in what is called the *upward* or returning *stroke*, than the Highland reel. Here accordingly was Gow's forte. His bow-hand, as a suitable instrument of his genius, was uncommonly powerful; and when the note produced by the *up-bow* was often feeble and indistinct in other hands, it was struck in his playing, with a strength and certainty, which never failed to surprise and delight the skilful hearer. As an example, may be mentioned his manner of striking the tenor C, in 'Athol House.' To this extraordinary power of the bow, in the hand of great original genius, must be ascribed the singular felicity of expression which he gave to all his music, and the native highland *gout* of certain tunes, such as 'Tulloch Gorum,' in which his taste and style of bowing could never be exactly reached by any other performer. We may add, the effect of the *sudden shout*, with which he frequently accompanied his playing in the quick tunes, and which seemed instantly to *electrify* the dancers; inspiring them with new life and energy, and rousing the spirits of the most inanimate. Thus it has been well observed, 'the violin in his hands, sounded like the harp of Ossian, or the lyre of Orpheus,' and gave reality to the poetic fictions, which describe the astonishing effects of their performance."

Such was the estimation in which Neil Gow was held, that the late Sir Henry Raeburn, the most eminent portrait painter then in Scotland, was employed first to paint his portrait for the county hall of Perth, and afterwards, separate portraits for the duke of Athol, lord Gray, and the honourable Mr Maule of Panmure, besides his portrait, now in possession of his grand-daughter Mrs Luke, and many copies scattered through the country. His portrait has also been introduced into the "View of a Highland Wedding," by the late Mr Allan, along with an admirable likeness of his brother Donald, who was his steady and constant violoncello.

Neil Gow was twice married—first to Margaret Wiseman, by whom he had five sons, and three daughters. Of these, three sons, and two daughters died

before himself, but not before two of his sons, William and Andrew, had acquired a reputation as violin-players, worthy of the name they bore; the former having succeeded M'Glashan as leader of the fashionable bands at Edinburgh, and the latter having acquired some wealth in London in prosecuting his profession. He was kind and affectionate to all his children, and during the last illness of his son Andrew, he brought him from London. On this subject he wrote, "If the spring were a little advanced and warmer, I would have Andrew come down by sea, and I will come to Edinburgh or Dundee to conduct him home. We will have milk which he can get warm from the cow, or fresh butter, or whey, or chickens. He shall not want for any thing." Andrew's eyes were closed by his father under the roof where he was born. Neil Gow took as his second wife Margaret Urquhart, by whom he had no family, and who predeceased himself a few years. He retained his faculties to the last, and continued to play till within a year or two of his death. About two years before that event, he seemed to feel the decay of his powers, and wrote to his son Nathaniel—"I received your kind invitation to come over to you, but I think I will stay where I am. It will not be long, for I am very sore failed." He died at Inver, where he was born, on the 1st of March, 1807, in the 80th year of his age, after acquiring a competence, which was divided among his children. He left behind him two sons and a daughter: John, who settled in London as leader of the fashionable Scottish bands, and died in 1827, after acquiring a large fortune; Nathaniel, who settled in Edinburgh, and of whom we have given a brief memoir; and Margaret, now the only surviving child, who is at present living in Edinburgh. Neil Gow was buried in Little Dunkeld church, where a marble tablet has been raised to his memory by his sons, John and Nathaniel.

GRAHAM, Dougal, the rhyming chronicler of the last rebellion, was probably born early in the seventeenth century. Unfortunately, none of the works we have met with give any account of his parentage or early life. It has been said that he was engaged in the rebellion of 1745-46, but without sufficient authority. He had, to use his own words, "been an eye-witness to most of the movements of the *armies*, from the rebels' first crossing the ford of Frew, to their final defeat at Culloden;" but it would seem from this expression, as well as from the recollections of some of his acquaintances, that it was only in the capacity of a follower, who supplied the troops with small wares. But Dougal's aspiring mind aimed at a higher and nobler employment,—the cultivation of the muse; and no sooner was the rebellion terminated by the battle of Culloden, than he determined to write a history of it "in vulgar rhyme." Accordingly, the Glasgow Courant of September 29, 1746, contains the following advertisement: "That there is to be sold by James Duncan, printer in Glasgow, in the Salt-Mercat, the second shop below Gibson's Wynd, a book entitled, A full, particular, and true account of the late rebellion in the years 1745 and 1746, beginning with the Pretender's embarking for Scotland, and then an account of every battle, siege, and skirmish that has happened in either Scotland or England: to which is added, several addresses and epistles to the pope, pagans, poets, and pretender, all in metre, price fourpence. But any booksellers or packmen may have them easier from the said James Duncan, or the author, D. Graham. The like," the advertisement concludes, "has not been done in Scotland since the days of Sir David Lindsay!" This edition is now to be procured *nec prece nec pecunia;* the eighth edition, however, contains a preface by the author, in which he thus states his reasons for undertaking so arduous a task. "First, then, I have an itch for scribbling, and having wrote the following for my pleasure, I had an ambition to have this child

of mine placed out in the world; expecting, if it should thrive and do well, it might bring credit or comfort to the parent. For it is my firm opinion, that parental affection is as strong towards children of the brain as those produced by natural generation."—"I have wrote it in vulgar rhyme, being what not only pleased my own fancy, but what I have found acceptable to the most part of my countrymen, especially to those of common education like myself. If I have done well, it is what I should like, and if I have failed, it is what mankind are liable to. Therefore let cavilers *rather write a better one*, than pester themselves and the public with their criticisms of my faults." Dougal's history has been on some occasions spoken of with contempt,—and, as it appears to us, rather undeservedly. The poetry is, of course, in some cases a little grotesque, but *the matter* of the work is in many instances valuable. It contains, and in this consists the chief value of all such productions, many minute facts which a work of more pretension would not admit. But the best proof of its popularity is, that it has run through many editions: the eighth, which is now scarce, was printed at Glasgow in 1808, with a "True Portraiture" of the author. Beneath it are the lines:

"From brain and pen, O virtue! drop;
Vice! fly as Charlie and John Cope!"

As the book became known, Dougal issued editions "greatly enlarged and improved." That of 1774, while it contains many additions, is said to want much of the curious matter in the *editio princeps*.

In 1752, Graham styles himself "merchant in Glasgow," but it would appear that his wealth had not increased with his fame:

"I have run my money to en'
And have nouther paper nor pen
To write thir lines."

Afterwards he became a printer; and it has been affirmed, that, like Buchan, the chronicler of Peterhead, he used to compose and set up his works without ever committing them to writing.[1] The exact date at which he became bellman is not known, but it must have been after 1770. At this time, the situation was one of some dignity and importance: the posting of handbills and the publishing of advertisements were not quite so common; and whether a child had "wandered,"—"salmon, herring, cod, or ling" had arrived at the Broomielaw,—or the grocers had received a new supply of "cheap butter, barley, cheese, and veal," the matter could only be proclaimed by the mouth of the public crier.

After several years of, it may be supposed, extensive usefulness in this capacity, Dougal was gathered to his fathers on the 20th of July, 1779. An elegy upon the death of that "witty poet and bellman," written with some spirit, and in the same verse as Ferguson's elegy upon Gregory, and that of Burns upon "Tam Samson," was published soon after. We may be allowed to sum up his character in the words of its author:

"It is well known unto his praise,
He well deserv'd the poet's bays;
So sweet were his harmonious lays:
Loud sounding fame
Alone can tell, how all his days
He bore that name.

[1] M'Ure's Hist. of Glasgow, *new ed.* p. 315.

Of witty jokes he had such store,
Johnson could not have pleased you more,
Or with loud laughter made you roar,
As he could do:
He had still something ne'er before
Expos'd to view.

Besides his history, Dougal wrote many other poems and songs, some of which, though little known, are highly graphic. They would form a pretty large volume, but it is hardly probable that in this fastidious age any attempt will be made to collect them.

GRAHAME, (Rev.) James, the author of "The Sabbath" and other poems, was born in Glasgow on the 22d of April, 1765. He was the son of Mr Thomas Grahame, writer in that city, a gentleman at the head of the legal profession there, and who held a high place in the esteem of his fellow citizens for strict integrity and many amiable qualities. His mother was a woman of very uncommon understanding; and it may be well supposed, that the young bard owed much of that amiable disposition which distinguished him in after-life, to the mild and benevolent tuition of his parents. From them also he imbibed those ultra-liberal opinions on politics, which, on the first breaking out of the French revolution of 1789, found so many supporters in this country, and which Mr Grahame no doubt adopted under a sincere impression that the diffusion of such opinions was likely to benefit the human race. He was educated at the grammar school and university of Glasgow. At this time his father possessed a beautiful villa on the romantic banks of the Cart, near Glasgow, to which the family removed during the summer months; and it is pleasing to remark the delight with which James Grahame, in after years, looked back upon the youthful days spent there. In the "Birds of Scotland," we have the following pleasing remembrances, which show that these days were still green in his memory:

I love thee, pretty bird! for 'twas thy nest
Which first, unhelped by older eyes, I found;
The very spot I think I now behold!
Forth from my low-roofed home I wandered blythe
Down to thy side, sweet Cart, where cross the stream
A range of stones, below a shallow ford,
Stood in the place of the now-spanning arch;
Up from that ford a little bank there was,
With alder copse and willow overgrown,
Now worn away by mining winter floods;
There, at a bramble root, sunk in the grass,
The hidden prize, of withered field-straws formed,
Well lined with many a coil of hair and moss,
And in it laid five red-veined spheres, I found.

James Grahame eminently distinguished himself both at school and college; and we have an early notice of his poetical genius having displayed itself in some Latin verses, which, considering his age, were thought remarkable for their elegance. At this period he was noted among his companions for the activity of his habits, and the frolicsome gayety of his disposition; his character, however, seems to have undergone a change, and his constitution to have received a shock, in consequence of a blow inflicted in wantonness on the back of his head, which ever afterwards entailed upon him occasional attacks of headach and stupor; and there seems to be little doubt, that this blow was ultimately the cause of his death. After passing through a regular academical course of edu-

cation at the university of Glasgow, during which he attended a series of lectures delivered by the celebrated professor Millar, whose opinions on politics were by no means calculated to alter those which his pupil had derived from his father, he was removed to Edinburgh, in the year 1784, where he commenced the study of law under the tuition of his cousin, Mr Laurence Hill, writer to the signet. This was a destination wholly foreign to his character and inclination; his own wishes would have led him to the clerical profession, which was more congenial to his tastes than the busy turmoil of legal avocations; but young Grahame passively acquiesced in the arrangement which his father had made, more from considerations connected with his own means of advancing him in the legal profession, than from regard to the peculiarities of his son's disposition and character.

After having finished his apprenticeship, he was admitted a member of the Society of Writers to the Signet, in the year 1791. His prospects of success in business were very considerable, in consequence of the influence possessed by his father, and his other relations; but the death of his father towards the close of the year 1791, seems to have freed him from the restraint which bound him to his profession, and he resumed his original desire of entering the church. For a time, however, the persuasion of his friends induced him to relinquish his intention of changing his profession; and, at length, in the year 1795, in the hope that the avocations of the bar would prove more congenial to his taste, and allow him, during the vacations, greater leisure to indulge his literary propensities, than the more irksome details of the other branch of the profession, he became a member of the Faculty of Advocates.

James Grahame, while yet at the university, printed and circulated among his friends a collection of poetical pieces. Of this work no trace is now left except in the memory of the members of his own family, and it is only curious as it seems to have contained a rough draught of those sketches which he afterwards published under the title of the "Rural Calendar." It was in the year 1797, that these pieces appeared in their amended form. Being on a visit to a friend in Kelso when the "Kelso Mail" was commenced, he contributed them anonymously to that newspaper; he afterwards published them, greatly enlarged and improved, in the 12mo edition of his works, in 1807. In the year 1801, he published a dramatic poem, entitled, "Mary, Queen of Scotland;" but his talents were by no means dramatic; and although this production was a great favourite of his own, it is only deserving of attention as containing some beautiful descriptive passages.

In the year 1802, Mr Grahame was married to Miss Grahame, eldest daughter of Richard Grahame, Esq., Annan, a woman of masculine understanding and very elegant accomplishments. She at first endeavoured to discourage her husband's poetical propensities, from the idea that they interfered with his professional duties; but on the discovery that he was the author of the Sabbath, she no longer attempted, or wished, to oppose the original bias of his mind. The Sabbath was published not only anonymously, but the poet even concealed its existence from his dearest relations. The mode which he took to communicate it to his wife presents a very pleasing picture of his diffident and amiable disposition. In relating this anecdote, we shall use the words of one who was very intimate with the poet and his family. "On its publication he brought the book home with him, and left it on the parlour table. Returning soon after he found Mrs Grahame engaged in its perusal; but without venturing to ask her opinion, he continued to walk up and down the room in breathless anxiety, till she burst out in the warmest eulogium on the performance; adding 'Ah James, if you could but produce a poem like this.' The acknowledg-

ment of the authorship, and the pleasure of making the disclosure under such circumstances, may be easily imagined." The Sabbath was subjected to a severe ordeal of criticism in the Edinburgh Review; but the critic afterwards made ample atonement to the wounded feelings of the poet and his friends, in reviewing his subsequent work, the British Georgics—an example which one cannot but wish that Lord Byron had imitated, by expressing some contrition for the wanton and cruel attack made in his English Bards and Scotch Reviewers on the gentle and amiable poet of the Sabbath.

About the year 1806, Mr Grahame published a well written pamphlet on the subject of the introduction of jury trial in civil causes in Scotland, entitled "Thoughts on Trial by Jury." This was a favourite project of his party in politics, about the beginning of the present century; and during the whig administration of 1806-7, a bill was brought into parliament by the ministry for the purpose of extending that mode of trial to Scotland. That bill fell, on the change of administration; but some years afterwards, a bill having the same object was carried through parliament by the succeeding administration; and in 1816, jury trial in civil causes was introduced under certain modifications, and has since been made a permanent part of the civil judicial procedure in this country.

But for the bad health to which he was occasionally subject, Mr Grahame might have enjoyed much happiness, surrounded as he was by his family, to whom he was devotedly attached, and mixing during the winter months on familiar terms with the intellectual and polished society which Edinburgh at all times affords, and which, at the time alluded to, was peculiarly brilliant; while, to vary the scene, he usually spent the summer either at Kirkhill, on the banks of the Esk, or at some other rural retirement. It was at Kirkhill, surrounded with some of the loveliest scenery in Scotland, that he composed "The Birds of Scotland." But in spite of the happiness which such a state of literary ease was calculated to afford, Mr Grahame still looked with longing to the condition of a country clergyman—a vocation which his imagination had invested with many charms. The authority already referred to mentions a circumstance strongly indicative of the constant current of his thoughts:—"The writer will never forget the eager longing with which he surveyed the humble church of Borthwick, on a fine summer evening, when the sun's last rays had gilded the landscape, and rendered every object in nature more sweet and impressive. He cast a look of delighted complacency around the peaceful scene, and said, with an accent of regret, "I wish such a place as that had fallen to my lot." And when it was remarked, that continued retirement might become wearisome, "Oh! no," he replied, "it would be delightful to live a life of usefulness among a simple people, unmolested with petty cares and ceremonies." At length, yielding to his long cherished wish, he entered holy orders as a clergyman of the church of England. After having spent the summer months of 1808, at a pleasant villa in the neighbourhood of Annan, where he composed "The British Georgics," he proceeded to England in the spring following; and after encountering some difficulty, was ordained by Dr Bathhurst, bishop of Norwich, on Trinity Sunday, being the 28th of May, 1809. That good prelate was so much delighted with Mr Grahame, that he was anxious to persuade him to remain in his diocese, but Mr Grahame was prevented from acceding to this request by the prevalence of fever and ague in the district. He resided for some weeks after his ordination at the city of Chester; and there he obtained the curacy of Shefton in Gloucestershire, which he held from July until the month of March in the following year, when he was called to Scotland by family affairs. The accomplishment of his long cherished and ardent desire to

enter the clerical profession, does not seem to have afforded him that full measure of happiness which he anticipated. This was partly to be attributed to broken health; and perhaps, also, to a natural restlessness of disposition, but more particularly to the change having been too long deferred. Indications of this fact may be traced in the following beautiful lines in the British Georgics, which show how deeply he loved and how fondly he regretted leaving his native land:

> How pleasant came thy rushing, silver Tweed,
> Upon mine ear, when, after roaming long
> In southern plains, I've reach'd thy lovely banks!
> How bright, renowned lark, thy little stream,
> Like ray of column'd light chasing a shower,
> Would cross my homeward path! how sweet the sounds
> When I, to hear the Doric tongue's reply,
> Would ask thy well-known name.
> And must I leave,
> Dear land, thy bonny braes, thy dales,
> Each haunted by its wizard-stream, o'erhung
> With all the varied charms of bush and tree;
> Thy towering hills, the lineament sublime,
> Unchanged, of Nature's face, which wont to fill
> The eye of Wallace, as he musing plann'd
> The grand emprise of setting Scotland free?
> And must I leave the friends of youthful years,
> And mould my heart anew to take the stamp
> Of foreign friendships in a foreign land?
> Yes, I may love the music of strange tongues,
> And mould my heart anew to take the stamp
> Of foreign friendships in a foreign land;
> But to my parched mouth's roof cleave this tongue,
> My fancy fade into the yellow leaf,
> And this oft-pausing heart forget to throb,
> If, Scotland, thee and thine I e'er forget.

On his return to Scotland, he was an unsuccessful candidate for St George's episcopal chapel, Edinburgh. This disappointment was severely felt by his friends, who, fondly attached to him, and admiring him much as a preacher, were exceedingly anxious to have him settled amongst them; but he bore the frustration of his hopes without a murmur. In August, 1810, he was appointed interim curate to the chapelry of St Margaret, Durham, where his eloquence as a preacher quickly collected a crowded congregation; and after having officiated there for a few months, he obtained the curacy of Sedgefield, in the same diocese. Having been affected with oppressive asthma and violent headachs, he was induced to try the effect of a change to his native air; and after spending a few days in Edinburgh with his only surviving sister, Mrs Archibald Grahame, he, along with his wife, who had joined him in Edinburgh, proceeded to Glasgow, where he expired two days after his arrival. He died at Whitehill, the residence of his eldest brother, Mr Robert Grahame of Whitehill, on the 14th of September, 1811, in the forty-seventh year of his age; leaving two sons and a daughter.

The most characteristic feature in the mind of James Grahame, was a keen and refined sensibility, which, while it in some measure incapacitated him for encountering the hardships and enduring the asperities of life, and gave the appearance of vacillation to his conduct, at the same time rendered him sensi-

tively alive to the intellectual pleasures of the world, and shed an amiable purity over his character and manners. It is deeply to be regretted, that the wishes of his father should have thrown an impediment in the way of his embracing, at the outset of life, that profession which was so congenial to the benign gentleness of his disposition. His mild manners and many amiable qualities made a deep impression on all who knew him, while his surviving friends cherish his memory with feelings of the sincerest affection and reverence. Possessed of a pleasing and intellectual fund of conversation, there was about him an infantine simplicity of character, which rendered him alternately the companion of the late Francis Horner, and of Messrs Jeffrey, Cockburn, Brougham, and of his other distinguished contemporaries, and the delight of his own children, in whose most playful gambols he would often join. His personal appearance was particularly striking; his dark complexion harmonizing well with his finely formed and expressive features, over which there hung a deep shade of langour and pensiveness; his figure was tall, and while discharging the duties of his sacred office, his air and manner were truly apostolic.

GRAHAM, James, the celebrated marquis of Montrose, was born in the year 1612, and succeeded to his father, John, earl of Montrose, in 1626, being then only fourteen years of age. As he was the only son of the family, he was persuaded by his friends to marry soon after, which greatly retarded his education. Preceptors were, however, brought into his house, and by assiduous study he became a tolerable proficient in the Latin and Greek languages. He afterwards travelled into foreign parts, where he spent some years in the attainment of modern languages, and practising the various exercises then in vogue. He returned to Scotland about the year 1634, with the reputation of being one of the most accomplished gentlemen of the age. Being a man of large expectations, and meeting with a reception at court which he considered not equal to his merits, he, on the fifteenth of November, 1637, joined the Tables at Edinburgh, to the great dismay of the bishops; who, according to Guthrie, "thought it time to prepare for a storm, when he engaged."—That the reader may be at no loss to understand our narrative, it may not be improper here to inform him that the Tables were committees for managing the cause of the people in the contest they were at this time engaged in with the court for their religion and liberties:—they were in number four—one for the nobility, another for the gentry, a third for the burghs, a fourth for the ministers; and there was a special one, consisting of delegates from each of the four. The Table of the nobility, we may also remark, consisted of the lords Rothes, Lindsay, Loudon, and Montrose: the two latter of whom were unquestionably the ablest and probably the most efficient members. In point of zeal, indeed, at this period Montrose seems to have exceeded all his fellows. When Traquair published the king's proclamation approving of the Service Book, Montrose stood not only on the scaffold beside Mr Archibald Johnston, while he read the protestation in name of the Tables, but got up, that he might overlook the crowd, upon the end of a puncheon; which gave occasion to the prophetic jest of Rothes, recorded with solemn gravity by Gordon of Straloch—"James, you will never be at rest till you be lifted up there above your fellows in a rope;—which was afterwards," he adds, "accomplished in earnest in that same place, and some even say that the same supporters of the scaffold were made use of at Montrose's execution." The Tables having prepared for renewing the national covenant, it was sworn by all ranks, assembled at Edinburgh, on the last of February and first of March, 1638; and, in a short time, generally throughout the kingdom. In this celebrated transaction, Montrose was a leading actor. In preparing, swearing, and imposing the covenant, especially in the last, no man seems to have been more zealous.

In the fullest confidence of his faithfulness and zeal, he had been nominated, along with Alexander Henderson and David Dickson, to proceed to Aberdeen, in order to persuade that refractory city, the only one in the kingdom, to harmonize with the other parts of it; but they made very few converts, and were, upon the whole, treated in no friendly manner. The pulpits of Aberdeen they found universally shut against them; nor even in the open street, did they meet with any thing like a respectful audience. This triumph of the northern episcopalians was carefully reported to Charles by the marquis of Huntly; and the monarch was so much gratified by even this partial success of his favourite system, that, at the very moment when he was showing a disposition to give way to the covenanters, he wrote letters of thanks to the magistrates and doctors, promising them at all times his favour and protection. Montrose soon after returned to Edinburgh, and through the whole of the eventful year 1638, to all appearance acted most cordially in favour of the covenant.

In the beginning of the year 1639, when the covenanters had finally set the king at defiance by abolishing episcopacy, and were preparing to defend their measures by force of arms, Montrose received another commission to visit the Aberdonians, and to provide against the probability of their stirring up an insurrection in the north, when his majesty might be drawing the public attention wholly towards the south. While Montrose was preparing for this expedition, having learned that a meeting of the covenanters in that quarter had been appointed at Tureff, and that Huntly, who had taken possession of Aberdeen, had written to his friends and followers to assemble for the purpose of preventing the meeting, he resolved to protect his friends, and ensure their convocation in spite of Huntly. For this purpose he collected only a few of his friends upon whom he could depend, and by one of those rapid movements by which he was afterwards so much distinguished, led them across that wild mountainous range that divides Angus from Aberdeenshire; and, on the morning of February the 14th, took possession of Tureff, ere one of the opposite party was aware of his having left Angus. Huntly's van, beginning to arrive in the forenoon, were astonished to find the place occupied in a hostile manner, and retired to the Broad Ford of Towie, about two miles to the south of Tureff, where Huntly and his train from Aberdeen shortly after joined them. Here it was debated whether they should advance and attack the place, or withdraw for the present—and being enjoined by his commission from the king to act as yet only on the defensive, Huntly himself dissolved the meeting, though it was upwards of two thousand strong. This formidable array only convinced Montrose that there was no time to lose in preparing to meet it; and hastening next day to his own country, he began to raise and to array troops, according to the commission he held from the Tables. Seconded by the energy and patriotism of the people, his activity was such, that in less than a month he was at the head of a well-appointed army of horse and foot, drawn from the immediate neighbourhood; at the head of which he marched directly north, and on the 29th of March approached the town of Aberdeen. The doctors who had given him so much trouble on his former mission, did not think fit to wait his coming on this occasion; and the pulpits were at the service of any of his followers who chose to occupy them. It is admitted, on all hands, that Montrose on this first visit acted with great moderation. Leaving a garrison in Aberdeen under the earl of Kinghorn, he set out on the 1st of April to meet the marquis of Huntly, who had now dismissed his followers and retired to one of his castles. On the approach of Montrose, Huntly sent his friend, Gordon of Straloch, to meet him, and to propose an armistice; and for this purpose a meeting took place between the parties at the village of Lowess, about midway be-

tween Aberdeen and the castle of Strathbogie. The stipulations under which this meeting took place were strongly characteristic of a semi-barbarous state of society. Each of the parties was to be accompanied by eleven followers, and those armed only with swords. Each party, too, before meeting, sent an advance guard to search the other, in case any of the parties might have forgotten or overlooked this so far pacific arrangement. After considerable time spent in rather passionate conversation, it was agreed between them, that Montrose should march his army from Inverury, where it was now encamped, to Aberdeen, leaving Huntly and his countrymen in the meantime unmolested. Guthrie affirms that Huntly subscribed a writ substantially the same with the covenant. Other writers contradict this, and say that he only signed a bond of maintenance, as it was called, obliging himself to maintain the king's authority, and the laws and religion at that time established, which indeed appears substantially the same with the covenant; though the phrase "established religion" was somewhat equivocal, and probably was the salvo, on this occasion, of the marquis's conscience. Montrose, on his return to Aberdeen, without any of the formalities of moral suasion, imposed the covenant, at the point of the sword, upon the inhabitants of the town and the surrounding country, who very generally accepted it, as there was no other way in which they could escape the outrages of the soldiery. As a contribution might have been troublesome to uplift, a handsome subsidy of ten thousand merks from the magistrates was accepted as an equivalent. This is the only instance with which we are acquainted, in which the covenant was really forced upon conscientious recusants at the sword's point; and it is worthy of remark, that the agent in the compulsion was one of the most idolized of the opposite party. Having thus, as he supposed, completely quieted the country, Montrose gave it in charge to the Frasers and the Forbeses, and on the 13th of April, marched for Edinburgh with his whole army, leaving the Aberdonians, though they had put on a show of conformity, more exasperated against the covenanters than ever. Scarcely had the army left the city, than, to testify their contempt and hatred of their late guests, the ladies began to dress up their dogs with collars of blue ribbons, calling them, in derision, covenanters, a joke for which they were, in the sequel, amply repaid.

In the meantime, the preparations of the king were rapidly going forward, and by the first of May the marquis of Hamilton, his lieutenant, entered the Firth of Forth with a fleet of twenty-eight sail, having on board five thousand foot soldiers, and a large quantity of arms. This circumstance had no real effect but to demonstrate the utter hopelessness of the king's cause to all those who witnessed it; yet, operating upon the highly excited feelings of the Gordons, they flew to arms, though they had no proper leader, the marquis of Huntly being by this time a prisoner in Edinburgh castle. Their first movement was an attack, 18th May, upon a meeting of covenanters at Tureff, which, being taken by surprise, was easily dispersed, few persons being either killed or wounded on either side. This was the first collision of the kind that took place between the parties, the prologue, as it were, to the sad drama that was to follow; and it has ever since been remembered by the ludicrous appellation of "The Trot of Tureff." Proceeding to Aberdeen, the Gordons, as the fruit of their victory, quartered themselves upon their friends the citizens of that loyal city, where they gave themselves up to the most lawless license. Here they were met by the historian, Gordon of Straloch, who endeavoured to reason them into more becoming conduct, but in vain. Finding that they intended to attack the earl Marischal, who was now resident at Dunnottar castle, Straloch hastened thither to mediate between them and the earl, and if possible to prevent the

effusion of human blood. The Gordons followed rapidly on his heels; but having lain one night in the open fields, and finding the earl Marischal determined to oppose them, they at last hearkened to the advice of Straloch, and agreed to disband themselves, without committing further outrages. Unhappily, however, they had been joined at Durris by one thousand Highlanders, under lord Lewis Gordon, third son to the marquis of Huntly, who, though a mere boy, had made his escape from his guardians, assumed the Highland dress, and appeared at the head of these outrageous loyalists for the interests of his father. This band of one thousand heroes it was impossible to send home till they had indulged their patriotic feelings among the goods and chattels of their supposed enemies; which they did to such an extent, as to provoke the deepest resentment. The earl Marischal with his little army advanced against them, and on the 23d of May entered Aberdeen, thirty Highland barons making a precipitate retreat before him.

For the supression of these insurrections, Montrose had been again commissioned to the north, with an army of four thousand men, with which he entered Aberdeen on the 25th of May, only two days after the earl Marischal. Having discovered, by numerous intercepted letters, the real feelings of the inhabitants, and that their former compliance with his demands had been mere hypocrisy, practised for the purpose of saving their goods, Montrose imposed upon them another fine of ten thousand merks,—his men, at the same time, making free with whatever they thought fit to take, no protections being granted, save to a very few burgesses, who were known to be genuine covenanters. In revenge for the affront put upon their blue ribbon by the ladies, not one single dog upon which the soldiers could lay their hands, was left alive within the wide circuit of Aberdeen. The Gordons, meanwhile, learning that the Frasers and the Forbeses were advancing to join Montrose, crossed the Spey with one thousand foot and upwards of three hundred horse, and took post on a field near Elgin, where the Frasers and Forbeses lay with an army superior to theirs in number. A parley ensued, and it was settled that neither party should cross the Spey to injure the other. Both parties, of course, sought their native quarters; and the Gordons, sensible of their inability to cope with Montrose, determined, individually, to seek each his own safety. Having nothing else to do, and possessing abundance of artillery, Montrose resolved to reduce the principal strength belonging to the party, and for this end had just sat down before Gicht, the residence of Sir Robert Gordon, when he learned that the earl of Aboyne, second son of the marquis of Huntly, had arrived at Aberdeen with three ships, having obtained from the king, at York, a commission of lieutenantcy over the whole north of Scotland. He, of course, hasted back to Aberdeen, where he arrived on the 5th of June; Aboyne had not yet landed, but for what reason does not appear. Montrose left Aberdeen next day, marching southward with all his forces, as did the earl Marischal at the same time. Aboyne, of course, landed, and raising his father's vassals and dependents, to the number of four thousand men, took possession of Aberdeen—at the cross of which he published the king's proclamation, bestowing all the lands of the covenanters upon their opponents. He then proposed to attack Montrose and the earl Marischal, marching for this purpose along the sea coast, ordering his ships with the cannon and ammunition to attend his progress. A west wind arising, drove the ships with his artillery and ammunition out to sea, so that he came in contact with Montrose and the earl Marischal advantageously posted on the Meagra-hill, a little to the south of Stonehaven, without the means of making any impression upon them. A few shots from the field-pieces of Montrose, so completely disheartened the followers of Aboyne,

that they fell back upon Aberdeen in a state of utter confusion, with the loss of half their number, leaving to the covenanters a bloodless victory. Aboyne was rapidly followed by the victors; but with the gentlemen who yet adhered to him, he took post at the bridge of Dee, which he determined to defend, for the preservation of Aberdeen. Montrose attacked this position on the 18th of June, with his usual impetuosity, and it was maintained for a whole day with great bravery. Next morning Montrose made a movement as if he intended to cross the river farther up; and the attention of the defenders being thus distracted, Middleton made a desperate charge, and carried the bridge in defiance of all opposition. The routed and dispirited loyalists fled with the utmost trepidation towards the town, and were closely pursued by the victorious covenanters. Aberdeen was now again in the hands of the men of whom it had more reason than ever to be afraid: it had already indured repeated spoliations at the hands of both parties, and was at last threatened with indiscriminate pillage. At their first entry into the town, June 19th, the troops behaved with great rudeness; every person suspected of being engaged in the last insurrection was thrown into prison, and the general cry of the army was to set the town on fire. There was some disagreement, however, among the chiefs respecting the execution of such a severe measure, and next day the question was set at rest by the news of the pacification of Berwick, which had been concluded on the 18th, the day that the parties had been so hotly engaged at the bridge of Dee. Montrose was probably not a little sorry to be confined in the north, quelling parties of Highland royalists, when there was a probability of actions of much greater importance taking place in another quarter, upon which the eyes of all men were fixed with a much more intense interest than they could possibly be upon the rock of Dunnottar, the bog of Gicht, or even the "brave town of Aberdeen." Now that a settlement had taken place, he hastened to the head-quarters, that he might have his proportion of what was to be dealt out on the occasion, whether it were public honours, public places, or private emoluments.

It now struck the mind of the king, that if he could but gain over the nobility to his side, the opposition of the lower classes would be rendered of little efficacy; and that he might have an opportunity of employing his royal eloquence for that purpose, he invited fourteen of the most influential of the grandees, that had taken part against him, to wait upon his court at Berwick, under the pretence of consulting them on the measures he meant to adopt for promoting the peace and the prosperity of the country. Aware of his design, the states sent only three of their number, Montrose, Loudon, and Lothian, to make an apology for the non-appearance of the remainder. The apology, however, was not accepted; and by the king's special command, they wrote for the noblemen who had been named to follow them. This the noblemen probably were not backward to do, but a rumour being raised, that he intended to seize upon them, and send the whole prisoners to London, the populace interfered, and, to prevent a tumult, the journey was delayed. Charles was highly offended with this conduct; and being strongly cautioned by his courtiers against trusting himself among the unruly Scots, he departed for England, brooding over his depressed cause, and the means of regaining that influence of which he had been deprived by his subjects. Of those who did wait upon him, he succeeded in seducing only one, the earl of Montrose, who was disappointed in being placed under general Leslie, and who had of late become particularly jealous of Argyle. How much reason Charles had to be proud of such an acquisition we shall see in the sequel, though there can be no doubt that the circumstance emboldened him to proceed in his policy of only granting a set of mock reforms to the Scot-

tish people, with the secret purpose of afterwards replacing the affairs of the kingdom on the same footing as before. In the spirit of this design, the earl of Traquair, who was nominated his majesty's commissioner for holding the stipulated parliament and general assembly, was directed to allow the abolition of episcopacy, not as unlawful, but for settling the present disorders; and on no account to allow the smallest appearance of the bishops' concurring (though several of them had already done and did concur) in the deed. He was to consent to the covenant being subscribed as it originally was in 1580—"provided it be so conceived that our subjects do not thereby be required to abjure episcopacy as a part of popery, or against God's law." If the assembly required it to be abjured, as contrary to the constitution of the church of Scotland, he was to yield rather than make a breach: and the proceedings of the assembly at Glasgow he was to ratify, not as deeds of that meeting, all mention of which he was to avoid, but as acts of this present assembly; and to make every thing sure his own way, when the assembly business was closed, immediately before prayers, he was enjoined to make protestation, in the fairest way possible, that in respect of his majesty "not coming to the assembly in person, and his instructions being hastily written, many things may have occurred upon which he had not his majesty's pleasure; therefore, in case any thing had escaped him, or been condescended upon prejudicial to his majesty's service, his majesty may be heard for redress thereof in his own time and place." By these and other devices of a similar character, Charles imagined that he could lawfully render the whole proceedings of the assembly null and void at any time he might think it proper to declare himself. Traquair seconded the views of his master with great dexterity; and the assembly suspecting no bad faith, every thing was amicably adjusted.

In the parliament that sat down on the last day of August, 1639, the day after the rising of the general assembly, matters did not go quite so smoothly. Episcopacy being abolished, and with it the civil power of churchmen, the fourteen bishops, who had formed the third estate of the kingdom in parliament, were wanting. To fill up this deficiency, the other two estates proposed, instead of the bishops, to elect fourteen persons from the lower barons; but this was protested against by the commissioner, and by and by their proceedings were interrupted by an order for their prorogation till the 2d day of June, 1640. Against this prorogation the house protested as an invasion of their rights; but they nevertheless gave instant obedience, after they had appointed commissioners to remonstrate with his majesty, and to supplicate him for a revisal of his commands. Before these commissioners found their way into the presence of Charles, however, he had fully resolved upon renewing the war, and all the arguments they could urge were of course unavailing. Charles, on this occasion, certainly displayed a want of consideration which was very extraordinary; he had emptied his treasury by his last fruitless campaign, yet continued his preparations against Scotland, though he could not raise one penny but by illegal and desperate expedients, which alienated the hearts of his English subjects more and more from him every day. The Scots were, at the same time, perfectly aware of what was intended, and they made such preparations as were in their power to avert the danger. As the subject of this memoir, however, seems not to have taken any particular or prominent part in these preparations, we must pass them over, referring the reader to the lives of those individuals who at this time took the most active part in conducting public affairs. Suffice it to say that, to oppose the army of Charles, which he had with great difficulty increased to nineteen thousand foot and two thousand horse, the Scots had an army of twenty-three thousand foot, three thousand horse, and a considerable

train of artillery. Of this army, Alexander Leslie was again appointed commander-in-chief; lord Almond, brother to the earl of Livingston, lieutenant-general; W. Baillie, of the Lamington family, major-general; colonel A. Hamilton, general of artillery, colonel John Leslie, quarter-master-general; and A. Gibson, younger of Durie, commissary general. The nobles in general had the rank of colonel, with the assistance of veteran officers as lieutenant-colonels. Montrose, though his disaffection to the cause was now no secret, had still as formerly, two regiments, one of horse and another of foot. All these appointments were made in the month of April, 1640, but excepting some smaller bodies for suppressing local risings in the north, the army did not begin to assemble till the middle of July, and it was not till the end of that month that it was marched to Chouseley wood, about four miles to the west of Dunse, and within six of the border.

The Scots had from the beginning of these troubles determined to carry the war, should war become inevitable, into England. This was sound policy; but as they did not wish to make war upon the English people, who were suffering equally with themselves, and were making the most praiseworthy exertions to limit the royal prerogative, it required no ordinary degree of prudence to carry it into execution. The leaders of the covenant, however, possessed powers fully adequate for the occasion. Notwithstanding of their warlike preparations, which were upon a scale equal to the magnitude of the enterprise, they continued to preserve the most perfect decorum, both of language and manner, and they sent before the army two printed papers, the one entitled "Six considerations, manifesting the lawfulness of their expedition into England," the other "The intentions of the army of the kingdom of Scotland declared to their brethren of England." In these papers, which for cogency of argument and elegance of composition may safely be compared with any similar productions of any age, they set forth in strong but temperate language the nature, the number, and the aggravations of their grievances. Their representations coming in the proper time, had the most powerful effect. If there was yet, at the time the parliament was convened, in a majority of the people, some tenderness towards the power of the monarch and the dignity of the prelates, every thing of the kind was now gone. The dissolution of a parliament, which for twelve years had been so impatiently expected and so firmly depended on, for at least a partial redress of grievances, and the innumerable oppressions that had been crowded into the short space between that dissolution and this appearance, on the part of the Scots, together with the exorbitances of the convocation,—that, contrary to all former precedent, had been allowed to sit, though the parliament was dissolved,—had so wrought upon the minds of men, that the threatenings these remonstrances breathed against prelates were grateful to the English nation, and the sharp expressions against the form and discipline of the established church gave no offence save to the few who composed the court faction. So completely did these declarations meet the general feeling, that the Scots were expected with impatience, and every accident that retarded their march was regarded as hurtful to the interests of the public. The northern counties, which lay immediately exposed to the invasion, absolutely refused to lend money to pay troops, or to furnish horses to mount the musqueteers, and the train-bands would not stir a foot without pay.

Anxious to make good their professions, the Scots were some time before they could advance, for want of money. The small supplies with which they had commenced operations being already nearly exhausted, two of the most popular of the nobility, along with Mr Alexander Henderson, and

secretary Johnston, were sent back to Edinburgh to see what could be done in the way of procuring gratuitous supplies. As it would have been displeasing to the English, had the army been under the necessity of cutting down trees, for erecting huts, as had been the practice in former times, when inroads were made upon their border, the commissioners were instructed to use their influence with their countrymen, to provide as much cloth as would serve for tents during their encampments in that country. It was late on a Saturday night when the commissioners arrived in Edinburgh, but the exhortations of the ministers next day were so effectual, that on Monday the women of Edinburgh alone produced webs of coarse linen, vulgarly called *harn*, nearly sufficient for tents to the whole army; and the married men, with equal promptitude, advanced the sum of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, with a promise of remitting as much more in a few days, which they did accordingly. Having obtained these supplies, and a considerable train of black cattle and sheep to be used as provisions, the Scottish army moved from Chouseley wood towards Coldstream, where they intended to enter England by a well-known ford over the Tweed. The river being swollen, they were obliged to camp on a spacious plain called Hirsel Haugh, till the flood should subside; and here they first proved the cloth furnished them for tents, by the good women of Edinburgh. On the 20th, the river having sunk to its ordinary level, it was resolved that the army should march forward. This, however, was considered so momentous an affair, that not one of the leading men would volunteer to be the first to set hostile feet upon the English border; and it was left to the lot to decide who should have the honour, or the demerit of doing so. The lot fell upon Montrose, who, aware of his own defection, and afraid of those suspicions with which he already saw himself regarded, eagerly laid hold of this opportunity to lay them asleep. Plunging at once into the stream, he waded through to the other side without a single attendant, but immediately returned to encourage his men; and a line of horse being planted on the upper side of the ford to break the force of the stream, the foot passed easily and safely, only one man being drowned of the whole army. The commanders, like Montrose, with the exception of those who commanded the horse employed to break the force of the water, waded at the head of their respective regiments, and though it was four o'clock, P. M., before they began to pass, the whole were on the English side before midnight. They encamped for that night on a hill that had been occupied by a troop of English horse, set to guard the ford, but which had fled before the superior force of the Scottish army; large fires were kindled in advance, which, says one of the actors in the scene, "rose like so many heralds proclaiming our crossing of the river, or rather like so many prodigious comets foretelling the fall of this ensuing storm upon our enemies in England;" contrary to the intentions of the Scots, "these fires so terrified the country people, that they all fled with bag and baggage towards the south parts of the country," according to the above author, "leaving their desolate houses to the mercy of the army." Charles left London to take command of his army, which had already rendezvoused at York, on the same day the Scottish army crossed the Tweed. This army, as we have stated above, was said to be twenty-one thousand strong; but from the aversion of the people in general to the service, there is reason to suppose, that in reality it fell far short of that number. The earl of Northumberland was nominated to the command, but he felt, says an English historian, disgusted at being called forth to act the most conspicuous part in a business which no good man in the kingdom relished; and taking advantage of a slight indisposition, he declared himself unfit to perform the duties of his function. Stafford, of course, exercised the supreme command,

though only with the title of lieutenant-general, not caring to assume that of general, because of the envy and odium that attended him. Lord Conway, who commanded under Stafford, had been stationed at Newcastle with a strong garrison to protect the town, which it was supposed he might easily do, as it was fortified, and well stored with provisions.

On the 21st, the Scottish army marched in the direction of Newcastle, and encamped for the night on Millfield Race. On the 22d, they proceeded to the river Glen, where they were joined by about seven thousand of their brethren, who had entered England by Kelso. The whole marched the same night to Middleton Haugh. On Thursday the 27th, they came in sight of Newcastle. During this whole march, the Scots acted up to their previous professions; every Englishman that came into the camp, they caressed and loaded with kindness, and now they despatched a drummer to Newcastle with two letters, one to the mayor, and another to the military governor of the city, demanding in the most civil manner liberty to pass peaceably through, that they might lay their petition at the feet of their sovereign. The messenger was, however, sent back with his letters unopened, because they were sealed; and before he reached the army in his return, the general had determined to pass the Tyne at Newburn, about five or six miles above Newcastle. The principal ford below the village of Newburn, as well as two others, Conway had commanded by trenches, but as the river was passable in many other places not far distant, he had resolved on a retreat. Stafford, however, who undervalued the Scots, was anxious for a battle, if it were only to see what was the mettle of the parties, and commanded him to abide at his post. In approaching Newburn, general Leslie and a few of the chief noblemen, riding a little in advance, narrowly escaped being cut off by a party of English horse, that had crossed the Tyne for the purpose of reconnoitering. At sight of each other, both parties called a halt, and some more of the Scottish horse appearing, the English judged it prudent to retreat. The Scots during the night, encamped on Hadden Law, a rising ground behind Newburn, having a plain descent all the way down to the water's edge. The English were encamped on the opposite side of the Tyne, on a perfect level, that extended behind them to the distance of more than half a mile. The Scottish position was deficient in water, but in return they had abundance of coal from the pits in the neighbourhood, with which they made great fires all around their camp, which tended not a little to magnify their appearance to the enemy. In the morning it was found that their camp overlooked completely that of the English, and they were able from the nature of the ground to plant their cannon so as to command completely the trenches cast up by the English at the fords. The morning was spent coolly in making preparations, both parties watering their horses at the river, (the tide being up,) without molestation. As the river became fordable, however, they became more jealous, and about mid-day a Scottish officer watering his horse, and looking steadily on the entrenchments on the opposite side, was shot dead by an English sentinel. This was the signal for battle; the Scottish batteries immediately opened, and the trenches thrown up by the English at the fords were soon rendered untenable. A few horsemen volunteers under a major Ballantyne, sent over the water to reconnoitre, with orders only to fire at a distance, and to retreat if necessary, found the whole of the breast-works abandoned. The general's guard, consisting of the college of justice's troop, commanded by Sir Thomas Hope, with two regiments of foot, Crawfurd's and Loudon's, were then sent across; and a battery being opened at the same time from a hill to the eastward, directly upon the great body of the English horse on the plain below, a retreat was sounded, the cannon were withdrawn from the trenches, and the Scots passed in full force without farther

opposition. The English foot sought refuge in a wood, and the horse in covering their retreat, were attacked by a fresh body of Scots, defeated with some loss, and their commanders made prisoners. The scattered parties escaped under cover of night, to carry dismay and confusion into the main body. The loss was inconsiderable, but the rout was complete. The English horse, who but the day before had left Newcastle with their swords drawn, threatening to kill each a dozen of covenanters, made their way into the town in a state of the utmost disorder and dismay, crying, as they rode full speed through the streets, for a guide to Durham; and having strewed the roads behind them with their arms, which they had thrown away in their haste to escape. The Scottish army rested that night upon the ground which the English had occupied, one regiment being still on the north side of the Tyne with the baggage, which the return of the tide had prevented being brought across. Despatches for the governor and mayor of Newcastle, of the same respectful character as had been formerly sent, were prepared on the morning of Saturday; but the committee learning that the garrison had abandoned it during the night, and retired with lord Conway to join the main army at York, it was thought proper to advance without ceremony. The army accordingly moved to Whiggam, within two miles of Newcastle, where they encamped for the night, and next morning, Sunday the 30th of August, the mayor sent an invitation to enter the town. The troops were accordingly marched into a field near the suburbs, after which the gates were thrown open, and the committee, with the principal leaders, entered the town in state, Sir Thomas Hope's troop marshalling the way, and the laird of West Quarter's company of foot keeping the post at the end of the bridge. The whole company were fronted at the house of the lord mayor, who was astonished to observe that they all drank his majesty's health. After dinner the company repaired to the great church of St Nicholas, where a thanksgiving sermon was preached by Mr Henderson. In the town they found next day between four and five thousand stand of arms, five thousand pounds' weight of cheese, some hundreds of bolls of pease and rye, a quantity of hard fish, with abundance of beer; which had been provided for the king's troops, but now was taken possession of by his enemies.

Nothing could be more encouraging than the prospects of the covenanters at this time. The same day in which they gained the victory at Newburn, the castle of Dumbarton, then reckoned an impregnable fortress, surrendered to their friends in Scotland, as did shortly after that of Edinburgh; and the capture of Newcastle was speedily followed by the acquisition of Durham, Tynemouth, and Shields. The number and the splendour of these successes, with the delightful anticipations which they naturally called forth, could not fail to strike every pious mind among the Scots; and a day was most appropriately set apart by the army, as a day of fasting and prayer, in acknowledgment of their sense of the divine goodness. Stafford who, from bad health, had not yet come into action, was hastening to the combat, when he met his discomfited army at Durham; and, from the ill-timed haughtiness which he displayed, was soon the only enemy his army was desirous to overcome. His soldiers even went the length of vindicating their conduct at Newburn; affirming, that no man could wish success to the war against the Scots, without at the same time wishing the enslavement of England. The prudent magnanimity of the Scots, who, far from being elated with the victory, deplored the necessity of being obliged to shed the blood of their English brethren, not only supported, but heightened the favourable opinion that had been from the beginning entertained of them. Their prisoners, too, they treated not only with civility, but with such soothing and affectionate kindness, as insured their gratitude, and called forth the plaudits of the whole nation.

Eager to profit by this state of things, in restoring order and concord between the king and his people, the Scottish committee, on the 2nd of September, sent a letter to the earl of Lanark, his majesty's secretary of state for Scotland, enclosing a petition which they requested him to lay before the king. To this petition, which was couched in the most delicate terms, the king returned an answer without loss of time, requiring them to state in more plain terms the claims they intended to make upon him; informing them, at the same time, that he had called a meeting of the peers of England, to meet at York on the 24th instant. This was an antiquated and scarcely legal assembly, which Charles had called by his own authority, to supersede the necessity of again calling a parliament,—the only means by which the disorders of the government could now be arrested, and which the Scottish committee in their petition had requested him to call immediately. To this communication, the committee replied; "that the sum of their desires was, that his majesty would ratify the acts of the last Scottish parliament, garrison the castle of Edinburgh and the other fortresses only for the defence and security of his subjects, free their countrymen in England and Ireland from further persecution for subscribing the covenant, and press them no further with oaths and subscriptions not warranted by law—bring to just censure the incendiaries who had been the authors of these combustions—restore the ships and goods that had been seized and condemned by his majesty's orders; repair the wrongs and repay the losses that had been sustained; recall the declaration that had been issued against them as traitors—and, finally, remove, with the consent of the parliament of England, the garrisons from the borders, and all impediments to free trade, and to the peace, the religion, and liberties of the two kingdoms.

These demands were no doubt as unpalatable as ever to Charles, but the consequences of his rashness were now pressing him on all sides. His exchequer was empty, his revenue anticipated, his army undisciplined and disaffected, and himself surrounded by people who scarcely deigned to disguise their displeasure at all his measures. In such extreme embarrassment, the king clung, like a drowning man, to any expedient which presented itself, rather than again meet, with the only friends who could effectually relieve him, his parliament. There was unfortunately, too, a secret party among the covenanters, who, with all the pretensions to religion and to patriotism they had put forth, were only seeking their own aggrandisement, and were determined never to admit any pacification that did not leave them at the head of public affairs. Of these, among the Scots, Montrose was the most conspicuous. We have seen with what zeal he imposed the covenant upon the recusant Aberdonians. But he had, since then, had a taste of royal favour at Berwick, and, as it was likely to advance him above every other Scotsman, his whole study, ever since that memorable circumstance, had been how he might best advance the royal interest. For this purpose he had formed an association for restoring the king to an unlimited exercise of all his prerogatives, which was subscribed at Cumbernauld, on the sixth day of the preceding July, by himself, the earl of Wigton, the lords Fleming, Boyd, and Almond, who held the place of lieutenant-general in the covenanters' army; and afterwards by the earls of Marischal, Marr, Athol, Kinghorn, Perth, Kelly, Home, and Seaforth; and by the lords Stewart, Erskine, Drummond, Ker, and Napier. Though this association was unknown at the time, the predilections of Montrose were no secrets, and, of course, his credit among his friends was rather on the decline; but a circumstance now occurred which displayed his character in the full light of day, and nearly extinguished any little degree of respect that yet remained to him among the members of the liberal party. It had been laid

down, at the commencement of the campaign, that no person in the army should communicate with either the English court or army, but by letters submitted to the inspection, and approved of by the committee, under the pain of treason. In obedience to this rule, when Sir James Mercer was despatched with the petition to the king, a number of letters from Scotsmen in the camp to their friends in the royal army, were submitted to the committee, and delivered to him, to be carried to their proper destination. Among these letters was one from Montrose to Sir Richard Graham, which had been read and allowed by the committee; but when Sir James Mercer delivered Sir Richard the letter, who instantly opened it, an enclosed letter dropped out and fell to the ground, which Sir James, politely stooping to lift, found, to his astonishment, was addressed in the hand-writing of Montrose to the king. Certain that no such letter had been shown to the committee, Sir James was at once convinced of what had been for some time suspected, that Montrose was betraying the cause in which he had been such a fiery zealot; and on his arrival at Newcastle, instantly communicated the circumstance to general Leslie, who, at a meeting of the committee, of which it was Montrose's turn to sit as president, that same afternoon, moved that Sir James Mercer should be called in and examined concerning the letters he had carried to court. Sir James told an unvarnished tale, that would not admit of being denied; and Montrose, with that constitutional hardihood which was natural to him, finding no other resource, stood boldly up and challenged any man to say, that corresponding with the king was any thing else than paying duty to their common master. Leslie told him that he had known princes lose their heads for less. He had, however, too many associates to his treason, to render it safe or rather prudent at the present moment to treat him as convicted, and he was only enjoined to keep his chamber. While Montrose was thus traitorously spiriting up the king to stand up to all his usurpations, on the one side, Strafford was no less busy on the other, knowing that nothing could save him from the hands of public justice but the king; nor could the king do so, but by strengthening rather than abridging his prerogative. The voice of the nation, however, was distinctly raised, and there was nothing left for Charles but compliance, real or apparent.

From this period forward, we know of no portion of history that has a more painful interest than that of Charles I. Our limits, however, do not allow us to enter into it farther than what may be necessary to make the thread of our narrative intelligible. The Scottish committee being sincerely desirous of an accommodation, the preliminaries of a treaty were, on their part, soon settled; and commissioners from both sides being appointed, a meeting took place, October 1st, at Rippon, half way between the quarters of the two armies; where it was agreed that all hostilities should cease on the 26th of the same month. Charles was now necessitated to call a parliament, and on his consenting to this, the peers agreed to give their personal security to the city of London for a sum of money sufficient to pay both armies—for Charles had now the Scottish army to subsist as well as his own—till such time as it was expected the national grievances would be fully settled by a parliament. The Scottish army was to be stationary at Newcastle, and was to be paid at the rate of eight hundred and fifty pounds a day; but the commission for settling the terms of peace was transferred to London, in order to attend the parliament, which was summoned to meet on the 3d of November.

Unfortunately for the king, and latterly for the cause of liberty, the Scots who had attracted so much notice, and conducted themselves with so much prudence, were now no longer principals, but auxiliaries in the quarrel. The English parliament, occupied with the grievances which had

been so long complained of, and profiting by the impression which the successful resistance of the Scots had made, were in no haste to forward the treaty; so that it was not finished till the month of August, 1641. The Scottish army all this time received their stipulated daily pay, and the parliament further gratified them with what they called a brotherly assistance, the sum of three hundred thousand pounds, as a compensation for the losses they had sustained in the war, of which eighty thousand pounds was paid down as a first instalment. The king, so long as he had the smallest hope of managing the English parliament, was in as little haste as any body to wind up the negotiations, and, in the meantime, was exerting all his king-craft to corrupt the commissioners. Montrose, we have seen, he had already gained. Rothes, whose attachment to the covenant lay also in disgust and hatred of the opposite party, was likewise gained, by the promise of a rich marriage, and a lucrative situation near the king's person. A fever, however, cut him off, and saved him from disgracing himself in the manner he had intended. Aware that he was not able to subdue the English parliament, Charles, amidst all his intriguing, gave up every thing to the Scots, and announced his intention of meeting with his parliament in Edinburgh by the month of August. This parliament had sat down on the 19th of November, 1640, and having re-appointed the committee, adjourned till the 14th of January, 1641; when it again met, re-appointed the committee, and adjourned till the thirteenth of April. The committee had no sooner sat down, than the Cumbernauld bond was brought before them. It had been all this while kept a secret, though the general conversation of those who were engaged in it had excited strong suspicions of some such thing being in existence. The first notice of this bond seems to have dropped from lord Boyd on his death-bed; but the full discovery was made by the lord Almond to the earl of Argyle, who reported it to the committee of parliament. The committee then cited before them Montrose, and so many of the bonders as happened to be at home at the time—who acknowledged the bond, and attempted to justify it, though by no means to the satisfaction of the committee, many of the members of which were eager to proceed capitally against the offenders. Motives the most mercenary and mean, however, distracted their deliberations, and impeded the course of even-handed justice; the bond was delivered up and burned; the parties declared in writing that no evil was intended; and the matter was hushed.

At a meeting of the committee, May 26th, probably as a set off against the Cumbernauld bond, Mr John Graham, minister at Auchterarder, was challenged for a speech uttered by him to the prejudice of the duke of Argyle. He acknowledged the speech, and gave for his authority Mr Robert Murray, minister of Methven, who, being present, gave for his author the earl of Montrose. Montrose condescended on the speech, the time, and the place. The place was in Argyle's own tent, at the ford of Lyon; the time, when the earl of Athol and eight other gentlemen were there made prisoners; the speech was to this effect—that they [the parliament] had consulted both lawyers and divines anent deposing the king, and were resolved that it might be done in three cases:—1st, Desertion—2d, Invasion—3d, Vendition; adding, that they thought to have done it at the last sitting of parliament, and would do it at the next. For this speech Montrose gave for witness John Stuart, commissary of Dunkeld, one of the gentlemen who were present in the tent; and undertook to produce him, which he did four days afterward. Stuart, before the committee, subscribed a paper bearing all that Montrose had said in his name, and was sent by the committee to the castle. In the castle he signed another paper, wherein he cleared Argyle, owned that he himself had forged the speech out of malice against his lordship; and that by

the advice of Montrose, lord Napier, Sir George Stirling of Keir, and Sir Andrew Stuart of Blackhall, he had sent a copy of the speech, under his hand, to the king by captain Walter Stuart. Argyle thus implicated in a charge of the most dangerous nature, was under the necessity of presenting Stuart before the justiciary, where, upon the clearest evidence, he was found guilty, condemned, and executed.

On the 11th of June, Montrose, lord Napier, Sir George Stirling, and Sir Andrew Stuart of Blackhall, were cited before the committee, and after examination committed close prisoners to the castle, where they remained till towards the close of the year. Parliament, according to adjournment, having met on the 15th of July, letters were read, excusing his majesty's attendance till the 15th of August, when it was resolved to sit till the coming of his majesty, and to have every thing in readiness against the day of his arrival. Montrose was in the meantime summoned to appear before parliament on the 13th day of August. He requested that he might be allowed advocates for consultation, which was granted. So much, however, was he hated at the time, that no advocate of any note would come forward in his behalf, and from sheer necessity he was obliged to send for Mr John, afterwards Sir John Gilmour, then a man of no consideration, but in consequence of being Montrose's counsel, afterwards held in high estimation, and employed in the succeeding reign for promoting the despotic measures of the court. On the 13th of August, Montrose appeared before the parliament, and having replied to his charge, was continued to the twenty-fourth, and remanded to prison. At the same time, summonses were issued against the lord Napier and the lairds of Keir and Blackhall, to appear before the parliament on the twenty-eighth. On the fourteenth his majesty arrived in Edinburgh, having visited in his way the Scottish army at Newcastle, and dined with general Leslie. On the seventeenth he came to the parliament, and sat there every day afterwards till he had accomplished as he supposed, the purposes of his journey. The king, perfectly aware, or rather perfectly determined to break with the parliament of England, had no object in view by this visit except to gain over the leaders of the Scots, that they might either join him against the parliament, or at least stand neuter till he had reduced England, when he knew he could mould Scotland as he thought fit. He, of course, granted every thing they requested. The earl of Montrose appeared again before the parliament on the twenty-fourth of August, and was continued *de novo*, as were also the lord Napier and the lairds of Keir and Blackhall, on the twenty-eighth. In this state they all remained till, in return for the king's concessions, they were set at liberty in the beginning of the year 1642.

Though in prison, Montrose had done all that he possibly could to stir up an insurrection in favour of the king while he was in Scotland; and he had also exerted himself, though unsuccessfully, to procure the disgrace of the marquis of Hamilton and the earl of Lanark, both of whom he seems bitterly to have envied, and to have hated almost as heartily as he did Argyle. It was probably owing to this, that upon his liberation he retired to his own house in the country, living privately till the spring of 1643; when the queen returning from Holland, he hasted to wait upon her at Burlington, and accompanied her to York. He embraced this opportunity again to press on the queen, as he had formerly done on the king, what he was pleased to denominate the dangerous policy of the covenanters, and solicited a commission to raise an army and to suppress them by force of arms, as he was certain his majesty would never be able to bring them to his measures by any other means. The marquis of Hamilton thwarted him, however, for the present, and he again returned home.

Having been unsuccessful in so many attempts to serve the king, and his services being now absolutely rejected, it might have been supposed that Montrose would either have returned to his old friends, or that he would have withdrawn himself as far as it was possible from public life. But he was animated by a spirit of deadly hatred against the party with whom he had acted, and he had within him a restless spirit of ambition which nothing could satisfy but the supreme direction in all public managements; an ambition, the unprincipled exercise of which rendered him, from the very outset of his career, the "evil genius," first of the covenanters, and latterly of the miserably misled monarch whom he laboured apparently to serve, and whom he affected to adore. By suggesting the plot against Argyle and Hamilton, known in history by the name of the Incident, during the sitting of the parliament, with Charles at its head in Edinburgh, he checked at once the tide of confidence between him and his parliament, which was rapidly returning to even more than a reasonable height, and created numberless suspicions and surmisings through all the three kingdoms, that could never again be laid while he was in life; and by betraying the secrets of the covenanters, he led the unwary monarch into such an extravagant notion of the proofs of treason which might be established against some members of the lower house, that, forgetting the dignity of his place, he came to the parliament house in person, to demand five of its members, who, he said, had been guilty of treason; an unhappy failure, which laid the broad foundation of his total ruin. With ceaseless activity Montrose, at the same time, tampered with the leaders of the covenant, who, anxious to bring him back to their cause, held out the prospect of not only a pardon, but of their giving him the post of lieutenant-general. Under the pretence of smoothing some difficulties of conscience, he sought a conference with the celebrated preacher, Mr Henderson, that he might pry into the secrets of his former friends; which he had no sooner obtained, than he hastened to lay the whole before his majesty in a new accusation, and as offering new motives for his majesty issuing out against them commissions of fire and sword.

The king, having now disengaged himself from the controlling influence of the marquis of Hamilton, entered into an arrangement, in terms of which the earl of Antrim, who was at the time waiting upon his majesty, undertook to transport into Scotland a few thousands of his Irish retainers, at whose head, and with the assistance of a band of Highland royalists, Montrose was to attempt the subversion of the existing Scottish government. The time appointed for the execution of this scheme was the beginning of April, 1644. Arms and ammunition were in the meantime to be imported from the continent, and a small auxiliary force procured from the king of Denmark.

As the time approached, Montrose, raised to the rank of marquis, left Oxford with the royal commission, to be lieutenant-general for Scotland, under prince Rupert, and accompanied by about one hundred cavaliers, mostly his personal friends. To these he added a small body of militia in passing through the northern counties of England, and on the 13th of April entered Scotland on the western border; and pushing into Dumfries, he there erected his standard, and proposed to wait till he should hear of the arrival of his Irish auxiliaries. In two days, however, he was under the necessity of making a precipitate retreat to Carlisle. This so speedy catastrophe did not tend to exalt the character of Montrose among the English cavaliers, who had pretty generally been of opinion that a diversion in Scotland in the then state of the country was utterly impracticable. Montrose, however, had lost nothing of his self-confidence, and he applied to prince Rupert for one thousand horse, with which he promised to cut his way through all that Scotland could oppose to him. This the prince promised he

should have, though he probably never intended any such thing, for he regarded him in no other light than that of a very wrong-headed enthusiast. Even his more particular friends, appalled by the reports of the state of matters in the north, began to melt from his side, and he was universally advised to give up his commission, and reserve himself for a more favourable opportunity. The spirit of Scotland was at this time decidedly warlike. Leslie was in England with a large army of Scotsmen, who shortly after performed a prominent part at the decisive battle of Marston Moor. There was an army in the north, which had suppressed the insurrection of the Gordons, and sent Haddo and Logie to the block; and the earl of Callendar, formerly lord Almond, was ordered instantly to raise five thousand men for the suppression of Montrose. The commission of the general assembly of the church, in the meantime, proceeded against that nobleman, with a sentence of excommunication, which was pronounced in the high church of Edinburgh on the twenty-sixth day of April, scarcely more than ten days after he had set hostile foot on Scottish ground. Not knowing well what to do, Montrose made an attack upon a small party of covenanters in Morpeth, whom he drove out of the town, and secured the castle. He also captured a small fort at the mouth of the Tyne, and stored Newcastle plentifully with corn from Alnwick and other places around. He was requested by prince Rupert to come up to the battle of Marston Moor, but on his way thither met the prince flying from that disastrous field.

He now determined to throw himself into the Highlands, where he still had high hopes of assistance and success. Making choice of two persons only for his companions, Sir William Rollock and colonel Sibbald, he disguised himself and rode as Sibbald's groom, and in this manner, taking the most wild and unfrequented ways, they arrived, after riding four days, at Tullibalton, near the foot of the Grampians, the house of his friend, Patrick Graham of Inchbrackie, where he halted for some days, passing his time through the night in an obscure cottage, and in the day among the neighbouring mountains. His two companions in the meantime were despatched to collect intelligence respecting the state of the country, and privately to warn his friends. The accounts procured by his friends were of the most distressing kind, the covenanters being every where in great strength, and the cavaliers in a state of the most complete dejection. In a few days, however, a letter was brought by a Highlander to Inchbrackie, with a request that it might be conveyed to the marquis of Montrose, wherever he might be. This was a letter from Alexander M'Coll, alias M'Donald, a distinguished warrior, who had been entrusted with the charge of his retainers by the marquis of Antrim, with a request that he, Montrose, would come and take the command of the small but veteran band. This small division had about a month before landed in the sound of Mull, had besieged, taken, and garrisoned three castles on the island of that name, and afterwards sailing for the mainland had disembarked in Knoydart, where they attempted to raise some of the clans. Argyle, in the meantime, coming round to that quarter with some ships of war, had taken and destroyed their vessels, so that they had no means of escape; and, with a strong party of the enemy hanging on their rear, were proceeding into the interior in the hope of being assisted by some of the loyal clans. Montrose wrote an immediate answer as if from Carlisle, and appointed a day not very distant when he would meet them at Blair of Athol, which he selected as the most proper place of meeting from the enmity which he knew the men of Athol had to Argyle. On the appointed day, attended by Inchbrackie, both dressed in the costume of ordinary Highlanders and on foot, he travelled from Tullibalton to the place of meeting, and to his great joy found twelve hundred Irishmen quartered on the spot. They had already been joined

by small bodies of Highlanders, and the men of Athol seemed ready to rise almost to a man. When Montrose presented himself to them, though he exhibited his majesty's commission to act as lieutenant-general, the Irish, from the meanness of his appearance, could scarcely believe that he was the man he gave himself out to be. But the Highlanders, who received him with the warmest demonstrations of respect and affection, put the matter beyond doubt, and he was hailed with the highest enthusiasm. He was joined the same day by the whole of the Athol Highlanders, including the Stuarts, the Robertsons, and other smaller clans, to the number of eight hundred, so that his army was above two thousand men. Aware that Argyle was in pursuit of the Irish, he led his army the next day across the hills towards Strathearn, where he expected reinforcements. Passing the castle of Wiem, the seat of the clan Menzies, he commenced his career by burning and ravaging all the neighbouring lands, in revenge for the harsh treatment of one of his messengers by the family, to strike a salutary terror into all who might be disposed to offer him violence, and to gratify his followers, whose principal object he well knew was plunder. Passing through glen Almond next day, an advanced party of his men were surprised with the appearance of a large body of men drawn up on the hill of Buckenty. These were men of Menteith, raised by order of the committee of estates at Edinburgh, marching to the general rendezvous at Perth, under the command of lord Kilpont, eldest son of the earl of Menteith. Being mostly Highlanders and officered by gentlemen of the family of Montrose, or of the kindred clan Drummond, they were easily persuaded to place themselves under the royal standard, which increased his force to three thousand men.

Resolving to attack Perth, where some raw levies were assembled under the command of lord Elcho, Montrose continued his march all night, intending to take the place by surprise. Lord Elcho, however, had been warned of his approach, and had drawn his men to the outside of the town, intending to hazard a battle for its defence. In crossing the Tippermuir, a wild field about five miles from Perth, Montrose came in sight of the enemy, upwards of six thousand in number drawn up in one long line, with horse at either end. Lord Elcho himself led the right wing, Sir James Scott of Rossie, the only man in the army who had ever seen service, the left; and the earl of Tullibardine, the main body. Montrose drew out his little army also in one long line, three men deep. The Irish who were veteran troops, he placed in the centre; the Highlanders he placed on the wings to oppose the horse, being armed with swords, Lochaber axes, and long clubs. He himself led the right wing, that he might be opposed to Sir James Scott, who was an officer of good reputation, having served in the wars abroad—from the lords Elcho and Tullibardine, he apprehended little danger. The covenanters' horse fled at the first onset, being overpowered, according to Wishart, by a shower of stones, but more probably induced by the treachery of lord Drummond, and his friend Gask. The flight of the horse threw the ill-disciplined foot into irremediable confusion, and they followed in such breathless haste, that many expired through fatigue and fear, without even the mark of a wound. Few were slain in the engagement, but there were upwards of three hundred killed in the pursuit. Montrose had not a single man killed, and only two wounded. The whole of the artillery and baggage of the vanquished fell into the hands of the victors; and Lord Drummond, whose treachery had chiefly occasioned the rout, joined Montrose as soon as the affair was over. Montrose entered Perth the same night, where he levied a subsidy of nine thousand merks, and stipulated for free quarters to his army for four days. They remained only three, but in these three they supplied themselves with whatever they wanted, whether it were

clothes, arms, food, money, or ammunition. The stoutest young men were also impressed into the ranks, and all the horses seized without exception.

On the 4th of September, Montrose crossed the Tay, and proceeded through Angus for Aberdeenshire. The first night of his march he halted at Collace, where lord Kilpont was murdered by Stuart of Ardvorlich, who struck down a sentinel with the same weapon, with which he had stabbed his lordship, and made his escape. Proceeding to Dundee, Montrose summoned the town; but it was occupied by a number of the Fife troops, and refused to surrender. The approach of the earl of Argyle, with a body of troops, prevented Montrose from venturing upon a siege. Proceeding towards Aberdeen, the Aberdonians, alarmed at his approach, sent off the public money, and their most valuable effects to Dunnotter, and having a force of upwards of two thousand men, they threw up some fortifications at the bridge of Dee, for the defence of the city. Montrose however, remembered the bridge of Dee, and, avoiding it, crossed the water by a ford at the mills of Drum, which rendered all their preparations vain. A summons was sent into the town to surrender, and the covenanters' army being on the march, the messengers who brought the summons were hospitably entertained and dismissed. By some accident the drummer on his return was killed; on which Montrose ordered preparations for an immediate attack, and issued the inhuman orders to give no quarter. Lord Burleigh and Lewis Gordon, a son of Huntly's, led the right and left wings of the covenanters, which consisted of horse, and the levies of Aberdeenshire, a majority of whom were indifferent in the cause. The centre was composed of the Fife soldiers, and those who had joined them from principle. Montrose, still deficient in cavalry, had mixed his musketeers with his horse, and waited for the covenanters. Lord Lewis Gordon, who had forced a number of the Gordons to engage in opposition to the inclination and orders of his father, rushed precipitately forward with the left wing, which by a steady fire of musketry was suddenly checked, and before it could be rallied totally routed. The right wing experienced a similar fate, but the centre stood firm and maintained its post against the whole force of the enemy for two hours. It too at length gave way, and, fleeing into the town, was hotly pursued by the victors, who killed without exception every man they met; and for four days the town was given up to indiscriminate plunder. Montrose, lodging with his old acquaintance, skipper Anderson, allowed his Irishmen to take their full freedom of riot and debauchery. "Seeing a man well cled," says Spalding, "they would tirr him to save his clothes unspoiled, and syne kill him. Some women they pressed to deflour, and some they took perforce to serve them in the camp. The wife durst not cry nor weep at her husband's slaughter before her eyes, nor the daughter for the father, which if they did, and were heard, they were presently slain also." The approach of Argyle put an end to these horrors. Expecting to be joined by the marquis of Huntly's retainers, Montrose hasted to Inverury, but the breach of faith in carrying the marquis forcibly to Edinburgh after a safe conduct being granted was not forgotten; and Argyle too being at hand, his ranks were but little augmented in this quarter. When he approached the Spey, he found the boats removed to the northern side, and the whole force of Moray assembled to dispute his passage. Without a moment's hesitation he dashed into the wilds of Badenoch, where with diminished numbers, for the highlanders had gone home to store their plunder, he could defy the approach of any enemy. Here he was confined for some days by sickness from over fatigue, but a few days restored him to wonted vigour, when he descended again into Athol to recruit, MacDonald having gone on the same errand into the Highlands. From Athol, Montrose passed into Angus, where he wasted the estates of lord Cowper,

and plundered the place of Drum, in which were deposited all the valuables belonging to the town of Montrose and the surrounding country; there also he obtained a supply of arms, and some pieces of artillery. Argyle with a greatly superior force, was following his footsteps; but, destitute of military talents, he could neither bring him to an engagement, nor interrupt his progress. Having supplied his wants in Angus, and recruited his army, Montrose suddenly repassed the Grampians, and spreading ruin around him, made another attempt to raise the Gordons. Disappointed still, he turned to the castle of Fyvie, where he was surprised by Argyle and Lothian, and, but for the most miserable mismanagement, must have been taken. After sustaining two assaults from very superior numbers, he eluded them by stratagem, and ere they were aware, was again lost in the wilds of Badenoch. Argyle, sensible perhaps of his inferiority, returned to Edinburgh, and threw up his commission.

Montrose, now left to act as he thought proper, having raised, in his retreat through Badenoch, portions of the clans M'Donald and Cameron, and been joined by the Stuarts of Appin, whom his friend Alister M'Coll had raised for him, he, with the consent and by the advice of his associates, prepared to lay waste the territory of his hated rival Argyle. For this purpose he divided his army into two divisions, the one consisting of the levies from Lochaber and Knoydart, under John Muidartach, the captain of the Clanronalds, entered by the head of Argyle; the other under his own direction, by the banks of Loch Tay and Glen Dochart. The country on both tracts belonging either to Argyle or his relations was destroyed without mercy. In this work of destruction Montrose was assisted by the clans of M'Gregor and M'Nab; who, whatever might be said of their loyalty, were, the former of them especially, as dextrous at foraying and fire raising, as the most accomplished troop in his service. For upwards of six weeks was this devastation prolonged. Every person capable of bearing a weapon was murdered, every house was razed, castles excepted, which they were not able for the want of artillery to master. Trusting to the poverty and difficulty of the passes into his country, Argyle seems never to have anticipated such a visit, till the marauders were within a few miles of his castle of Inverary, when he instantly took boat and sailed for the Lowlands, leaving all behind to the uncontrolled sway of these insatiate spoilers, who "left not a four-footed beast in his hale lands," nor, as they imagined, a man able to bear arms. Having rendered the country a desert, they bent their way towards Inverness, by Lochaber, to meet the earl of Seaforth, who with the strength of Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness, occupied that important station.

Argyle in the meantime having met with general Baillie at Dumbarton, and concerted a plan with him, hastened back to the Highlands, and collecting his fugitive vassals and his dependants, followed at a distance the steps of his enemy, intending to be ready to attack him in the rear, when Baillie, as had been agreed between them, should advance to take him in front. Montrose was marching through Abertarf, in the great glen of Albin, when he was surprised with intelligence that Argyle was at Inverlochy with an army of, at least, double the number of that which he himself commanded, and aware that Baillie and Hurry were both before him, was at no loss to conjecture his intentions. Without a moment's hesitation, however, he determined to turn back, and taking his antagonist by surprise, cut him off at one blow, after which he should be able to deal with the enemy that was in his front, as circumstances should direct. For this purpose he placed a guard upon the level road down the great glen of Albin, which he had just traversed, that no tidings of his movements might be carried back, and moving up the narrow glen formed by the Tarf, crossed the hills of Lairee Thurard. Descending thence into the lonely vale at the head of the Spey,

and traversing Glen Roy, he crossed another range of mountains, came in upon the water of Spean, and skirting the lofty Ben-nevis, was at Inverlochy, within half a mile of Argyle, before the least hint of his purpose had transpired; having killed every person they met with, of whom they had the smallest suspicion of carrying tidings of their approach, and the route they had chosen being so unusual a one, though they rested through the night in the clear moonlight, in sight of their camp, the Campbells supposed them to be only an assemblage of the country people come forth to protect their property; and they do not seem to have thought upon Montrose, till, with the rising sun and his usual flourish of trumpets, he debouched from the glen of the Nevis, with the rapidity of a mountain torrent. Argyle, who was lame of an arm at the time, had gone on board one of his vessels on the lake during the night, but a considerable portion of his troops that lay on the farther side of that lake, he had not thought it necessary to bring over to their fellows. His cousin, however, Campbell of Auchinbreck, a man of considerable military experience, who had been sent for from Ireland, for the purpose of leading this array of the Campbells, marshalled them in the best order circumstances would permit; but they fled at once before the wild yell of their antagonists, and, without even attempting to defend themselves, were driven into the lake, or cut down along its shores. On the part of Montrose, only three privates were killed and about two hundred wounded, among whom was Sir Thomas Ogilvy, who died a few days after. On the part of Argyle, upwards of fifteen hundred were slain, among whom were a great number of the chief men of the Campbells. This victory which was certainly most complete, was gained upon Sunday the 2nd of February, 1645; and if, as there are abundant grounds for believing, the letter of Montrose concerning it to the king, was the means of causing him to break off the treaty of Uxbridge, when he had determined to accept of the conditions offered him, it was more unfortunate than any defeat could possibly have been.

Instead of following his rival Argyle to Edinburgh, and demonstrating, as he somewhat quaintly boasted in his letter to the king, that the country was really conquered, and in danger of being called by his name, Montrose resumed his march to the north east, and, after approaching Inverness, which he durst not attempt, made another foray through Morayland; where, under pretence of calling forth all manner of men, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, to serve the king, he burned and plundered the country, firing the cobbles of the fishermen, and cutting their nets in pieces. Elgin was saved from burning by the payment of four thousand merks, and its fair of Fasten's Eve, one of the greatest in the north of Scotland, was that year not held. The greater part of the inhabitants fled with their wives, their children, and their best goods, to the castle of Spynie, which only afforded an excuse for plundering the town of what was left. The laird of Grant's people, who had newly joined Montrose, no doubt for the express purpose, were particularly active in the plundering of Elgin, "breaking down beds, boards, insight, and plenishing, and leaving nothing that was tursable [portable] uncarried away." Leaving the Grants thus honourably employed for the king in Elgin, Montrose with the main body of his army, proceeded on the 4th of March to the bog of Gight, sending before him across the Spey the Farquharsons of Braemar to plunder the town of Cullen, which they did without mercy. Grant having deserted his standard and thus become an assistant in robbery, as might naturally have been expected in this sort of warfare, the garrison of Inverness sent out a party to his house at Elchies, which they completely despoiled, carrying off plates, jewels, wearing apparel, and other articles; after which they plundered the lands of Coxtoun, because the laird had followed Montrose along with the lord Gordon. This compelled all the gentlemen of that

quarter to go back for the protection of their own estates, Montrose taking their parole to continue faithful to the king or at least never to join the covenanters. This the most part of them kept as religiously as he had done the oath of the covenant. At the bog of Gight he lost his eldest son, a youth of sixteen, who had accompanied him through all this desultory campaign; and dying here, was buried in the church of Bellie.

Having received a reinforcement of five hundred foot and one hundred and sixty horse, which was all that lord Gordon was able to raise among his father's vassals, Montrose moved from the bog of Gight, intending to fall down upon the Lowlands through Banffshire and Angus. In passing the house of Cullen, he plundered it of every article of plate and furniture, and would have set it on fire, but that the countess (the earl of Findlater being in Edinburgh) redeemed it for fifteen days, by paying five thousand marks in hand and promising fifteen thousand more. From Cullen he proceeded to Boyne, which he plundered of every article, spoiling even the minister's books and setting every 'biggin' on fire. The laird himself kept safe in the craig of Boyne; but his whole lands were destroyed. In Banff he left neither goods nor arms, and every man whom they met in the streets they stripped to the skin. In the neighbourhood of Turreff he destroyed sixty ploughs belonging to the viscount Frenddraught, with all the movable property of the three parishes of Inverkeithny, Forgue, and Drumlade. He was met by a deputation from Aberdeen, who "declared the hail people, man and woman through plain fear of the Irishes, was fleeing away if his honour did not give them assurance of safety and protection. He forbade them to be feared, for this foot army wherein the Irishes were, should not come near Aberdeen by eight miles." And "this," Spalding exultingly exclaims, "along with some other friendly promises, truly and nobly he kept!" Though he had promised to keep the Irishes at due distance, he sent one of his most trusty chieftains, Nathaniel Gordon, along with Donald Farquharson and about eighty well-horsed gentlemen, into Aberdeen, to seize some stores belonging to the estates, and to look out for Baillie, whom he expected by that route. These having partly executed their commission, sat down to enjoy themselves, and were surprised by general Hurry, who, with one hundred and sixty horse and foot, secured the gates and avenues of the town, and falling upon the unsuspecting cavaliers, killed many of them as they sat at their wine, and seized all their horses. Among those that were slain was Donald Farquharson, "one of the noblest captains," according to Spalding "amongst all the Highlanders of Scotland." Hurry retired at his leisure, unmolested, carrying with him a number of prisoners, who, as traitors to the covenant, were sent to Edinburgh. Among these prisoners was the second son of Montrose, now lord Graham, a young boy attending the schools, who along with his pedagogue was imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh. The corpse of Donald Farquharson "was found next day in the streets stripped naked, for they tirred from off his body a rich suit which he had put on only the samen day. Major-general M'Donald was sent in on the Saturday afternoon with one thousand Irishes, horse and foot, to bury Donald, which they did on Sabbath, in the laird of Drum's Isle." During these two days, though the Aberdonians were in great terror, M'Donald seems to have kept his Irishes in tolerably good order, "not doing wrong, or suffering much wrong to be done, except to one or two covenanters that were plundered;" but on Monday, when he had left Aberdeen to meet Montrose at Duriss, "a mumber of the Irish rogues lay lurking behind him, abusing and fearing the town's people, taking their cloaks, plaids, and purses from them on the streets. No merchant's booth durst be opened; the stable doors were broken up in the night, and the horses taken out; but the

major hearing this returns that samen Monday back, and drove all thir rascals with sore skins out of the town before him; and so both Aberdeens were clear both of him and them, by God's providence, who looked both for fire and plundering—yet he took up his cloth and other commodities, amounting to the sum of ten thousand pounds and above, to be cloathing to him and his soldiers, and caused the town to become obliged to pay the merchants, by raising of a taxation for that affect, whilk they were glad to do to be quit of their company." On the same Sunday, the 17th of March, Montrose burned the parish of Durris, "the hail laigh biggins and corns, and spoiled the hail ground of nolt, sheep, and other guids." The lands of Craigievar lying in the parish of Fintry, and the minister's house of Fintry, were served in the same manner the same day. He proceeded on the 20th to Dunnottar, where he summoned the earl Marischal to "come out of the castle and join him in the king's service." On receipt of the earl's answer "that he would not fight against his country," he sent a party who plundered and burned the whole lands of Dunnottar. They set fire at the same time to the town of Stonehaven and to all the fishing boats that lay in the harbour. The lands of Fetteresso, including an extensive and finely ornamented deer park, the village of Cowie, and the minister's manse of Dunnottar, shared the same fate.

After so many burnings and such reckless plundering, it must by this time have become necessary for Montrose to shift his quarters. Rapine, indeed, was almost the sole object of his followers; and when they had either too much or too little of it, they were sure to leave him. The north having been repeatedly gone over, he seems at last to have meditated a descent upon the south. A pitched battle with Baillie and Hurry, who were stationed at Brechin with a considerable army, he seems also to have thought a necessary preliminary to his further progress. For this purpose he came to Fettercairn, only eight miles from their camp, where he purposed to rest till they should by some movement indicate their strength and their intentions. Baillie and Hurry were both good officers, and they had a force more than sufficient to cope with Montrose; but they were hampered in all their movements by a parliamentary committee sent along with them, without whose advice or suffrage they were not allowed to act. In consequence of this, their conduct was not at all times of a very soldier-like character, nor their motions so prompt as they ought to have been; Montrose, however, was but a short time in his new quarters, when Hurry, who was general of the horse, came out with six hundred of his troopers to inspect his situation, and, if possible, ascertain his real strength. Montrose, apprized of his approach, drew out all the horse he had, about two hundred, whom he placed on an eminence in front of his camp, with a strong body of musketeers concealed in a hollow behind them. Hurry made a dash at the horse, but met with such a warm reception from the concealed musketeers, as made him quickly retreat. Hurry, however, who was a brave soldier, placed himself in the rear of his retreating squadron, and brought them safely back to the camp with very little damage. This encounter kept both parties quiet for some days, and induced Montrose to attempt getting into the Lowlands without fighting Baillie, as he had originally proposed. For this end he sent back the Gordons, that they might be ready to defend their own country, in case Baillie should attempt to wreak his vengeance upon them, after he had thus gotten the slip. He then skirted along the Grampians with the remainder of his army towards Dunkeld. Baillie made no attempt directly to stop him, but preserved such a position as prevented him making his intended descent. After being for two days thus opposed to each other on the opposite banks of the Isla, Montrose sent a trumpeter, challenging Baillie to fight, either coming

over the water to the north, or allowing him to come over to the south; it being understood that no molestation was to be given to either till fairly clear of the water, or till he declared himself ready to fight. Baillie made a reply, which it had been well for his own reputation and for his country, that he had at all times continued to act upon. He would look, he said, to his own business, and did not require other men to teach him to fight. Both armies then resumed their march, and respectively arrived at Dunkeld and Perth nearly at the same time.

Finding that he could not pass Baillie without a battle, and being informed by his scouts that he had left Perth and gone to the pass of Stirling; Montrose, as an interim employment, that would help to pass the time, and encourage his followers by the abundance of spoil it would afford, determined on a visit to Dundee,—a place that was strenuous for the covenant, and which had haughtily refused to admit him after the battle of Tippermuir. Sending off his baggage, and the less efficient of his men to Brechin, on the 3d day of April he led a hundred and fifty horse, with six hundred picked musketeers against that city; and continuing his march all night, arrived before it by ten o'clock on the forenoon of the 4th. Montrose immediately gave the place up to military execution; and, perhaps, for a kind of salvo to his credit, retired to the top of Dundee Law, leaving the command to lord Gordon and Alister M'Coll. The attack was made at three different places simultaneously, and all of them in a few minutes were successful. The town was set on fire in various places. The most revolting scenes of outrage and rapine followed. The abundance of spoil, however, of the most alluring description, happily diverted the robbers from indulging in butchery; and, ere they were aware, Baillie and Hurry were both at their heels. Had Montrose been in the town, the whole had been surprised and cut off in the midst of their revel; but from his post on the hill, he was apprized of the approach of the enemy just in time to recall his men; the greater part of them being so drunk that it was with difficulty they could be brought forth at the one extremity of the town as Baillie and Hurry entered at the other. Placing the weakest and most inebriated in the front, while he himself with the horse and the best of the musketeers brought up the rear, Montrose marched directly to Arbroath; and from want of unity of plan and of spirit in the two commanders opposed to him, brought off the whole with but a trifling loss. He reached Arbroath, seventeen miles east of Dundee, long before day. Here, however, he could not rest without exposing himself and his army to certain destruction; and anxious to regain the mountains, where alone he judged himself safe from his pursuers, he wheeled about in a north-westerly direction, right athwart the county of Forfar, and, before morning, crossed the south Esk at Cariston castle, where he was only three miles from the Grampians. The march, which in the two nights and a day this army had performed, could not be much short of seventy miles, and they must now have been in great want of rest. Baillie, who had taken post for the night at Forfar, intending in the morning to fall down upon Montrose at Arbroath, where he calculated upon his halting, no sooner learned the manner in which he had eluded him, than, determined to overtake him, he marched from Forfar, with such haste that his horse were in sight of Montrose, ere that general was apprized that he was pursued. His men were in such a profound sleep, that it was not without difficulty they were awakened; but they were no sooner so than they fled into the recesses of Glenesk, and Baillie abandoned the pursuit. The part of Montrose's troops that had been with the baggage sent to Brechin, had also by this time taken refuge among the Grampians, and in the course of next day joined their companions.

The parliamentary committee seem now to have regarded Montrose as a sort of predatory outlaw, whom it was vain to pursue upon the mountains, and if they could confine him to these mountains, which he had already laid in many places waste, they seem for a time to have been willing to be satisfied. Baillie was accordingly stationed at Perth, to defend the passes into the southern shires, and Hurry was to defend, if possible, the northern counties from that spoliation to which they had been oftener than once subjected. Montrose's followers, in the meantime, going home to deposit their plunder as usual, his numerical force was for a time considerably reduced. He, however, came as far south as Crief, for the purpose of meeting with his nephew, the master of Napier, viscount Aboyne, Stirling of Keir, and Hay of Dalgetty, who, with a few horse, had left their friends in England for the purpose of joining with him. Here Baillie attacked him, and chased him into the fastnesses at the head of Strathearn; whence, next day, April the 19th, he proceeded through Balquhidder to Menteith, where he had the good fortune to meet with his friends at the ford of Cardross. Here he had certainly been cut off from the Highlands, but that M'Coll had broken down upon the lordship of Cupar Angus, killed the minister of Cupar, and was laying waste the whole lands of lord Balmerinoch, which attracted the attention of Baillie. Montrose, in the meantime, learning that Hurry was too many for his friends in the north, marched through Strath Tay and Athol, raising the Highlanders every where as he went along; and before Hurry was aware that he had crossed the Grampians, suddenly appeared behind his position at Strathbogie. Though thus taken by surprise, Hurry made his retreat good to Inverness; and being reinforced by the troops lying there, marched back the next day to Nairn, with the design of attacking Montrose, who, he learned, was posted at the village of Auldearn. Montrose would now have avoided a battle, but that he knew Baillie would soon be up, when he would have both Hurry and Baillie to contend with. It was on the 9th of May, 1645, that the two armies came in sight of each other. Montrose, who was deficient in numbers, made an admirable disposition of his troops. One division, consisting of the Gordons and the horse, he placed on the left, to the south of the village; the other, comprehending the Irish and the Highlanders, he arranged on the right, amidst the gardens and enclosures, to the north. The former he commanded in person, with lord Gordon under him; the latter was given to M'Coll. Hurry, unacquainted with the ground, led on his best troops to the attack of the right, as the main body, which was inclosed in impenetrable lines, and where he was exposed to the fire of cannon which he had no means of silencing. M'Coll, however, who was no general, provoked by the taunts of his assailants, came out of his fastnesses, and overcome by superiority of numbers and discipline, was speedily put to the rout. Montrose, who was watching an opportunity, no sooner perceived Hurry's men disordered by their success, than with his unbroken strength he attacked them in flank. This unexpected attack, however, was received with great steadiness by Lothian's, Loudon's, and Buchanan's regiments, who fell where they fought; and the day might perhaps have been retained, or at least left doubtful, had not colonel Drummond, one of Hurry's own officers, by a treacherous manœuvre, wheeled his horse into the midst of the foot, and trampled them down while they were at the hottest of the engagement with the enemy. In this battle, as in all of Montrose's, the carnage was horrid, between two and three thousand killed, few or none being made prisoners. Sixteen colours, with all the baggage and ammunition fell into the hands of the victors. Hurry, though an unprincipled mercenary, had abstained from wasting by fire and sword the possessions of the anti-covenanters, and consequently had provoked no retaliations; but Montrose, more ferocious than

ever, ravaged the whole district anew, committing to the flames the gleanings he had in his former rapacious and merciless visitations been compelled to leave, through incapacity to destroy. Nairn and Elgin were plundered, and the chief houses set on fire; Cullen was totally laid in ashes, and "sic lands as were left unburnt up before were now burnt up." Hurry, in the meantime, was allowed the quiet possession of Inverness.

On the very day that Hurry was defeated at Auldearn, Baillie had come to Cairn-a-mount on his way to join him. He had just ravaged Athol, and the Highlanders were on their way for its rescue, when he was ordered to the north; and by the Cairn-a-mount came to Cromar, where he learned the fate of his colleague at Auldearn. On the 19th of May he broke up his camp at Cromar, having peremptory orders to hazard a battle. He himself had experience sufficient to instruct him in the danger of leading a few raw and dispirited troops against an army of so much experience and so much confidence as that of Montrose; but having no alternative, he marched to Cochlarachie, whence he could discern Montrose's army in number, as he supposed, nearly equal to his own, encamped among some enclosures in the neighbourhood of that town. The same night he was joined by Hurry, with a hundred horse, the remnants of the army that had fought at Auldearn, with whom he had fought his way through Montrose's very lines. Next morning he expected to have had an encounter, but to his surprise Montrose was fled. He was followed at some distance by Baillie, but he took up an impregnable position in Badenoch, where he awaited the return of M'Coll and his reinforcements, having it in his power to draw from the interior of that wild district abundant supplies. Baillie, on the contrary, could not find subsistence, and withdrew to Inverness to recruit his commissariat; which having accomplished, he came south and encamped at Newton in the Garioch.

Montrose, in the meantime, penetrated as far as Newtyle in Angus, anticipating an easy victory over the earl of Crawford, who lay at the distance of only a few miles, with a new army, composed of draughts from the old for the protection of the Lowlands. When on the point of surprising this force, he was called to march to the assistance of the Gordons, whose lands Baillie was cruelly ravaging. On the last day of June, he came up with Baillie, advantageously posted near the kirk of Keith, and, declining to attack him, sent a message that he would fight him on plain ground. Baillie still wished to choose his own time and his own way of fighting; and Montrose recrossed the Don, as if he designed to fall back upon the Lowlands. This had the desired effect, and Baillie was compelled, by his overseeing committee, to pursue. On the 2d of July the two armies again met. Montrose had taken post on a small hill behind the village of Alford, with a marsh in his rear. He had with him the greater part of the Gordons, the whole of the Irish, the M'Donalds of Glengarry and Clanronald, the M'Phersons from Badenoch, and some small septs from Athol, the whole amounting to three thousand men. Baillie, on the other hand, had only thirteen hundred foot, many of them raw men, with a few troops of lord Balcarras', and Halket's horse regiment. Montrose, having double the number of infantry to Baillie, drew up his army in lines six file deep, with two bodies of reserve. Baillie formed also in line, but only three file deep, and he had no reserve. Balcarras, who commanded the horse, which were divided into three squadrons, charged gallantly with two; but the third, when ordered to attack in flank, drew up behind their comrades, where they stood till the others were broken by the Gordons. The foot, commanded by Baillie in person, fought desperately, refusing to yield even after the horse had fled; nor was it till Montrose had brought up his reserve, that the little band

was overpowered and finally discomfited. The victory was complete, but Montrose had to lament the death of lord Gordon, whose funeral he celebrated shortly after the engagement with great military pomp at Aberdeen. No sooner had he accomplished this, than he sent a party into Buchan, which had hitherto, from its insular situation, escaped the calamitous visitations that had fallen upon most places in the north, to bring away all the horses, for the purpose of furnishing out a body of cavalry. It was also proposed to send two thousand men into Strathnaver, to bring the marquis of Huntly safely home through the hostile clans that lay in his way. Hearing of the army that was assembling against him at Perth, however, he laid aside that project, and hastened south to the little town of Fordun in Kincardineshire, where he waited for M'Coll, who very soon arrived with seven hundred M'Leans, and the whole of the Clanronald, amounting to five hundred men, at the head of whom was John Muidartach, who is remembered in the Highlands to this day for his singular exploits. Graham of Inchbrackie brought the Athol Highlanders in full force, with the M'Gregors, the M'Nabs, the Stuarts of Appin, the Farquharsons of Braemar, with many other clans of smaller number and inferior note. With this force, which mustered between five and six thousand men, about the end of July, Montrose came down upon Perth, where he understood the parliament was then assembled, hoping to be able to disperse their army before it came to any head, or even to cut off the whole members of the government. After he had made frequent flourishes as if he meant to attack them, the army at Perth, being considerably strengthened, moved forward to offer him battle, when he once more betook himself to the hills to wait for reinforcements. Having received all the reinforcements he was likely to get, and more a great deal than he could expect to keep for any length of time without action and plunder, he marched back again, offering the army of Perth battle, which they did not accept. Not daring to attack their position, he passed to Kinross, hoping to draw them into a situation where they could be attacked with advantage, or to escape them altogether and make his way into England. Baillie followed him by Lindores, Rossie, and Burleigh, and was joined upon his march by the three Fife regiments.

From Kinross, Montrose suddenly took his route for Stirling bridge; and in passing down the vale of the Devon burned castle Campbell, the beautiful seat of the earl of Argyle; he burned also all the houses in the parishes of Dollar and Muckhart; and while he and his chief officers were feasted sumptuously by the earl of Marr, his Irish auxiliaries plundered the town of Alloa. Stirling being at this time visited by the plague, Montrose did not approach it, but, going further up the river, crossed the Forth at the ford of Frew. Baillie's army marched close upon his track down the Devon, passed the Forth by the bridge of Stirling, and on the 14th of August, was led forward to Denny, where it crossed the Carron, and from thence to a place called Hollan-bush, about four miles to the east of Kilsyth, where it encamped for the night. In the whole warfare that had been waged with Montrose, the game had been played into his hand, and on this occasion it was more so than ever. He had taken up his ground with mature deliberation, and he had prepared his men by refreshments, and by every possible means for the encounter. The covenanters, on the other hand, after a toilsome march across the country, took up a position, which the general was not allowed to retain. Contrary to his own judgment, he was ordered to occupy a hill which the enemy, if they had chosen so to do, could have occupied before him. The orders of the committee, however, were obeyed, the change of ground was made; and while it was making, a company of cuirassiers, drew from Montrose a remark, "that the cowardly rascals durst not face them till they were cased in

iron. To show our contempt of them let us fight them in our shirts." With that he threw off his coat and waistcoat, tucked up the sleeves of his shirt like a butcher going to kill cattle, at the same time drawing his sword with ferocious resolution. The proposal was received with applause, the cavalry threw off their upper garments, and tucked up their sleeves; the foot stripped themselves naked, even to the feet, and in this state were ready to rush upon their opponents before they could take up the places assigned them. The consequence was, the battle was a mere massacre—a race of fourteen miles, in which space six thousand men were cut down and slain.

The victory of Kilsyth gave to Montrose almost the entire power of Scotland; there was not the shadow of an army to oppose him; nor was there in the kingdom any authority that could direct one if there had. What he had formerly boasted, in his letter to Charles, would now most certainly have been realised had he possessed either moral or political influence. He possessed neither. His power lay entirely in the sword, and it was a consequence of the savage warfare which he had waged, that he was most odious to his countrymen in general, few of whom loved him, and still fewer dared to trust him. Notwithstanding the submissions he received from all quarters, there was nothing that with propriety he could have done but to have taken refuge for another quarter of a year in the wilds of Badenoch. He was gratified, however, with submissions from many quarters during the days he remained at Glasgow and Bothwell, at both which places he fancied himself in the exercise of regal authority. He had now his commission as lieutenant-governor of Scotland, and general of all his majesty's forces there. He was impowered to raise and command forces in Scotland, to march, if expedient, into England, and act against such Scottish subjects as were in rebellion there; also to exercise unlimited power over the kingdom of Scotland, to pardon or condemn state prisoners as he pleased, and to confer the honour of knighthood on whom he would. By another commission he was impowered to call a parliament at Glasgow on the 28th of October next, where he, as royal commissioner, might consult with the king's friends regarding the further prosecution of the war, and the settlement of the kingdom. He proceeded to knight his associate Macdonald, and he summoned the parliament which was never to meet. His mountaineers requested liberty, which, if he had refused, they would have taken, to depart with their plunder. The Gordons retired with their chief in disgust, and Alister, now Sir Alister M'Coll, as there was no longer an army in Scotland, seized the opportunity to renew his spoliations and revenge his private feuds in Argyleshire.

To save his army from total annihilation, Montrose turned his views to the south. Hume, Roxburgh, and Traquair, had spoken favourably toward the royal cause, and he expected to have been joined by them with their followers, and a body of horse which the king had despatched to his assistance, under lord Digby and Sir Marmaduke Langdale. This party, however, was totally routed in coming through Yorkshire. A party which these two leaders attempted to raise in Lancashire was finally dispersed on Carlisle sands, a short while before Montrose set out to effect a junction with them; and while he waited near the borders for the promised aid of the three neighbouring earls, David Leslie surprised him at Philiphaugh, near Selkirk, giving as complete an overthrow as he had ever given to the feeblest of his opponents, on the 13th of September, 1645. One thousand royalists were left dead on the field; and one hundred of the Irish, taken prisoners, according to an ordinance of the parliaments of both kingdoms, were afterwards shot. Montrose made his escape from the field with a few followers, and reached Athol in safety, where he was able still to raise about four hundred men. Huntly had now left his concealment; but he could not be prevailed

on to join Montrose. Disappointed in his attempts to gain Huntly, Montrose returned by Braemar into Athol, and thence to Lennox, where he quartered for some time on the lands of the Buchanans, and hovered about Glasgow till the execution of his three friends, Sir William Rollock, Sir Philip Nisbet, and Alexander Ogilvy, younger of Inverquharity, gave him warning to withdraw to a safer neighbourhood. He accordingly once more withdrew to Athol. In the month of December he laid siege to Inverness, before which he lay for several weeks, till Middleton came upon him with a small force, when he fled into Ross-shire. The spring of 1646 he spent in marching and countermarching, constantly endeavouring to excite a simultaneous rising among the Highland septs, but constantly unsuccessful. On the last day of May he was informed of the king's surrender to the Scottish army, and, at the same time, received his majesty's order to disband his forces and withdraw from the kingdom. Through the influence of the duke of Hamilton, whose personal enemy he had been, he procured an indemnity for his followers, with liberty for himself to remain one month at his own house for settling his affairs, and afterwards to retire to the continent. He embarked in a small vessel for Norway on the 3d of September, 1646, taking his chaplain, Dr Wishart, along with him, for whose servant he passed during the voyage, being afraid of his enemies capturing him on the passage.

From Norway, he proceeded to Paris, where he endeavoured to cultivate the acquaintance of Henrietta Maria, the queen, and to instigate various expeditions to Britain in favour of his now captive sovereign. It was not, however, thought expedient by either Charles or his consort, to employ him again in behalf of the royal cause, on account of the invincible hatred with which he was regarded by all classes of his countrymen. In consequence of this he went into Germany, and offered his services to the emperor, who honoured him with the rank of mareschal, and gave him a commission to raise a regiment. He was busied in levying this corps, when he received the news of the king's death, which deeply affected him. He was cheered, however, by a message soon after to repair to the son of the late king, afterwards Charles II., at the Hague, for the purpose of receiving a commission for a new invasion of his native country. With a view to this expedition, he undertook a tour through several of the northern states of Europe, under the character of ambassador for the king of Great Britain, and so ardently did he advocate the cause of depressed loyalty, that he received a considerable sum of money from the king of Denmark, fifteen hundred stand of arms from the queen of Sweden, five large vessels from the duke of Holstein, and from the state of Holstein and Hamburg between six and seven hundred men. Having selected the remote islands of Orkney as the safest point of rendezvous, he despatched a part of his troops thither so early as September, 1649; but of twelve hundred whom he embarked, only two hundred landed in Orkney, the rest perishing by shipwreck.

It was about this time, that in an overflowing fit of loyalty, he is alleged to have superintended the disgraceful assassination of Dorislaus, the envoy of the English parliament at the Hague; on which account young Charles was under the necessity of leaving the estates. When Montrose arrived in the Orkneys in the month of March, 1650, with the small remainder of his forces, he found that from a difference between the earls of Morton and Kinnoul, to the latter of whom he had himself granted a commission to be commander, but the former of whom claimed the right to command in virtue of his being lord of the islands, there had been no progress made in the business. He brought along only five hundred foreigners, officered by Scotsmen, which, with the two hundred formerly sent, gave him only seven hundred men. To these, by the aid

of several loyal gentlemen, he was able to add about eight hundred Orcadians, who from their unwarlike habits, and their disinclination to the service, added little to his effective strength. After a residence in Orkney of three weeks, he embarked the whole of his forces, fifteen hundred in number, at the Holm Sound, the most part of them in fishing boats, and landed in safety near John O'Groat's house. Caithness, Sutherland, and Ross had been exempted in the late disturbances from those ravages that had overtaken every place south of Inverness, and Montrose calculated on a regiment from each of them. For this purpose he had brought a great banner along with him, on which was painted the corpse of Charles I. the head being separated from the trunk, with the motto that was used for the murdered Darnley, "Judge and avenge my cause, O Lord." It had no effect, however, upon the simple natives of these regions, except to excite their aversion, and they every where fled before him.

In order to secure a retreat to the Orkneys, the castle of Dunbeath was taken possession of, and strongly garrisoned by Montrose. Five hundred men were also sent forward to occupy the hill of Ord, which they accomplished just as the earl of Sutherland was advancing to take possession of it. Sutherland retired rapidly before him, leaving his houses of Dunnechin, Shelbo, Skibo, and Dornoch, under strong garrisons for the protection of his lands. Montrose, mortified to find in Sutherland the same aversion to him as in Caithness, and confident of his strength and of the distance of his enemies, sent a message to the earl of Sutherland, threatening to subject his estates to military execution if he continued to neglect his duty and the royal cause. Colonel Strachan had, however, by this time reached Tain, where he met with his lordship and his friends the Rosses and Munroes, to the amount of five or six hundred men. Here it was determined that Sutherland should get behind Montrose, so as to prevent his retreat to the north, while Strachan with four troops of horse, assisted by the Rosses and Munroes, should march up in his front. When within two miles of him, they concealed themselves in a field of broom, and sent out scouts to observe the motions and calculate the strength he had brought along with him. Finding that Montrose had just sent out a party of forty horse, it was resolved that the whole should keep hid in the broom, one troop of horse excepted, which might lead him to think he had no more to contend with. This had the desired effect. Montrose took no pains to strengthen his position but placing his horse a little in advance, waited their approach on a piece of low ground close by the mouth of the river Kyle. Strachan then marshalled his little party for the attack, dividing the whole into four parts, the first of which he commanded in person; and it was his intention, that while he himself rode up with his party, so as to confirm the enemy in the notion that there were no more to oppose, the remaining parties should come up in quick succession, and at once overwhelm him with the announcement that he was surprised by a large army. The plan was completely successful. Montrose no sooner saw the strength of the presbyterians, than, alarmed for the safety of his foot, he ordered them to retire to a craggy hill behind his position. Strachan, however, made such haste that though it was very bad riding ground, he overtook the retiring invaders before they could reach their place of refuge. The mercenaries alone showed any disposition to resist—the rest threw down their arms without so much as firing a shot. Montrose fought with desperate valour, but to no avail. He could only save himself by flight. The carnage, considering the number of the combatants, was dreadful. Several hundreds were slain, and upwards of four hundred taken prisoners. On the part of the victors only two men were wounded and one drowned. The principal standard of the enemy, and all Montrose's papers, fell into the hands of the victors.

Montrose, who fled from the field upon his friend the young viscount Frendraught's horse, his own being killed in the battle, rode for some space with a friend or two that made their escape along with him; but the ground becoming bad, he abandoned in succession his horse, his friends, and his cloak, star, and sword, and exchanging clothes with a Highland rustic, toiled along the valley on foot. Ignorant of the locality of the country, he knew not so much as where he was going, except that he believed he was leaving his enemies behind him, in which he was fatally mistaken. His pursuers had found in succession, his horse, his cloak, and his sword, by which they conjectured that he had fled into Assynt; and accordingly the proprietor, Neil Macleod, was enjoined to apprehend any stranger he might find upon his ground. Parties were immediately sent out, and by one of them he was apprehended, along with an officer of the name of Sinclair. The laird of Assynt had served under Montrose; but was now alike regardless of the promises and the threatenings of his old commander. The fugitive was unrelentingly delivered up to general Leslie, and by Strachan and Halket conducted in the same mean habit in which he was taken, towards Edinburgh. At the house of the laird of Grange, near Dundee, he had a change of raiment, and by the assistance of an old lady had very nearly effected his escape. He had been excommunicated by the church and forfeited by the parliament so far back as 1644, and now sentence was pronounced against him before he was brought to Edinburgh. His reception in the capital was that of a condemned traitor, and many barbarous indignities were heaped upon him; in braving which he became, what he could never otherwise have been, in some degree an object of popular sympathy. He was executed on Tuesday the 21st of May, 1650, in a dress the most splendid that he could command, and with the history of his achievements tied round his neck; defending with his latest breath his exertions in behalf of distressed royalty, and declaring that his conscience was completely at rest. His limbs were afterwards exposed with useless barbarity at the gates of the principal towns in Scotland.

Montrose appeared to cardinal du Retz as a hero fit for the pages of Plutarch, being inspired by all the ideas and sentiments which animated the classic personages whom that writer has commemorated. He certainly is entitled to the praise of great military genius, of uncompromising ardour of purpose, and of a boldness both in the conception and execution of great designs, such as are rarely found in any class of men. It is not to be denied, however, that ambition was nearly his highest principle of action, and that the attainment of his objects was too often sought at the expense of humanity. As might be expected, his memory was too much cherished by his own party, and unreasonably detested by the other; but historical truth now dictates that he had both his glorious and his dark features, all of which were alike the characteristics of a great and pregnant mind, soaring beyond the sphere assigned to it, but hardly knowing how to pursue greatness with virtue.

GRAHAM, John, viscount of Dundee, was the elder son of Sir William Graham of Claverhouse, an estate with an old castle attached near Dundee. The family of Claverhouse was a branch of that of Montrose, and the mother of the subject of this memoir was lady Jean Carnegie, third daughter of John, first earl of Northesk. Young Graham was educated between 1660 and 1670, at St Andrews university, where he distinguished himself by a proficiency in mathematics, by an enthusiastic passion for Highland poetry, and the zeal inherited from his family in behalf of the then established order of things in church and state. His abilities recommended him to the attention of archbishop Sharpe, whose death he afterwards revenged by so many severities. He com-

Painted by Sir P. Lely

Engr.d by S. Freeman

GRAHAM

VISCOUNT DUNDE

GINAL IN POSSESSION OF THE EARL OF STRATHMORE AT GLAMMIS

Published by Blackie & Son, Glasg

menced his military career as a volunteer in the French service, and when the British war with Holland was concluded, became a cornet in the guards of the prince of Orange, whose life he saved at the battle of Seneff, in the year 1674; a service for which he was rewarded by receiving a captain's commission in the same corps. One of the Scottish regiments in the service of the States shortly after becoming vacant, from the favour of the prince, and his interest with the court of England, Graham was induced to offer himself as a candidate for it. It was, however, carried against him, in consequence of which he determined to abandon the Dutch service, and in 1677 returned to Scotland, bringing with him particular recommendations from the prince of Orange to king Charles, who appointed him captain to the first of three troops of horse which he was raising at that time for enforcing compliance with the established religion. Of all who were employed in this odious service, captain Graham was the most indefatigable and unrelenting. His dragoons were styled by the less serious part of the people, *the ruling elders of the church;* and recusancy was the great crime they had it in charge to repress. Conventicles, as they were called, the peaceable assemblies of the people in the open fields, to hear from their own ministers the word of God, were the objects against which Clavers, as he was called in contempt, had it in charge to wage an exterminating warfare; and to discover and bring to punishment such as frequented them, he spared not to practise the most detestable cruelties. But though the subject of this memoir was the most forward and violent, he was not the sole persecutor of the field preachers and their adherents. In every quarter of the country, particularly in the shire of Fife, and in the southern and western counties—there was a Sharp, an Earlshall, a Johnston, a Bannatyne, a Grierson, an Oglethorpe, or a Main, with each a host of inferior tyrants, who acted under him as spies and informers—in consequence of whose procedure no man was for a moment safe in his life or his property, either in house or in field, at home or abroad. Arms, of course, were necessarily resorted to by the sufferers, and a party of them falling in by accident with the primate Sharpe, in the beginning of May, 1679, put him to death, which excited the fears, and, of course, the rage of the whole of the dominant party to the highest pitch of extravagance; and in pursuit of the actors in that affair, and to put down all conventicles by the way, Claverhouse and his dragoons, with a party of foot, were immediately sent to the west.

Meanwhile a party in arms had assembled in Evandale, to the number of eighty persons, with Robert Hamilton of Preston at their head, and came to Rutherglen, on the 29th of May, the anniversary of the restoration—extinguished the bonfires that were blazing in honour of the day—and having burned the act of supremacy, the declaration, &c., published at the market cross of that burgh, a short testimony against all these acts, since known by the name of the Rutherglen Declaration, returned to Evandale. Sermon having been announced by some of their preachers on the approaching Sunday, June the first, in the neighbourhood of Loudon hill; Claverhouse, who it appears was either in Glasgow or its neighbourhood at the time, and had information both of what they had done and of what they intended to do, followed almost upon their heels, and on Saturday the 31st of May, surprised and made prisoners in the neighbourhood of Hamilton, Mr John King, and seventeen persons on their way to join the meeting at Loudon-hill. Tying his prisoners together, two and two, and driving them before him like cattle, to be witnesses to the murder of their brethren, he hasted on Sunday morning early, by the way of Strathaven, to surprise them before they should have time to be fully assembled. The service, however, was begun by Mr Thomas Douglas, who had been an actor in the publication of the Rutherglen Declaration on the preceding Thursday, before he could come

up; and having notice of his approach, about fifty horsemen, and from one hundred and fifty to two hundred foot left the meeting, and met their persecutors at Drumclog, where, being united in heart and mind, and properly conducted, they in a few minutes routed the royal troops. Claverhouse himself narrowly escaping, with the loss of his colours, between thirty and forty of his men, and all his prisoners. Of the country people there were not above three killed and but few wounded. Claverhouse fled with the utmost precipitation to Glasgow, where he had left the lord Ross with a number of troops; and, had the covenanters pursued him, they might have been masters of the city the same day. They waited, however, till next day, before they attacked Glasgow, and the streets having been barricaded, they were repulsed with considerable loss by the troops, who were thus enabled to fight under cover. As the countrymen took up ground at no great distance, and as their numbers were rapidly augmenting, Claverhouse and lord Ross did not think it prudent to attempt keeping possession of Glasgow, but on the 3d of June, retreated towards Stirling, carrying along with them in carts a number of the wounded countrymen that had fallen into their hands, and on Larbert muir, in the neighbourhood of Falkirk, were joined by a body of the king's forces under the earl of Linlithgow. Still they did not think themselves a match for the covenanters, and wrote to the council that it was the general sense of the officers, that his majesty should be written to for assistance from England without loss of time.

The duke of Monmouth was in consequence appointed to the command of the army; the whole of the militia were called out, and two regiments of dragoons under Oglethorpe and Main, then in summer quarters in the north of England, ordered to join them. On the 17th, Monmouth arrived at Edinburgh. He joined the army, which had been increased to upwards of ten thousand men, on the 19th, and on Sunday the 22d, confronted the poor insurgents in their original encampment upon Hamilton muir, and instead of making preparations to receive an enemy, quarrelling about the manner in which their grievances should be stated, or whether they were to supplicate or to fight; yet a part of the countrymen, with some pieces of cannon, stationed to defend the passage of Bothwell bridge, behaved with the coolness of veteran troops. After having maintained the unequal conflict for upwards of an hour, this little band of heroes were obliged to retreat for the want of ammunition. Monmouth's whole force crossed by the bridge, and it was no longer a battle but a disorderly rout, every individual shifting for himself in the way he thought best. Claverhouse requested that he might be allowed to sack and to burn Glasgow, Hamilton, Strathaven, and the adjacent country, for the countenance they had given to the rebels, as he termed them, but in reality for the sake of spoil, and to gratify a spirit of revenge for the affront he sustained at Drumclog. This, however, the duke had too much humanity to permit. But he had abundant room for satiating his revenge afterwards, being sent into the west with the most absolute powers; which he exercised in such a manner as has made his very name an execration to this day.

In 1682, Claverhouse was appointed sheriff of Wigton, in which office his brother, David Graham was joined with him the year following. To particularize the murders and the robberies committed by the brothers, in the exercise of their civil and military callings, would require a volume. Ensnaring oaths and healths, Claverhouse himself had ever at his finger ends; and if any refused these, they were instantly dragged to prison, provided there was a prospect of making any thing out of them in the way of money; otherwise they had the advantage of being killed on the spot, though sometimes not without being victims of the most refined cruelty. This was particularly the cause with regard to John

Brown styled the Christian Carrier, whom Claverhouse laid hold of in a summer morning in 1685, going to his work in the fields. Intending to kill this innocent and worthy person, the persecutor brought him back to his own house, and subjected him to a long examination, before his wife and family. Being solidly and seriously answered, he tauntingly inquired at his prisoner if he was a preacher; and in the same spirit, when answered in the negative, remarked, "If he had never preached meikle, he had prayed in his time;" informing him at the same time that he was instantly to die. The poor unoffending victim addressed himself to the duty of prayer, along with his family, with all the fervour of a devout mind in the immediate prospect of eternity, and thrice by Claverhouse was interrupted by the remark, that he had got time to pray, but was beginning to preach. With one simple reply, that he knew neither the nature of praying nor preaching, the good man went on and concluded his address, without the smallest confusion. He was then commanded to take farewell of his wife and children, which he did with the most resigned composure, kissing them individually and wishing all purchased and promised blessings, along with his own, to be multiplied upon them. A volley from six of the troopers then scattered his head in fragments upon the ground; when Claverhouse, mounting his horse, as if to insult the sorrows of the woman whom he had thus wickedly made a widow, asked her what she thought of her husband now. "I thought ever much of him," was the reply "and now as much as ever."—"It were justice," said he, "to lay thee beside him."—"If ye were permitted," said the much injured woman, "I doubt not but your cruelty would carry you that length; but how will you make answer for this morning's work?"—"To man I can be answerable," said the audacious tyrant, "and for God, I will take him in mine own hand;" and putting spurs to his horse, galloped off, leaving the woman with her bereaved babes, and the corpse of her murdered husband, without a friend or neighbour that was not at some miles distance. The poor woman, borrowing strength from her despair, meantime set down her infant on the ground, gathered and tied up the scattered brains of her husband, straighted his body, wrapping it up in her plaid, and, with her infants around her, sat down and wept over him. Claverhouse had, in the year previous to this, been constituted captain of the royal regiment of horse, was sworn a privy councillor, and had a gift from the king of the estate of Dudhope, and along with it the constabularyship of Dundee, then in the hands of Lauderdale, upon paying a sum of money to the chancellor.

On the accession of James VII. he was left out of the privy council, on pretence, that having married into the family of Dundonald, it was not fit that he should be intrusted with the king's secrets. He was very soon, however, restored to his place in the council, had the rank of a brigadier-general bestowed on him in 1686, and some time afterwards, that of major-general. On the 12th of November, 1688, being then with the king in London, he was created a peer, by the title of viscount of Dundee and lord Graham of Claverhouse. This was a week after William prince of Orange had landed to reverse the order of things under which his lordship had reaped so much honour and preferment. When his majesty withdrew to Rochester, Lord Dundee strongly dissuaded him from leaving the kingdom, promising to collect ten thousand of his disbanded soldiers, to march through England, driving the prince of Orange before him. Happily for the country, and perhaps for Dundee, his advice was not taken, and still meditating mischief, he came to Edinburgh, bringing a troop of sixty horse along with him, which had deserted from his regiment in England. The westland men, however, who had come into the city of Edinburgh to protect the convention, till regularly author-

ized troops should be raised, had their eye upon him, as one who ought to be called to account for the many slaughters he had committed; and suspecting that he intended by the help of his dragoons, to add that of the lords Crawford and Cardross to the number, they mounted guard upon the lodgings of these two noblemen. This seemed to give great uneasiness to the lord Dundee, who in the convention which he attended only for a few days, was always putting the question, what was meant by bringing in the rabble; which not being answered to his lordship's mind, he thought it prudent to retire from the city. General Mackay with fifteen troops of horse, by orders from the convention, pursued him through the shires of Perth, Angus, Aberdeen, Buchan, Banff, Moray, and Nairn. On the 1st of May, 1689, Dundee, with one hundred and fifty horse, joined Macdonald of Keppoch, who with nine hundred men had invested Inverness, partly because they had proclaimed the prince of Orange king, and partly for assisting the M'Intoshes, with whom he was at odds. The town, however, compromised the matter by a gift to Keppoch of two thousand dollars, Dundee acting the part of a mediator between them. He offered himself in the same character to M'Intosh; but the chieftain refused to submit to his dictation, for which they drove away his cattle, and divided them,—part to the use of the army, and part to Keppoch's tenants. After having subsisted upon this booty along with Keppoch for upwards of six weeks, he, with his hundred and fifty horse, came unexpectedly upon the town of Perth, where he made some prisoners, seized upon a number of horses, and appropriated nine thousand marks of the king's cess and excise. From Perth he marched upon Dundee, but the citizens shut their gates against him; and, unable to force an entrance, he turned aside to this own house at Dudhope. After occupying this mansion two nights he returned to Keppoch, whence, after a residence of six weeks, he marched into Badenoch to meet general Mackay and the laird of Grant, who had an army of nearly two thousand foot and upwards of two hundred horse. Mackay and Grant, though superior in numbers, retreated before him till they had passed Strathbogie. Dundee pursued with great ardour till he came to Edinglassy, where he learned that Mackay had received considerable reinforcements: after resting a few days, he returned to Keppoch. Here, besides recruits from Ireland, he was joined by Macdonald of the Isles with five hundred men, by Macdonald of Glengary, the captain of Clanronald, Sir John Maclean, Cameron of Lochiel, and others, each with a body of retainers eager to be led against the Sassenach, for the sake of their expatriated sovereign. Thus reinforced with an army of two thousand five hundred men, he advanced upon Blair in Athol. General Mackay being at Perth, hasted to meet him with an army of three thousand foot and two troops of horse. Marching through the pass of Killicranky, he found Dundee with his army posted on an eminence, ready to attack him as he emerged from that dangerous defile. Having little choice of position, Mackay drew up his men in line, three deep, as they could clear the defile, having a narrow plain before them, and behind them the craggy eminences they had just passed, and the deep and rapid water of Tummel. Dundee's army was formed in dense masses, according to their clans, on an opposite eminence; whence about an hour before sunset they descended, in their shirts and doublets, with the violence of their own mountain torrents; and, though they received three fires, which killed a great number of them, before they reached Mackay's lines, their attack was such as in the course of a few minutes threw nearly his whole force into irretrievable confusion. One or two of his regiments happily stood unbroken; and while he hasted with these to secure an orderly retreat, Dundee rode up at full speed to lead on the Macdonalds, to complete the victory: but as he was pointing them on to the attack, a random shot struck him below the armpit, and

he fell from his horse mortally wounded. He was carried into a neighbouring cottage, where he died the same night, July 27, 1689. In his grave were buried the fruits of his victory, and for a time the best hopes of his party, who, while they eulogized his character in the language of unmeasured panegyric, could not help seeing that the cause of legitimacy, in Scotland, perished with him. It is hardly necessary to remark, that this anticipation was fully justified by the event.

Lord Dundee was married to the honourable Jean Cochrane, third and youngest daughter of lord William Cochrane, brother to the earl of Dundonald, by whom he had issue one son, who died in infancy. Of his character, after the brief detail which we have given of his actions, it is scarcely necessary to speak more particularly. That he was free from many of the debasing vices which disgraced the greater part of his associates, we have seen no reason to doubt; but if he was less sensual, he was more haughty, more perseveringly active, and more uniformly and unrelentingly cruel in the exercise of those illegal powers which he was called upon by a most unprincipled court to exercise, than all his coadjutors put together.

GRAINGER, James, a physician and poet of some eminence, was born in Dunse, about the year 1723. After receiving such education as his native town afforded, he came to Edinburgh, and was bound apprentice to a Mr Lauder, a surgeon. While in the employment of this gentleman, he studied the various branches of medicine; and having qualified himself for practice, joined the army, and served as surgeon to lieutenant Pulteney's regiment of foot, during the rebellion in Scotland of 1745. On the conclusion of the war, Grainger went in the same capacity to Germany, but again returned to England at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. He now sold his commission, and entered upon practice in London, but without much success. In 1753 he published a treatise in Latin on some diseases peculiar to the army, entitled "Historia Febris Intermittentis Armatorum, 1746, 1747, 1748." In the medical knowledge, however, which this work contained, and which evinced much learning and skill, together with acuteness of observation, he was, unfortunately for his interest, anticipated by Sir John Pringle in his celebrated work on the diseases of the army.

During Dr Grainger's residence in London, he became intimately acquainted with many of the men of genius then resident there; amongst these were Shenstone, Dr Percy, Glover, Dr Johnson, and Sir Joshua Reynolds; by all of whom he was much esteemed for his amiable manners, and respected for his talents.

The poetical genius of Dr Grainger was first made known by his publishing an "Ode on Solitude," which met with a favourable reception, and was, although now perhaps but little known, much praised by the reviewers of the day. His want of professional success now compelled him to look to his literary talents for that support which his medical practice denied him, and he endeavoured to eke out a scanty livelihood by writing for booksellers; and in this way he was employed by Mr Miller in compiling the second volume of Maitland's history of Scotland, from the materials left by the latter at his death.

In 1758, he published a translation of the "Elegies of Tibullus." This work was severely handled in the critical reviews, where it was allowed none of the merit which in reality it possesses.

Dr Grainger now got involved in a controversy with Smollett, with whom he had formerly been on terms of friendship. The cause of their difference is not now known, but if it bore any proportion to the severity with which Smollett on all occasions treated his quondam friend, it must have been a serious one. He abused Dr Grainger in every possible shape, availed himself of every oppor-

tunity of reviling and humiliating him, and pursued his system of hostility with the most unrelenting bitterness.

Soon after the publication of the "Elegies," Dr Grainger went out as a physician to the island of St Christopher's, where an advantageous settlement had been offered him. On the voyage out he formed an acquaintance, in his professional capacity, with the wife and daughter of Matthew Burt, esq., the governor of St Christopher's; the latter of whom he married soon after his arrival on the island. Having thus formed a connexion with some of the principal families, he there commenced his career with every prospect of success. To his medical avocations he now added those of a planter, and by their united profits soon realized an independency.

On the conclusion of the war, Dr Grainger returned for a short time to England. While there, he published (1764) the result of his West India experience, in a poem entitled the "Sugar Cane." This work was also much praised at the time, and certainly does possess many passages of great beauty; but without arraigning the author's talents, since his subject precluded any thing like sentiment or dignity, it cannot be considered in any other light, than as an ill-judged attempt to elevate things in themselves mean and wholly unadapted for poetry.

In the same year (1764) he also published "An Essay on the more common West India diseases, and the remedies which that country itself produces; to which are added, some hints on the management of negroes." Besides these works, Dr Grainger was the author of an exceedingly pleasing ballad, entitled "Bryan and Pereene." After a short residence in England, he returned to St Christopher's, where he died on the 24th December, 1767, of one of those epidemic fevers so common in the West Indies.

GRANT, Sir Francis, of Cullen, a judge and political writer, was the son of Archibald Grant of Bellinton,[1] in the north of Scotland, a cadet of the family of Grant of Grant, the various branches of which, at that period, joined the same political party, which was supported by the subject of this memoir. He was born about the year 1660, and received the elementary part of his education at one of the universities of Aberdeen. He was destined for the profession of the law; and as at that period there were no regular institutions for the attainment of legal knowledge in Scotland, and the eminent schools of law on the continent furnished admirable instruction in the civil law of Rome, on which the principles of the greater part of the Scottish system are founded,—along with most of the aspirants at the Scottish bar, Mr Grant pursued his professional studies at Leyden, where he had the good fortune to be under the auspices of the illustrious commentator John Voet; an advantage of which he is said to have so far profited, that the great civilian retained and expressed for years afterwards a high opinion of his diligence and attainments, and recommended to his other students the example of his young Scottish pupil. He seems indeed to have borne through his whole life a character remarkable for docility, modesty, and unobtrusive firmness, which procured him the countenance and respect of his seniors, and brought him honours to which he did not apparently aspire. Immediately on his return to Scotland, and in consequence of the exhibition of his qualifications at the trial preparatory to his passing at the bar, we find him attracting the notice of Sir George M'Kenzie, then lord advocate, at the head of the Scottish bar, and in the full enjoyment of his wide-spread reputation; a circumstance creditable to the feelings of both, and which must have

[1] Such is his paternity, as given in Haig and Brunton's History of the College of Justice, on the authority of Milne's genealogical MS. Wodrow, in one of his miscellaneous manuscripts, says, he understood him to be the son of a clergyman.

been peculiarly gratifying to the younger man, from the circumstance of his early displaying a determined opposition to the political measures of the lord advocate. Mr Grant was only twenty-eight years of age, when he took an active part in that memorable convention which sat in the earlier part of the year 1689, to decide on the claims of the prince of Orange; and when older politicians vacillated, and looked to accident for the direction of their future conduct, he boldly adopted his line of politics, and argued strongly, and it would appear not without effect, that the only fit course to pursue, was to bestow on the prince the full right of sovereignty, with those limitations only which a care for the integrity of the constitution might dictate, and without any insidious provisions which might afterwards distract the nation, by a recurrence of the claims of the house of Stuart. His zeal for the cause he had adopted prompted him at that juncture to publish a small controversial work, which he called, "The Loyalist's Reasons for his giving obedience, and swearing allegiance to the present Government, as being obliged thereto, by (it being founded on) the Laws of God, Nature, and Nations, and Civil, by F. G." In the freedom of modern political discussion, the arguments which were produced as reasons for a change of government would appear a little singular; the whole is a point of law tightly argued, as if fitted to meet the eye of a cool and skilful judge, who has nothing to do but to discover its accordance or disagreement with the letter of the law. The ground, however, upon which he has met his adversaries is strictly of their own choosing, and the advocate for a revolution seems to have adhered with all due strictness to relevancy and sound law. He founds his arguments on certain postulates, from which, and the facts of the case, he deduces that king James had forfeited his superiority, by committing a grand feudal delict against his vassals; and the throne being thus vacated, he shows, in several theses, that the prince of Orange had made a conquest of the same, and had relinquished its disposal to the country, and the country having thus the choice of a ruler, ought to bestow the government on the generous conqueror. The whole is wound up by several corollaries, in a strictly syllogistic form. The reasonings are those of an acute lawyer, well interspersed with authorities from the civil and feudal law; and it may easily be presumed, that such reasoning, when applied judiciously and coolly to the subject, had more effect on the restricted intellect of the age, than the eloquence of Dalrymple, or the energy of Hamilton. Indeed the effect of the work in reconciling the feudalized minds of the Scottish gentry to the alteration, is said to have been practical and apparent; and while the author received honours and emoluments from the crown, his prudence and firmness made him respected by the party he had opposed.

The tide of Mr Grant's fortune continued to flow with steadiness from the period of this successful attempt in the political world, and he was constantly in the eye of government as a trustworthy person, whose services might be useful for furthering its measures in those precarious times. With such views, a baronetcy was bestowed on him, unexpectedly and without solicitation, in the year 1705, preparatory to the general discussion of the union of the kingdoms; and after the consummation of that measure, he was raised to the bench, where he took his seat as lord Cullen, in the year 1709. He is said to have added to the numberless controversial pamphlets on the union; and if certain pamphlets called "Essays on removing the National prejudices against a union," to which some one has attached his name, be really from his pen, (which, from the circumstance under which they bear to have been written, is rather doubtful,) they show him to have entered into the subject with a liberality of judgment, and an extent of information seldom exhibited in such controversies, and to have possessed a peculiarly acute foresight of the advantages of an interchange of com-

merce and privileges. Lord Cullen was a warm friend to the church of Scotland, a maintainer of its pristine purity, and of what is more essential than the form, or even the doctrine of any church, the means of preserving its moral influence on the character and habits of the people. "He was," says Wodrow, "very useful for the executing of the laws against immorality." The power of the judicature of a nation over its morality, is a subject to which he seems to have long paid much attention. We find him, in the year 1700, publishing a tract entitled, "A brief account of the Rise, Nature, and Progress of the Societies for the Reformation of manners, &c. in England, with a preface exhorting the use of such Societies in Scotland." This pamphlet embodies an account of the institution and regulation of these societies, by the Rev. Josiah Woodward, which the publisher recommends should be imitated in Scotland. The subject is a delicate and difficult one to a person who looks forward to a strict and impartial administration of the law as a judge, a duty which it is dangerous to combine with that of a discretionary *censor morum;* but, as a private individual, he proposes, as a just and salutary restraint, that such societies should "pretend to no authority or judicatory power, but to consult and endeavour, in subserviency to the magistracy, to promote the execution of the law, by the respective magistrates;" a species of institution often followed by well-meaning men, but which is not without danger. This tract is curious from its having been published for gratis distribution, and as perhaps the earliest practically moral tract which was published for such a purpose in Scotland. The strict religious feeling of the author afterwards displays itself in a pamphlet, called "A short History of the Sabbath, containing some few grounds for its morality, and cases about its observance; with a brief answer to, or anticipation of, several objections against both;" published in 1705. This production aims its attacks at what the author says are improperly termed the innocent recreations of the Sabbath. It has all the qualifications which are necessary to make it be received within the strictest definition of a polemical pamphlet: authorities are gathered together from all quarters of the world; the sacred text is mystically interpreted; and laboured parallels are introduced, in some cases where there is little doubt of the application, in others where common sense would never discover it. Controversial tracts are frequently the most interesting productions of any age: they are the ebullition of the feeling of the time. Called out, generally, by the excitement of a critical state of affairs, and unguarded by the thought and reflection bestowed on a lengthened work, they are, next to speeches accurately reported, the best evidence posterity possesses of the character of a public writer. Those which we have already referred to are anonymous; but we have every reason to believe they have been attributed to the proper quarter; and before we leave the subject, we shall take the liberty of referring to one more tract, which we happened to pick up in the same situation, on a subject which is now deeply occupying the attention of the public, in a position converse to that in which it was presented to the subject of our memoir. The pamphlet is directed against the restoration of church patronage; and it will be remarked that, from the date of its publication, 1703, it appeared several years previously to the passing of the dreaded measure; it is entitled, "Reasons in defence of the standing Laws about the right of Presentation in Patronages, to be offered against an Act (in case it be) presented, for the alteration thereof: by a member of Parliament." The same spirit of acute legal reasoning on rights and property, and the means by which they are affected, to be found in his arguments on the revolution, here, perhaps with better taste, characterize the author; and they are, at all events, merely the conventional colouring of sound and liberal views maintained with discretion and propriety.

Lord Cullen had, as his companions on the bench, Cockburn of Ormiston, M'Kenzie of Royston, Erskine of Dun, and Pringle of Newhall, under the presidency of Sir Hew Dalrymple, son to the celebrated viscount Stair. In the course of seventeen years, during which he filled the responsible station of a judge, and the more than ordinarily responsible situation of a Scottish judge, he is asserted by his friends to have been impartial in the interpretation of the laws, vigilant in their application, and a protector of the poor and persecuted, and, what is more conducive to the credit of the assertion, no enemy has contradicted it. A character of his manner and qualifications is thus given in rather obscure terms by Wodrow:—"His style is dark and intricate, and so were his pleadings at the bar, and his discourses on the bench. One of his fellow senators tells me he was a living library, and the most ready in citation. When the lords wanted any thing in the civil or canon law to be cast up, or acts of parliament, he never failed them, but turned to the place. He seemed a little ambulatory in his judgment as to church government, but was a man of great piety and devotion, wonderfully serious in prayer, and learning the word." It is not improbable, that by the terms "dark and intricate," the historian means, what would now be expressed by, "deep and profound." The confidence which his friends, and the country in general, reposed in his generosity and justice, is said to have been so deeply felt, that on his intimating an intention to dispose of his paternal estate, and vest the proceeds, along with his professional gains in some other investiture, many decayed families offered their shattered estates for his purchase, in the hope that his legal skill, and undeviating equity, might be the means of securing to them some small remnant of the price—which the state of incumbrance to which they had been long subjected, and the improbability of being enabled, by the intricate courses of the feudal law, to adjust the various securities, forbade them to expect by any other measure. On this occasion he purchased the estate of Monymusk, still the property of his descendants, and it is nobly recorded of him, that he used his legal acuteness in classing the various demands against the estate, and compromising with the creditors, so as to be enabled to secure a considerable surplus sum to the vender of an estate, which was burdened to an amount considerably above its value.

Although acute, however, in his management of the business of others, lord Cullen has borne the reputation of having been a most remiss and careless manager of his own affairs; a defect which seems to have been perceived and rectified by his more careful and calculating spouse, who bore on her own shoulders the whole burden of the family matters. It is narrated that this sagacious lady, finding that the ordinary care which most men bestow on their own business was ineffectual in drawing her husband's attention to the proper legal security of his property, was in the habit, in any case where her mind misgave her as to the probable effect of any measure she wished to adopt, of getting the matter represented to him in the form of a "case," on which his opinion was requested as a lawyer.

This excellent and useful man died at Edinburgh on the 23d of March, 1726, of an illness which lasted only two days, but which, from its commencement, was considered mortal, and thus prepared him to meet a speedy death. His friend, Wodrow, stating that the physician had given information of his mortal illness to lord Cullen's brother-in law, Mr Fordyce, thus records the closing scene:—"Mr Fordyce went to him, and signified so much. My lord, after he had told him, smiled, and put forth his hand and took my informer by the hand, and said, brother, you have brought me the best news ever I heard, and signified he was desirous for death, and how welcome a message this was. He had no great pain, and spoke to the edification of all who came to see him,

and that day, and till Wednesday at 12, when he died, was without a cloud, and in full assurance of faith."[1]

Besides the works already mentioned, lord Cullen published "Law, Religion, and Education, considered in three Essays," and "A Key to the Plot, by reflections on the rebellion of 1715." He left behind him three sons and five daughters. His eldest son, Sir Archibald, for some time represented the shire of Aberdeen in parliament. The second, William, was a distinguished ornament of the Scottish bar. He was at one time procurator to the church, and principal clerk to the General Assembly. In 1737, he was appointed solicitor-general, and in 1738, lord advocate, an office which he held during the rebellion of 1745; a period which must have tried the virtue of the occupier of such a situation, but which has left him the credit of having, in the words of lord Woodhouselee, performed his duties, "regulated by a principle of equity, tempering the strictness of the law." He succeeded Grant of Elchies on the the bench in 1754, taking his seat as lord Prestongrange, and afterwards became lord justice clerk. He was one of the commissioners for improving the fisheries and manufactures of Scotland, and afterwards one of the commissioners for the annexed estates. He died at Bath, in 1764.

GREIG, (Sir) Samuel, a distinguished naval officer in the Russian service, was born 30th November, 1735, in the village of Inverkeithing in the county of Fife. Having entered the royal navy at an early period of life, he soon became eminent for his skill in naval affairs, and remarkable for his zeal and attention to the discharge of his duty,—qualities which speedily raised him to the rank of lieutenant, and ultimately opened up to him the brilliant career which he afterwards pursued.

The court of Russia having requested the government of Great Britain to send out some British naval officers of skill to improve the marine of that country, lieutenant Greig had the honour of being selected as one. His superior abilities here also soon attracted the notice of the Russian government, and he was speedily promoted to the rank of captain, the reward of his indefatigable services in improving or rather creating the Russian fleet, which had been previously in the most deplorable state of dilapidation.

On a war some time after breaking out between the Russians and the Turks, captain Greig was sent under the command of count Orlow, with a fleet to the Mediterranean. The Turkish fleet, which they met here, was much superior to the Russian in force, the former consisting of fifteen ships of the line, the latter of no more than ten. After a severe and sanguinary but indecisive battle, the Turkish fleet retired during the night close into the island of Scio, where they were protected by the batteries on land. Notwithstanding the formidable position which the enemy had taken up, the Russian admiral determined to pursue, and if possible destroy them by means of his fire-ships. Captain Greig's well known skill and intrepidity pointed him out as the fittest person in the fleet to conduct this dangerous enterprise, and he was accordingly appointed to the command. At one o'clock in the morning captain Greig bore down upon the enemy with his fire-ships, and although greatly harassed by the cowardice of the crews of these vessels, whom he had to keep at their duty by the terrors of sword and pistol, succeeded in totally destroying the Turkish fleet. Captain Greig, on this occasion assisted by another British officer, a lieutenant Drysdale, who acted under him, set the match to the fire ships with his own hands. This perilous duty performed, he and Drysdale leaped overboard and swam to their own boats, under a tremendous fire from the Turks, and at the imminent hazard besides of being destroyed by the explosion of

[1] Wodrow's Analecta, MS. v. 175.—Ad. Lib.

their own fire-ships. The Russian fleet, following up this success, now attacked the town and batteries on shore, and by nine o'clock in the morning there was scarcely a vestige remaining of either town, fortifications, or fleet. For this important service, captain Greig, who had been appointed commodore on his being placed in command of the fire-ships, was immediately promoted by count Orlow to the rank of admiral, an appointment which was confirmed by an express from the empress of Russia. A peace was soon afterwards concluded between the two powers, but this circumstance did not lessen the importance of admiral Greig's services to the government by which he was employed. He continued indefatigable in his exertions in improving the Russian fleet, remodeling its code of discipline, and by his example infusing a spirit into every department of its economy, which finally made it one of the most formidable marines in Europe.

These important services were fully appreciated by the empress, who rewarded them by promoting Greig to the high rank of admiral of all the Russias, and governor of Cronstadt. Not satisfied with this, she loaded him with honours, bestowing upon him the different orders of the empire, *viz.* St Andrew, St Alexander Newskie, St George, St Vlodomir, and St Anne.

Admiral Greig next distinguished himself against the Swedes, whose fleet he blocked up in port, whilst he himself rode triumphantly in the open seas of the Baltic. Here he was attacked by a violent fever, and having been carried to Revel, died on the 26th of October, 1788, on board of his own ship, the Rotislaw, after a few days' illness, in the 53d year of his age. As soon as the empress heard of his illness, she, in the utmost anxiety about a life so valuable to herself and her empire, instantly sent for her first physician, Dr Rogerson, and ordered him to proceed immediately to Revel and to do every thing in his power for the admiral's recovery. Dr Rogerson obeyed, but all his skill was unavailing.

The ceremonial of the admiral's funeral was conducted with the utmost pomp and magnificence. For some days before it took place the body was exposed in state in the hall of the admiralty, and was afterwards conveyed to the grave on a splendid funeral bier drawn by six horses, covered with black cloth, and attended in public procession by an immense concourse of nobility, clergy, and naval and military officers of all ranks; the whole escorted by large bodies of troops, in different divisions; with tolling of bells and firing of cannon from the ramparts and fleet: every thing in short was calculated to express the sorrow of an empire for the loss of one of its most useful and greatest men.

GREGORY, David, the able commentator on Newton's Principia, and Savilian professor of astronomy at Oxford, was born at Aberdeen on the 24th of June, 1661. His father, Mr David Gregory, brother of the inventor of the reflecting telescope, had been educated as a merchant, and spent a considerable time in Holland; but by the death of his elder brother he became heir to the estate of Kinnairdie, and from a predilection for the mathematics and experimental philosophy, he soon afterwards renounced all commercial employments, devoting himself entirely to the cultivation of science. The peculiarity of Mr Gregory's pursuits, caused him to be noted through the whole country, and he being the first person in Scotland who possessed a barometer, from which he derived an extensive knowledge of the weather, it was universally believed that he held intercourse with the beings of another world. So extensive had this belief been circulated, that a deputation from the presbytery waited on him, and it was only one fortunate circumstance that prevented him from undergoing a formal trial for witchcraft. He had from choice obtained an extensive knowledge of the healing art, his opinion was held in the highest estimation, and as he practised

in all cases without fee, he was of great use in the district where he lived. It was this circumstance alone that prevented the reverend members of the presbytery from calling him to account for his superior intelligence. His son David, the subject of this sketch, studied for a considerable time at Aberdeen, but completed his education at Edinburgh. In 1684, when he was only twenty-three years of age, he made his first appearance as an author, in a Latin work concerning the dimensions of figures, printed in Edinburgh, and entitled, "Exercitationes Geometricæ." The same year in which this work was published, he was called to the mathematical chair in Edinburgh college, which he held with the greatest honour for seven years. Here he delivered some lectures on optics, which formed the substance of a work on that science, of acknowledged excellence. Here also Gregory had first been convinced of the infinite superiority of Newton's philosophy, and was the first who dared openly to teach the doctrines of the Principia, in a public seminary. This circumstance will ever attach honour to the name of Gregory; for let it be remembered, that in those days this was a daring innovation; and Cambridge university, in which Newton had been educated, was the very last in the kingdom to admit the truth of what is now regarded by all as the true system of the world. Whiston, in his Memoirs of his Own Time, bewails this in "the very anguish of his heart," calling those at Oxford and Cambridge poor wretches, when compared with those at the Scottish universities. In the year 1691 Gregory went to London, as there had been circulated a report that Dr Edmond Bernard, Savilian professor at Oxford, was about to resign, which formed a very desirable opening for the young mathematician. On his arrival in London he was kindly received by Newton, who had formed a very high opinion of him, as we learn from a letter written by Sir Isaac to Mr Flamstead, the astronomer royal. Newton had intended to make Flamstead a visit at Greenwich observatory, with a view to introduce Gregory, but was prevented by indisposition, and sent a letter with Gregory by way of introduction. "The bearer hereof is Mr Gregory, mathematical professor at Edinburgh college, Scotland. I intended to have given you a visit along with him, but cannot; you will find him a very ingenious person, a good mathematician, worthy of your acquaintance." Gregory could not fail to be highly gratified by the friendship of two of the greatest men of the age, and most particularly eminent in that department of science, which he cultivated with so much zeal and success. Such a mind as Newton's was not likely to form an opinion of any individual, on a vague conjecture of their ability, and the opinion once established would not be liable to change; accordingly we find that his attachment to the interests of the young mathematician, were only terminated by death. In a letter addressed a considerable time afterwards to the same amiable individual, he writes thus, "But I had rather have them (talking of Flamstead's observations upon Saturn, for five years, which Newton wished from him) for the next twelve or fifteen years—if you and I live not long enough, Mr Gregory and Mr Halley are young men."

Gregory's visit to London was important to his future fame as a mathematician. He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, and afterwards contributed many valuable papers to their transactions. At the head of these must be mentioned that which he delivered on his first introduction to their meetings, a solution of the famous Florentine problem, which had been sent as a challenge to the British mathematicians. Gregory's solution, which is extremely beautiful, will be found in the number of the Philosophical Transactions for January, 1694. On the 8th of February, 1692, David Gregory was made master of arts, of Baliol college, Oxford; and on the eighteenth of the same month he received the degree of doctor of physic. At this time he stood candidate with Dr Halley for the

Savilian professorship of astronomy at Oxford. Gregory had a formidable rival to contend with, as great interest was used for Halley at court, and he had besides rendered himself eminent by his numerous and important discoveries. Gregory in all likelihood would not have obtained this situation, notwithstanding the zealous intercession of Newton and Flamstead, had it not been for a circumstance which is stated by Whiston in his Memoirs of his Own Time, as follows: "Halley being thought of as successor to the mathematical chair at Oxford, bishop Stillingfleet was desired to recommend him at court; but hearing that he was a sceptic and a contemner of religion, the bishop scrupled to be concerned till his chaplain Mr Bentley should tally with him about it; which he did, but Halley was so sincere in his infidelity, that he would not so much as pretend to believe the Christian religion, though he was likely to lose a professorship by it—which he did, and it was given to Dr Gregory." To the honour of science let it be mentioned, that this circumstance, which opposed the interest of these two mathematicians so directly to each other, instead of becoming the cause of these petty jealousies or animosities, which in such cases, so commonly occur, was in the present instance the foundation on which was raised a firm and lasting friendship. Nor is it perhaps too bold to suspect, that the liberality displayed in this instance by these two eminent men, proceeded not so much from themselves as from the science which they cultivated in common. The scruples of Stillingfleet in time lost their efficacy, and Gregory had soon after the pleasure of having Dr Halley as his colleague, he having succeeded Dr Wallis in the Savilian chair of Geometry.

In 1695, he published at Oxford a very valuable work on the reflection and refraction of spherical surfaces. This work is valuable as it contains the first hint for a practical method of improving the refracting telescope and destroying the chromatic defect of these instruments. The difficulty to be avoided in those telescopes which operate by glasses instead of mirrors, lies in procuring a large field of view, and at the same time retaining distinctness of vision. Gregory drew an analogy from the construction of the eye, and by referring to the method by which this was effected in nature, gave the hint that the same principle might be applied in practice. This, perhaps, paved the way for the achromatic glasses, one of the finest triumphs of modern science. A simplicity pervades the whole work truly characteristic of the author's mind. But the work on which the fame of David Gregory must ultimately depend, was published in 1702, entitled "Elements of Physical and Geometrical Astronomy." This work was a sort of digest of Newton's Principia. Great originality was shown in the illustrations, and the arrangement was so adapted as to show the progress the science had made in its various gradations towards perfection; and it was allowed by Newton himself that Gregory's work was an excellent view of his system.

Sir Henry Savile had projected a design of printing a uniform series of the ancient mathematicians; in pursuance of which Gregory published an edition of Euclid, and in conjunction with Dr Halley, he commenced the Conics of Appollonius; but scarcely had he entered upon this interesting undertaking, when death put a period to his existence. He departed this life in 1701, at Maidenhead in Berkshire, where it is believed his body is interred. His wife erected a monument at Oxford to his memory, with a very simple and elegant inscription. Of the talents of Dr Gregory ample testimony is borne by the works which he bequeathed to posterity, and of his worth as a private individual by the respect in which he was held by his contemporaries. Flamstead, Keil, Halley, and above all, Sir Isaac Newton, who held him in the highest estimation. Of Newton's respect for him we shall add one other instance: Sir Isaac had in-

trusted Gregory with a copy of his Principia in manuscript, on which Gregory wrote a commentary; of the benefit of which the great author availed himself in the second edition. Dr John Gregory presented a manuscript copy of this to the university of Edinburgh, in the library of which it is carefully preserved. Of his posthumous works, two deserve particularly to be noticed; one on practical geometry, published by Mr Colin Maclaurin, and a small treatise on the nature and arithmetic of Logarithms, subjoined to Keil's Euclid, which contains a simple and comprehensive view of the subject.

An anecdote is told of David Gregory of Kinnairdie, Dr Gregory's father, which it would not perhaps, be altogether proper to emit. He had, as was remarked at the beginning, a turn for mathematical and mechanical subjects, and during queen Anne's wars had contrived a method to increase the effect of field ordnance. He sent it to the Savilian professor, his son, wishing his opinion, together with Sir I. Newton's. Gregory showed it to Newton, who advised him earnestly to destroy it, as said Newton, "Any invention of that kind, if it even were effectual, would soon become known to the enemy, so that it would only increase the horrors of war." There is every reason to think that the professor followed Newton's advice, as the machine was never afterwards to be found.

It is a more singular circumstance, and indeed without parallel in the scientific history of Scotland, that this old gentleman lived to see three of his sons professors at the same time, *viz.* David, the subject of the preceding sketch; James, who succeeded his brother in the chair of mathematics at Edinburgh; and Charles, professor of mathematics in the university of St Andrews.

GREGORY, James, whose valuable discoveries served so much to accelerate the progress of the mathematical and physical sciences in the seventeenth century, was born in 1638, at Drumoak in Aberdeenshire, where his father, the reverend John Gregory, was minister. Little is known of James Gregory's father, but from some slight notice of him in the Minutes of the General Assembly; and whatever part of the genius of the subject of this memoir was possessed by inheritance seems to have descended from the mother. It is an observation of a distinguished philosopher of the present day, Dr Thomson, that, "he never knew a man of talent whose mother was not a superior woman;" and a more happy instance of the truth of this remark could not be found than that of James Gregory. Mrs Gregory seems to have descended from a family of mathematicians. Her father was Mr David Anderson of Finghaugh, whose brother, Alexander Anderson, was professor of mathematics, (about the beginning of the seventeenth century,) in the university of Paris, and he himself was long noted for his application to mathematical and mechanical subjects. The reverend John Gregory died when the subject of this article was yet in his boyhood, and left the care of the education of James to David, an elder brother, and the surviving parent. The mother having observed the expanding powers of his mind, and their tendency to mathematical reasoning, gave these early indications of his genius all possible encouragement, by instructing him herself in the elements of geometry. Having received the rudiments of his classical education at the grammar school of Aberdeen, he completed the usual course of studies at Marischal college. For a considerable time after leaving the university, James Gregory devoted his attention to the science of optics. The celebrated French philosopher Descartes had published his work on Dioptrics the year before Gregory was born, nor had any advances been made in that science until James Gregory published the result of his labours in a work printed at London in 1663, entitled, "Optics Promoted, or the mysteries of reflected and refracted rays demonstrated by the elements of geometry; to which is added, an appendix, exhibiting a solution of some of the most diffi-

cult problems in astronomy." In this work, which forms an era in the history of the science of that century which its author so eminently adorned, and which was published when he was only twenty-four, there was first given to the world a description of the reflecting telescope, of which Gregory is the indisputable inventor. He proposed to himself no other advantage from using mirrors instead of glasses in the construction of telescopes, than to correct the error arising from the spherical figure of the lenses, and by forming the reflectors of a parabolic figure, to bring the rays of light into a perfect focus, being ignorant of the far greater error arising from the unequal refrangibility of the rays of light, which it was reserved for Newton afterwards to discover. Gregory went to London a year after the publication of his work on optics, with a view to the construction of his telescope, and was introduced to Mr Rieves, an optical instrument maker, by Mr Collins, secretary to the Royal Society. Rieves could not finish the mirrors on the tool so as to preserve the figure, and so unsuccessful was the trial of the new telescope that the inventor was deterred from making any farther attempts towards its improvement, nor were these reflectors ever mounted in a tube. Sir I. Newton objected to this telescope, that the hole in the centre of the large speculum would be the cause of the loss of so much light, and invented one in which this defect was remedied. The Gregorian form is universally preferred to the Newtonian, when the instrument is of moderate size, the former possessing some material advantages; yet the latter was always employed by Dr Herschel, in those large instruments, by which the field of discovery has, of late, been so much extended. Although the inventor of the reflecting telescope has received all the honour which posterity can bestow, yet it is lamentable to think that he never had the satisfaction of seeing an instrument completed in his own lifetime. It is only necessary to remark farther, on this subject, that some papers of great interest passed between Gregory and Sir Isaac Newton, concerning the reflecting telescope, which may be consulted with advantage by those who would wish to investigate the subject. His work on optics contains, besides the discovery of the reflecting telescope, that of the law of refraction. Descartes had made a similar discovery long ere this, but Gregory had not heard of it till his own work was ready for publication—to which circumstance he alludes in his preface. Playfair, in considering this subject, very justly remarks, that "though the optics of Descartes had been published twenty-five years, Gregory had not heard of the discovery of the law of refraction, and had found it out only by his own efforts;—happy in being able, by the fertility of his genius, to supply the defects of an insulated and remote situation."[1] The method in which Gregory investigated the law of refraction is truly remarkable, not only for its singular elegance, but originality, and the series of experiments which he instituted for the purpose of demonstration, affords an indelible proof of the accuracy of his observations. It is truly remarkable, that the calculations by this law differ so little from those obtained by the most accurate experiments. There is yet another discovery of the very highest importance to the science of astronomy, which is falsely and, we would hope, unknowingly attributed to another philosopher, whose manifold brilliant discoveries throw an additional lustre over the country which gave him birth. We allude to the employment of the transits of Mercury and Venus, in the determination of the sun's parallax, the merit of which is always ascribed to Dr Halley, even by that eminent astronomer Laplace. But it is plainly pointed out in the scholium to the 28th proposition of Gregory's work, published many years prior to Halley's supposed discovery. The university of Padua was at

[1] Playfair's Dissertation, in the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica, part 1st, page 25, 6th edition.

this time in high repute for mathematical learning, and Gregory repaired thither from London, about the end of 1667, for the purpose of prosecuting his favourite study. Here he published a Latin work on the areas of the circle and hyperbola, determined by an infinitely converging series; a second edition of which he afterwards published at Venice, with an appendix on the transmutation of curves. Mr Collins, who always showed himself zealous in Gregory's favour, introduced this work to the notice of the Royal Society of London, of which he was secretary. This work received the commendation of that distinguished nobleman lord Brounker, and Dr Wallis, the celebrated inventor of the arithmetic of infinites. Gregory's attention was once more drawn to the squaring of curves, by the method of converging series, on account of receiving an instance of the case of the circle in a letter from his friend Collins, who informed him that Newton had discovered a general method for all curves, mechanical and geometrical. Gregory speedily returned to Collins a method for the same purpose, which he was advised by his brother David to publish. Gregory refused to do this, and that from the most honourable motive: as Newton was the original inventor, he deemed it unfair to publish it, until Sir Isaac should give his method to the public. Soon after, he returned to London, and from his celebrity as a mathematician, he was chosen a fellow of the Royal Society. He read before the society, the account of a dispute in Italy concerning the motion of the earth, which Riciolli and his followers had denied, besides many other valuable communications. Huygens had attacked Gregory's method of quadrature in a journal of that period, to which he replied in the Philosophical Transactions. The dispute was carried on with great warmth by both, and from Gregory's defence it would appear he was a man of warm temperament, but acute and penetrating genius. Of the merits of either, in this dispute, it would be out of place here to enter into detail. Leibnitz, who considered the subject with attention, and whose capacity of discernment in such matters cannot be questioned, is of opinion, that although Huygens did not point out errors in the work of Gregory, yet he obtained some of the results by a much simpler method.

The small work "Exercitationes Geometricæ," published by Gregory at London in 1668, consisted of twenty-six pages, containing however a good deal of important matter. No where do we learn more of the real private character of Gregory than in the preface and appendix to this little work. He speaks in explicit terms of his dispute with Huygens, complains of the injustice done him by that philosopher and some others of his contemporaries; and we are led to conclude from them, that he was a man who, from a consciousness of his own powers, was jealous of either a rival or improver of any invention or discovery with which he was connected. The same year in which he published this last work, he was chosen professor of mathematics in the university of St Andrews. The year following he married Miss Mary Jamieson, daughter of Mr George Jamieson, the painter whom Walpole has designated the Vandyke of Scotland. By his wife he had a son and two daughters. The son, James, was grandfather of Dr Gregory, author of the "Theoreticæ Medicinæ," and professor of the theory of medicine in the university of Edinburgh. James Gregory remained at St Andrews for six years, when he was called to fill the mathematical chair in the university of Edinburgh. During his residence at St Andrews, he wrote a satire on a work of Mr George Sinclair's, formerly professor of natural philosophy in Glasgow, but who had been dismissed on account of some political heresies. Dr Gregory did not live to enjoy the chair in Edinburgh more than one year; for returning home late one evening in October, 1675, after showing some of his students the satellites of Jupiter, he was suddenly struck blind, and three days afterwards expired. Thus, at the early age of thirty-seven, in the vigour

of manhood, was put a melancholy termination to the life of James Gregory. Of the character of this great man little can be said. The following extract from a letter of his to Mr Collins, will show that he possessed a considerable degree of independence and warmness of temper. Talking of some circumstance connected with his dispute with Mr Huygens, he remarks—"but I am not so much a Christian as to help those that hurt me. I know not, neither do I wish to know, who calleth me in that preface *judicious*, [Huygens's animadversions, of November the 10th, 1668,] but I would rather desire that he would particularize (if he ben't an ignorant,) in what my answer, which is contradictory to Huygens's animadversions, is faulty. For in geometrical matters, if any thing be judicious, its contradictory must be nonsense. I don't know what need there was for any apology for inserting my answer, but to compliment Huygens, and violently, if possible, to bear down the truth. I imagine such actions below the meanest member of the Royal Society; however, I may have permission to call to an account in print, the penners of that preface." Yet though spirited, he was not by any means vain, which may be seen from a short extract of another letter to the same individual, who always evinced himself his firm friend. Some hints had been circulated that he was likely to receive a pension from the French government, which Gregory knew well how to interpret, and never expected it. "I have sufficient experience of the uncertainty of things of that nature before this time, which maketh me, since I came to Scotland, however mean and despicable my situation may be, to rest contented and satisfied with this, that I am at home in a settled condition, by which I can live. I have known many learned men far above me on every account, with whom I would not change my condition."

GREGORY, (Dr) John, a distinguished physician of the eighteenth century, was descended from a family of illustrious men, whose names and discoveries will ever form a brilliant page in the history of the literature of Scotland. Many of the members of this family held professorships in the most distinguished universities, both in this and the southern kingdom; and we may turn to the name of Gregory for those who raised Scotland to an equal rank with any other nation in the scientific world. John Gregory was born at Aberdeen, on the 3rd of June, 1724, being the youngest of the three children of James Gregory, professor of medicine in King's college there. This professor of medicine was a son of James Gregory, the celebrated inventor of the reflecting telescope.

When John Gregory was seven years of age, he lost his father, wherefore the charge of his education devolved upon his elder brother, James, who succeeded his father in the professorship. He acquired his knowledge of classical literature at the grammar school of Aberdeen, where he applied himself with much success to the study of the Greek and Latin languages. He completed a course of languages and philosophy, at King's college, Aberdeen, under the immediate care of principal Chalmers, his grandfather by the mother's side. He studied with great success under Mr Thomas Gordon, the professor of philosophy in that college; and, to the honour of both, a friendly correspondence was then commenced, which was maintained till the end of Gregory's life. In noticing those to whom Gregory was indebted for his early education, it would be unpardonable to pass over the name of Dr Reid, his cousin-german; the same whose "Inquiry into the Human Mind" forms so conspicuous a feature in the history of the intellectual philosophy of the eighteenth century;—and here we may remark the existence of that family spirit for mathematical reasoning, which has so long been entailed on the name of Gregory. The essay on quantity, and the chapter on the geometry of visibles, prove this eminently in Dr Reid; and

the success with which Gregory studied under Mr Gordon, can leave no doubt of its existence in him. In 1741, Gregory lost his elder brother George, a young man concerning whom there was entertained the highest expectation; and the year following, John and his mother removed from Aberdeen to Edinburgh. He studied three years at Edinburgh, under Monro, Sinclair, and Rutherford; and on his first coming to Edinburgh, he became a member of the medical society there, which was the cause of an intimacy between him and Mark Akenside, author of "The Pleasures of Imagination."

The university of Leyden was at this time in very high reputation, and Gregory repaired thither, after having studied at Edinburgh for three years. Here he had as his preceptors, three of the most eminent men of the age—Goubius, Royen, and Albinus; he also cultivated the acquaintance of some fellow students who afterwards became eminent in the literary and political world; amongst whom the most eminent were John Wilkes, esq., and the honourable Charles Townshend. While prosecuting his studies at Leyden, John Gregory was honoured with an unsolicited degree of doctor of medicine, from King's college, Aberdeen; and after two years' residence on the continent, he returned to his native country, and was immediately called to fill the chair of philosophy in that seminary where he had first been nurtured, and which, lately, had conferred on him so great a mark of her regard. He lectured for three years at Aberdeen on the mathematics, and moral and natural philosophy; when, in 1749, from a desire to devote himself to the practice of medicine, he resigned, and took a few weeks' tour to the continent, of which the chief object seems to have been amusement. Three years after the resignation of his professorship, Dr Gregory married Miss Elizabeth Forbes, daughter of lord Forbes, a lady of extraordinary wit, beauty, and intellectual endowment.

The field of medical practice in Aberdeen was already almost entirely preoccupied by men of the first eminence in their profession, and the share which fell to Dr Gregory was not sufficient to occupy his active mind. He went to London in 1754, and his fame as a physician and as a literary man being already far extended, he had no difficulty in being introduced to the first society. Here it was that the foundation was first laid of that friendship which existed between him and lord Lyttleton. It was at this period, also, that he became acquainted with lady Wortley Montague and her husband. This lady kept assemblies, or conversaziones, where the first characters of the kingdom resorted. By this lady he was introduced to all the most eminent men in the kingdom for taste or genius; yet he is indebted to her for a favour of a far higher order—the continuance of that friendship she had ever shown towards him, to his posterity. About this period Dr Gregory was chosen fellow of the Royal Society of London, and his practice was daily increasing. Dr James Gregory, professor of medicine in King's college, Aberdeen, to whose care Gregory owed so much, died in 1755, which created a vacancy in that chair. Dr John Gregory was elected in his own absence, and being a situation which suited his inclination he accepted it. There were many circumstances which would render a return to his native country agreeable. He was to be restored to the bosom of the friends of his infancy, he was to be engaged in the duties of a profession in which he felt the highest interest, and to the enjoyment of the society of Reid, Beattie, Campbell, and Gerard. He entered on the duties of his new office in the beginning of 1756.

A literary club met weekly in a tavern in Aberdeen, which was originally projected by Drs Reid and Gregory. It was called the Wise Club, and its members consisted of the professors of both Marischal and King's college, besides the literary and scientific gentlemen about Aberdeen. An essay was read each

night by one of the members, in rotation; afterwards it was discussed, and the person who read the essay, was obliged to digest the remarks of the society, by way of an appendix, and give it in to the secretary, along with the essay, to be retained as the property of the society. Most of the distinguishing features of the philosophical systems of Gregory and his colleagues, who have been already mentioned, were first delivered in this society. Gregory's work on the faculties of man and other animals, was first composed as essays for the Wise Club, but afterwards arranged and published under the patronage of his friend lord Lyttleton—the first instance in which Gregory appeared to the world as an author. This work, which was published in London, 1764, was entitled "A Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man, with those of the animal world." It contains ideas which the author had long before settled in his own mind, and may be viewed as an attempt to arrange them. Whatever opinion may be formed as to the individual importance of these opinions, one thing must be allowed by every attentive reader of the volume under consideration, that at least they are consistent one with another. It may not be out of place here to give a very brief sketch of the system involved in the comparative view, which the author in his preface has done, though rather diffusely. He views the condition of men in three different stages. In the savage state, the animal propensities and bodily functions are improved, with a corresponding neglect of the faculties of the mind. In a state advanced from this, the social affections begin to dawn—war becomes regulated more upon principles of honour; the human virtues and patriotism begin to display themselves, together with courage and generosity. The next state comes on, and we find mankind influenced with a desire to extend the boundaries of their country—trade and commerce become more the objects of attention, which are followed by luxury and a taste for the fine arts. Invention is excited by the wants of luxury, and industry employed to produce them—wealth procures leisure, and leisure induces the cultivation of the understanding, and enlargement of the boundaries of science. There cannot exist a state of society where the several excellencies of all these stages exist, yet although this is not possible in society at large, it is quite possible in individuals. For although no nation can be perfect in every particular excellence, yet one man may have a well formed body, a good heart, and a well cultivated understanding. His observations on the management of children are truly excellent, and urge strongly the necessity of attending to nature more than art in their nurture and education. One passage we cannot but insert, as it expresses forcibly the author's ideas on this subject: "the happiest period of human life, the days of health, cheerfulness, and innocence, on which we always reflect with pleasure, not without some mixture of regret, are spent in the midst of tears, punishment, and slavery; and this is to answer no other end but to make a child a man some years before nature intended he should be so." His observations on religion and scepticism are truly excellent, both in a practical and philosophical point of view; and his remarks on taste and the fine arts show that he was a man of acute perception, and extensive knowledge of the world.

Dr Gregory remained in the chair of medicine in Aberdeen for eight years, when, with a view to the increase of his practice, he removed to Edinburgh, and two years afterwards was appointed successor to Dr Rutherford in the university there, as professor of the practice of physic, and in the same year, 1766, he succeeded Dr Whyt as first physician to his majesty in Scotland. Dr Gregory lectured for three years solely on the practice of physic; but at that time an agreement was entered into by his honoured colleague Dr Cullen, the celebrated author of the system of Nosology which goes by his name—that they should

lecture in turn on the theory and practice of medicine, which was continued for many years. None of Dr Gregory's lectures were ever written, except a few introductory ones on the duties and qualifications of a physician: which probably would not have made its appearance, had it not been the circumstance of one of his students offering a written copy, taken from notes, to a bookseller for sale, which induced Gregory to publish the work, the profits of which he gave to a poor and deserving student. This will always be a standard work among medical men, and will ever remain a lasting monument of the author's profound research, energy of mind, and liberality of opinion. Nothing could so effectually convince us, as the perusal of this work, of the truth of one of his observations—"that the profession of medicine requires a more comprehensive mind than any other." This work was published in 1770, and the same year he published his Elements of the Practice of Physic, a work which was intended as a text book for his pupils, and was excellent as far as it went, but never was completed.

The amiable and accomplished wife of Dr Gregory lived only with him nine years, during which period he enjoyed all the pleasure which domestic happiness could afford. He regretted her death exceedingly; and, as he says himself, he for the amusement of his solitary hours, wrote that inimitable little work "A Father's Legacy to his Daughters." In this work he feelingly states, that while he endeavours to point out to them what they should be, he draws but a very faint and imperfect picture of what their mother was. This admirable little volume, which should be put into the hands of every young woman, is the result of the extensive observation of an acute man, who had seen much of the world, who was keenly alive to all the better feelings of the human heart, and delivered his sentiments with all the warmth and interest of an affectionate parent. He wisely struck a path between the systems of Chesterfield and Rousseau; he neither wished his pupil to be a rude unfinished bar of metal, nor did he wish that the same bar should be superficially laid over with a lacquer of gold, to hide the outward imperfections; but that it should go through a regular process of refinement, and be to appearance what it was in reality.

Gregory inherited from his mother a disease, with which he had from the age of eighteen been frequently attacked. This was the gout, of which his mother died suddenly while sitting at table. The doctor often talked of this to his friends, and one day when talking with Dr James Gregory, his son (author of the Conspectus Theoreticæ Medicinæ), it was observed by the latter, that as he had not an attack these three years past, it was likely the next would be pretty severe. Dr Gregory was not pleased with this remark of his son, but unfortunately the prediction was true. Dr Gregory had gone to bed in his usual health on the ninth of February, 1773, and seems to have died in his sleep, as he was found in the morning without the slightest appearance of discomposure of feature or limb. Dr Beattie laments him pathetically in the concluding stanzas of the minstrel:—

> Art thou, my Gregory, for ever fled,
> And am I left to unavailing woe;
> When fortune's storms assail this weary head
> Where cares long since have shed untimely snow!
> Ah! now for ever whither shall I go?
> No more thy soothing voice my anguish cheers,
> Thy placid eyes with smile no longer glow,
> My hopes to cherish and allay my fears.
> 'Tis meet that I should mourn—flow forth afresh, my tears.

"Dr Gregory was considerably above the middle size," and although he

could not be called handsome, yet he was formed in good proportion. He was slow in his motion, and had a stoop forward. His eye and countenance had a rather dull appearance until they were lighted up by conversation. His conversation was lively and always interesting; and although he had seen much of the world, was never given to that miserable refuge of weak minds—story telling. In his lecturing he struck the golden mean between formal delivery, and the ease of conversation. Before going into the class he read those works on the subject which he considered necessary; and having arranged his knowledge by writing a skeleton of the heads of his lecture, he went and delivered his lecture. He encouraged learning and merit, wherever he found them, and ever showed himself assiduous in promoting the interests of his students or friends. His kindness and philanthropy were equally remarkable in his practice; but his generosity was not known so extensively as it might, had he been possessed of any share of ostentation. He left two sons and two daughters: Dr James Gregory, who was the able successor of his father in the university of Edinburgh, whose late and lamented death produced such a sensation in this part of the kingdom; William Gregory, rector of St Mary's, Bentham; Dorothea, the wife of the Rev. W. Allison of Balliol college; and Margaret, wife of J. Forbes, Esq. of Blackford.

GREY, Alexander, a surgeon in the service of the honourable East India Company, and founder of an hospital for the sick poor of the town and county of Elgin, was the son of deacon Alexander Grey, a respectable and ingenious tradesman of Elgin, who exercised the united crafts of a wheel-wright and watchmaker, and of Janet Sutherland, of whose brother, Dr Sutherland, the following anecdote is related by some of the oldest inhabitants of Elgin. It is said that the king of Prussia, Frederick William I. being desirous to have his family inoculated with small pox, applied in England for a surgeon to repair to Berlin for that purpose. Though this was an honourable, and probably lucrative mission, yet from the severe and arbitrary character of the king, it was regarded by many as a perilous undertaking to the individual, as it was not impossible that he might lose some of his patients. Sutherland, at all hazards, offered his services,—was successful in the treatment of his royal patients, and was handsomely rewarded. On his return to England, his expedition probably brought him more into public notice, for we afterwards find him an M.D. residing and practising as a physician at Bath, until he lost his sight, when he came to Elgin, and lived with the Greys for some years previous to 1775, when he died.

Deacon Grey had a family of three sons and two daughters, and by his own industry and some pecuniary assistance from Dr Sutherland, he was enabled to give them a better education than most others in their station. Alexander, the subject of this memoir, born in 1751, was the youngest of the family. Induced by the advice or success of his uncle, he made choice of the medical profession, and was apprenticed for the usual term of three years to Dr Thomas Stephen, a physician of great respectability in Elgin. He afterwards attended the medical classes in the college of Edinburgh, and having completed his education he obtained the appointment of an assistant surgeoncy on the Bengal establishment. It does not appear that he was distinguished either by his professional skill or literary acquirements, from the greater proportion of his professional brethren in the east. When advanced in life, he married a lady much younger than himself, and this ill-assorted match caused him much vexation, and embittered his few remaining years. They had no children, and as there was no congeniality in their dispositions nor agreement in their habits, they separated some time before Dr Grey's death, which happened in 1808. By economical

habits he amassed a considerable fortune, and it is the manner in which he disposed of it that gives him a claim to be ranked among distinguished Scotsmen.

It is no improbable supposition that, in visiting the indigent patients of the humane physician under whom he commenced his professional studies, his youthful mind was impressed with the neglected and uncomfortable condition of the sick poor of his native town, and that when he found himself a man of wealth without family, the recollection of their situation recurred, and he formed the benevolent resolution of devoting the bulk of his fortune to the endowment of an hospital for their relief. He bequeathed for this purpose, in the first instance, twenty thousand pounds, besides about seven thousand available at the deaths of certain annuitants, and four thousand pounds more, liable to another contingency. From various causes, over which the trustees appointed by the deed of settlement had no control, considerable delay was occasioned in realizing the funds, and the hospital was not opened for the reception of patients until the beginning of 1819. It is an elegant building of two stories, in the Grecian style, after a design by James Gillespie, Esq. architect, and is erected on a rising ground to the west of Elgin. The funds are under the management of the member of parliament for the county, the sheriff depute, and the two clergymen of the established church, *ex officio*, with three life directors named by the founder in the deed of settlement. A physician and surgeon appointed by the trustees at fixed salaries, attend daily in the hospital. For several years there was a prejudice against the institution among the class for whom it was founded, but this gradually wore off, and the public are now fully alive to, and freely avail themselves of the advantages it affords.

Mr Grey did not limit his beneficence to the founding and endowing of the hospital which will transmit his name to future generations; he bequeathed the annual interest of two thousand pounds to "the reputed old maids in the town of Elgin, daughters of respectable but decayed families." This charity is placed under the management of the two clergymen and the physicians of the town of Elgin, and it is suggested that, to be useful, it ought not to extend beyond eight or ten individuals. At the death of Mrs Grey, a farther sum of one thousand pounds will fall into this fund. The annual interest of seven thousand pounds was settled on the widow during her life, and at her death it is directed that four thousand pounds of the principal shall be appropriated to the building of a new church in the town of Elgin, under the inspection of the two clergymen of the town, and that the interest of this sum shall be applied to the use of the hospital until a church shall be required. This is the contingency already referred to; and as a durable and handsome new church, of dimensions sufficient to accommodate the population of the town and parish, was erected by the heritors at an expense exceeding eight thousand pounds only a few years ago, the funds of the hospital, in all probability, will for a long time have the advantage of the interest of this bequest. Grey was kind, and even liberal to his relatives during his life, and to his sister, the only member of his family who survived him, he left a handsome annuity, with legacies to all her family unprovided for at her death. On the whole he seems to have been a warm-hearted and benevolent man; but being disappointed in the happiness which he expected from his matrimonial connexion, his temper was soured, and a considerable degree of peevishness and distrust is evident throughout the whole of his deed of settlement. Whatever were his failings, his memory will be cherished by the thousands of poor for whom he has provided medical succour in the hour of distress; while the public at large cannot fail to remember with respect, a man who displayed so much benevolence and judgment in the disposal of the gifts of fortune.

GUILD, William, an eminent divine, was the son of a wealthy tradesman in Aberdeen, where he was born in the year 1586. He received his education at Marischal college, then recently founded; and, while still very young, and before taking orders, published at London a work entitled "The New Sacrifice of Christian Incense," and another soon after, called "The Only Way to Salvation." His first pastoral charge was over the parish of King Edward, in the presbytery of Tureff and synod of Aberdeen. He here acquired both the affections of his flock, and an extended reputation as a man of learning and address, so that, when king James visited Scotland in 1617, bishop Andrews, who accompanied his majesty as an assistant in his schemes for the establishment of episcopacy, paid great attention to this retired northern clergyman, and took much of his advice regarding the proper method of accomplishing the object in view. Mr Guild acknowledged his sense of the bishop's condescension, by dedicating to him in the following year his excellent work entitled "Moses Unveiled," which points out the figures in the Old Testament allusive to the Messiah. This was a branch of theological literature which Mr Guild had made peculiarly his own province, as he evinced further in the course of a few years, by his work entitled "The Harmony of the Prophets."

In 1610, Mr Guild was married to Catharine Rolland, daughter of Rolland of Disblair, by whom he had no issue. Not long after the royal visit above alluded to, he was appointed one of the king's chaplains. The degree of doctor of divinity was also conferred upon him. From his retirement at King Edward, he sent out various theological works of popular utility, and at the same time solid learning and merit. Of these his "Ignis Fatuus," against the doctrine of Purgatory, "Popish glorying in antiquity turned to their shame," and his "Compend of the Controversies of Religion," are particularly noticed by his biographers. In the mean time he displayed many marks of attachment to his native city, particularly by endowing an hospital for the incorporated trades, which is described by Mr Kennedy, the historian of Aberdeen, as now enjoying a revenue of about £1000, and affording relief to upwards of a hundred individuals annually. In 1631, he was preferred to one of the pulpits of that city, and took his place amongst as learned and able a body of local clergy as could be shown at that time in any part of either South or North Britain. His distinction among the Aberdeen Doctors, as they were called, in the controversy which they maintained against the covenanters, was testified by his being their representative at the general assembly of 1638, when the system of church government to which he and his brethren were attached, was abolished. The views and practice of Dr Guild in this trying crisis, seem to have been alike moderate; and he accordingly appears to have escaped much of that persecution which befell his brethren. He endeavoured to heal the animosities of the two parties, or rather to moderate the ardour of the covenanters, to whom he was conscientiously opposed, by publishing "A Friendly and Faithful Advice to the Nobility, Gentry, and others;" but this, it is to be feared, had little effect. In 1640, notwithstanding his position in regard to the popular cause, he was chosen principal of King's college, and in June, 1641, he preached his last sermon as a clergyman of the city. The king, about this time signified his approbation of Dr Guild's services, by bestowing upon him "a free gift of his house and garden, which had formerly been the residence of the bishop." The reverend principal, in his turn, distributed the whole proceeds of the gift in charity.

Dr Guild continued to act as principal of King's college till he was deposed by Monk in 1651, after which he resided in Aberdeen as a private individual. In his retirement he appears to have written several works—"the Sealed Book Opened," or an explanation of the Apocalypse, and "the Novelty of Popery

Discovered," which was published at Aberdeen in 1656, and "an Explication of the Song of Solomon," which appeared two years after in London. He also exerted himself during this interval in improving the Trades' Hospital, and in other charitable pursuits. Upon these incorporations he bestowed a house on the south side of Castle Street (in Aberdeen,) the yearly rents of which he directed to be applied as bursaries, to such of the sons of members as might be inclined to prosecute an academical course of education in the Marischal college; and of this fund, we are informed by Mr Kennedy, six or or eight young men generally participate every year. As an appropriate conclusion to a life so remarkably distinguished by acts of beneficence, Dr Guild, in his will dated 1657, bequeathed seven thousand merks, to be secured on land, and the yearly profit to be applied to the maintenance of poor orphans. By the same document, he destined his library to the university of St Andrews, excepting one manuscript, supposed to be the original of the memorable letter from the states of Bohemia and Moravia, to the council of Constance in 1415, relative to John Huss and Jerome of Prague: this curious paper he bequeathed to the university of Edinburgh, where it is still faithfully preserved. Dr Guild died in August, 1657, aged about 71 years. A manuscript work which he left was transmitted by his widow to Dr John Owen, to whom it was designed to have been dedicated, and who published it at Oxford in 1659, under the title of "The Throne of David; or an Exposition of Second [Book of] Samuel." Mrs Guild, having no children upon whom to bestow her wealth, dedicated it to the education of young men and other benevolent purposes; and it appears that her foundations lately maintained six students of philosophy, four scholars at the public school, two students of divinity, six poor widows, and six poor men's children.

GUTHRIE, Henry, afterwards bishop of Dunkeld, was born at the manse of Coupar-Angus, of which his father, Mr John Guthrie, a cadet of the family of Guthrie of that ilk, was minister. At an early age he made considerable progress in the acquisition of the Greek and Latin languages, and was soon afterwards transferred to the university of St Andrews, where he continued to study with the same success, and took his degrees in arts. After finishing the philosophical part of his education, he became a student of divinity in the New College at the same place.

The qualifications of Mr Guthrie, added to the great respectability of his family, easily procured for him the appointment of a chaplain, which was then considered as a sure step to promotion in the church. The family of the earl of Marr, with whom he remained in that capacity for several years, treated him with much respect; and on leaving them, he obtained through the earl's recommendation, a presentation to the church of Stirling, to which he was episcopally ordained.[1]

"Being now a minister in the church," says his biographer, Mr Crawfurd, "he was diligent in the pastoral care in all the parts of his function, and was well affected to the government in church and state." Unfortunately for Mr Guthrie, however, the minds of the Scottish people had become impatient under the innovations begun by king James, and obtruded upon them with less caution by his son. But in justice to the moderate episcopalians, it must be mentioned, that they disapproved of the introduction of a liturgy by force.

At length the call for a General Assembly became so urgent, that its "induction" was consented to by the king, and it accordingly took place at Glasgow in 1638. Guthrie, with many of his colleagues, took the covenant required by it, but does not seem to have obtained much credit with his brethren in the ministry; nor was his conduct, viewed in the most favourable light, conciliating.

[1] Account of Guthrie by Crawford, preface to his Memoirs, edit. 1738, pp. 3—5.

Upon the establishment of Episcopacy in Ireland, some of the Scottish inhabitants had determined to emigrate to New England, where liberty of conscience was permitted, but were driven back by storm, and as conformity was rigidly insisted upon, many of them returned to Scotland, where they obtained a favourable reception. The "errors of Brownism," had, in the meantime, crept in among them, but their remarkable piety procured the good will of the people, till they reached our author's parish of Stirling. The laird of Leckie, a gentleman who is said to have suffered much at the hands of the bishops, was at this time much esteemed for his intelligence and seriousness, and many who could not conscientiously acquiesce in the services of the church, had been in the habit of assembling with him for the exercise of private worship. In these meetings, it had been alleged, but whether with truth we are not informed, that he had in prayer used some expressions prejudicial to Mr Guthrie. The holders of such meetings were therefore "delated" before the presbytery, and expelled their bounds, but Guthrie was not willing to dismiss them so easily—he left no means untried to injure their character, and the name of "sectarian" was at this time too powerful a weapon in the hands of a merciless enemy. In the assembly of 1639, he tried to obtain an act against private meetings; but some of the leading clergymen, fearing more injury to the cause of religion from his injudicious zeal than from the meetings he attempted to suppress, prevented the matter from being publicly brought before the assembly. He was still, however, determined to have some stronger weapon in his hand than that of argument—a weapon it need hardly be said the assembly allowed him,—and in order to prepare for a decisive conclusion at the next session, he roused the northern ministers, "putting them in great vehemency," to use Baillie's expression, "against all these things he complained of." Accordingly, in the assembly of 1640, after much debate, an act anent the ordering of family worship, was passed. By this act it was ordained, that not more than the members of one family should join in private devotion—that reading prayers is lawful where no one can express themselves extemporaneously—that no one should be permitted to expound the Scriptures but ministers or expectants approved of by the presbytery—and, lastly, that no innovation should be permitted without the express concurrence of the assembly. But this decision rather widened than appeased their differences, and the subject was again investigated in 1641, when an act against impiety and schism was drawn up by Mr Alexander Henderson.

For several years after this period, little is mentioned by our historians relative to Mr Guthrie. On Sunday the 3d of October, 1641, he had the honour of preaching before his majesty in the abbey church of Edinburgh,[1] but Sir James Balfour does not give us any outline of this sermon—a circumstance the more to be regretted as none of his theological works have come down to us. In his memoirs he mentions having addressed the assembly of 1643, when the English divines presented a letter from the Westminster Assembly, and the declaration of the English parliament, in which we are told they proposed "to extirpate episcopacy root and branch." It is remarkable that principal Baillie, the most minute of all our ecclesiastical historians of that period, and who has left behind him a journal of the proceedings of that very assembly, takes no notice of this speech; but it is evident from what he says elsewhere, that the presbyterians found it necessary to overawe Mr Guthrie. He had, in name of the presbytery of Stirling, written "a most bitter letter" to Mr Robert Douglas, "concerning the commissioners of the General Assembly's declaration against the cross petition; and though it was afterwards recalled, it seems to have been used *in terrorem*, for, to quote the expressive words of Mr Baillie, "Mr Harry

[1] Balfour's Historical Works, vol. iii. p. 89.

Guthrie made no din" in that assembly. The last public appearance he made while minister of Stirling was in 1647, when the king was delivered by the Scots to the English parliament. He was among the number of those who exonerated themselves of any share or approval of that transaction; "and as for the body of the ministry throughout the kingdom," says he, "the far greater part disallowed it; howbeit, loathness to be deprived of their function and livelihood restrained them from giving a testimony."[1]

It has been already stated, that the Scottish clergy do not appear to have placed much confidence in Mr Guthrie; and from his opposition to many of their favourite measures, this is little to be wondered at. In 1647, when the parliament declared for "the engagement," the ministers declaimed against it, as containing no provision for the support of their religion; but Guthrie and some others preached up the lawfulness of the design, and although no notice was taken of this at the time, no sooner was the Scottish army defeated, than they were considered proper subjects of discipline. "Upon November fourteenth, [1648], came to Stirling that commission which the General Assembly had appointed, to depose ministers in the presbyteries of Stirling and Dumblane, for their malignancy, who thrust out Mr Henry Guthrie and Mr John Allan, ministers of the town of Stirling," &c.[2]

From the period of his dismissal from his charge, till after the Restoration, Guthrie lived in retirement. He is mentioned by Lamont of Newton, as "minister of Kilspindie in the Carse of Gowrie;[3] but the Rev. Mr Macgregor Stirling, in his edition of Nimmo's History of Stirlingshire, merely says that he lived there. In 1661, when Mr James Guthrie was executed on account of his writings, Henry Guthrie became entitled by law, and was indeed invited by the town council, to resume his duties at Stirling, but he declined on account of bad health.[4] He was well known to the earl of Lauderdale, and was recommended by him to the diocese of Dumblane, then void by the death of bishop Halyburton. He had during his retirement devoted his attention to the study of church government, and had become convinced, "that a parity in the church could not possibly be maintained, so as to preserve unity and order among them, and that a superior authority must be brought in to settle them in unity and peace." With this conviction, and with a sufficient portion of good health for this appointment, he accepted the diocese, and remained in it till his death, which happened in 1676.

The only work which bishop Guthrie is known to have left behind him, is his "Memoirs, containing an Impartial Relation of the affairs of Scotland, Civil and Ecclesiastical, from the year 1637 to the Death of King Charles I."—written, it is believed, at Kilspindie. The impartiality of his "Relation" is often questionable,—nor could we expect that it should be otherwise, at a period when both civil and ecclesiastical dudgeon ran so high. In point of style it forms a striking contrast to most of the other histories of that time, which, however valuable otherwise, are often tedious and uninteresting.

GUTHRIE, James, one of the most zealous of the protesters, as they were called, during the religious troubles of the 17th century, was the son of the laird of Guthrie, an ancient and highly respectable family. Guthrie was educated at St Andrews, where, having gone through the regular course of classical learning, he commenced teacher of philosophy, and was much esteemed, as well for the equanimity of his temper as for his erudition. His religious principles in the

[1] Memoirs, edit. 1748, p. 239.
[2] Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 299.
[3] Lamont's Diary, edit. 1830, p. 181.
[4] Mr Stirling's Nimmo's Stirlingshire, p. 376, note.

earlier part of his life are said to have been highly prelatical, and, of course, opposite to those which he afterwards adopted, and for which, in the spirit of a martyr, he afterwards died. His conversion from the forms in which he was first bred, is attributed principally to the influence of Mr Samuel Rutherford, minister of Anwoth, himself a zealous and able defender of the Scottish church, with whom he had many opportunities of conversing.

In 1638 Mr Guthrie was appointed minister of Lauder, where he remained for several years, and where he had already become so celebrated as to be appointed one of the several ministers selected by the committee of estates, then sitting in Edinburgh, to wait upon the unfortunate Charles I. at Newcastle, when it was learned that the unhappy monarch had delivered himself up to the Scottish army encamped at Newark.

In 1649, Mr Guthrie was translated from Lauder to Stirling, where he remained until his death. While in this charge he continued to distinguish himself by the zeal and boldness with which he defended the covenant, and opposed the resolutions in favour of the king (Charles II.). He was now considered leader of the protesters, a party opposed to monarchy, and to certain indulgences proposed by the sovereign and sanctioned by the committee of estates, and who were thus contra-distinguished from the resolutioners, which comprehended the greater part of the more moderate of the clergy.

Mr Guthrie had, in the meantime, created himself a powerful enemy in the earl of Middleton, by proposing to the commission of the General Assembly to excommunicate him for his hostility to the church; the proposal was entertained, and Guthrie himself was employed to carry it into execution in a public manner in the church of Stirling. It is related by those who were certainly no friends to Guthrie, regarding this circumstance, that on the morning of the Sabbath on which the sentence of excommunication was to be carried into effect against Middleton, a messenger, a nobleman it is said, arrived at Mr Guthrie's house with a letter from the king, earnestly requesting him to delay the sentence for that Sabbath. The bearer, waiting until he had read the letter, demanded an answer. Guthrie is said to have replied, " you had better come to church and hear sermon, and after that you shall have your answer." The messenger complied; but what was his surprise, when he heard the sentence pronounced in the usual course of things, as if no negotiation regarding it had taken place. On the dismission of the congregation, he is said to have taken horse and departed in the utmost indignation, and without seeking any further interview with Guthrie. It is certain that a letter was delivered to Guthrie, of the tenor and under the circumstances just mentioned, but it was not from the king, but, according to Wodrow, on the authority of his father who had every opportunity of knowing the fact, from a nobleman. Who this nobleman was, however, he does not state, nor does he take it upon him to say, even that it was written by the king's order, or that he was in any way privy to it. However this may be, it is stated further, on the authority just alluded to, that the letter in question was put into Mr Guthrie's hands in the hall of his own house, after he had got his gown on, and was about to proceed to church, the last bell having just ceased ringing; having little time to decide on the contents of the letter, he gave no positive answer to the messenger, nor came under any promise to postpone the sentence of excommunication: with this exception the circumstance took place as already related.

Soon after the Restoration, Mr Guthrie and some others of his brethren, who had assembled at Edinburgh, for the purpose of drawing up what they called a *supplication* to his majesty, and who had already rendered themselves exceedingly obnoxious to the government, were apprehended and lodged in the castle

of Edinburgh; from thence Mr Guthrie was removed to Dundee, and afterwards back again to Edinburgh, where he was finally brought to trial for high treason, on the 20th of February, 1661; and, notwithstanding an able and ingenious defence, was condemned to death, a result in no small degree owing to the dislike which Middleton bore him for his officiousness in the matter of his excommunication, and which that nobleman had not forgotten.

It is said that Guthrie had been long impressed with the belief that he should die by the hands of the executioner, and many singular circumstances which he himself noted from time to time, and pointed out to his friends, strengthened him in this melancholy belief. Amongst these it is related, that when he came to Edinburgh to sign the solemn league and covenant, the first person he met as he entered at the West Port was the public executioner. On this occasion, struck with the singularity of the circumstance, and looking upon it as another intimation of the fate which awaited him, he openly expressed his conviction, that he would one day suffer for the things contained in that document which he had come to subscribe.

Whilst under sentence of death, Guthrie conducted himself with all the heroism of a martyr. Sincere and enthusiastic in the cause which he had espoused, he did not shrink from the last penalty to which his adherence to it could subject him, but, on the contrary, met it with cheerfulness and magnanimity. On the night before his execution he supped with some friends, and conducted himself throughout the repast as if he had been in his own house. He ate heartily, and after supper asked for cheese, a luxury which he had been long forbidden by his physicians; saying jocularly, that he need not now fear gravel, the complaint for which he had been restricted from it. Soon after supper he retired to bed, and slept soundly till four o'clock in the morning, when he raised himself up and prayed fervently. On the night before, he wrote some letters to his friends, and sealed them with his coat of arms, but while the wax was yet soft, he turned the seal round and round so as to mar the impression, and when asked why he did so, replied, that he had now nothing to do with these vanities. A little before coming out of the tolbooth to proceed to execution, his wife embracing him said, "Now, my heart," her usual way of addressing him, "your time is drawing nigh, and I must take my last farewell of you."—"Ay, you must," he answered, "for henceforth I know no man after the flesh." Before being brought out to suffer, a request was made to the authorities by his friends, to allow him to wear his hat on the way to the scaffold, and also that they would not pinion him until he reached the place of execution. Both requests were at first denied; the former absolutely, because, as was alleged, the marquis of Argyle, who had been executed a short while before, had worn his hat, in going to the scaffold, in a manner markedly indicative of defiance and contempt, and which had given much offence. To the latter request, that he might not be pinioned, they gave way so far, on a representation being made that he could not walk without his staff, on account of the rose being in one of his legs, as to allow him so much freedom in his arms as to enable him to make use of that support, but they would not altogether dispense with that fatal preparation. Having ascended the scaffold, he delivered with a calm and serene countenance an impressive address to those around him; justified all for which he was about to suffer, and recommended all who heard him to adhere firmly to the covenant. After hanging for some time, his head was struck off, and placed on the Netherbow Port, where it remained for seven and twenty years, when it was taken down and buried by a Mr Alexander Hamilton at the hazard of his own life. The body, after being beheaded, was carried to the Old Kirk, where it was dressed by a number of ladies who waited its arrival for that purpose; many of whom, be-

sides, dipped their napkins in his blood, that they might preserve them as memorials of so admired a martyr. While these gentlewomen were in the act of discharging this pious duty, a young gentleman suddenly appeared amongst them, and without any explanation, proceeded to pour out a bottle of rich perfume on the dead body. "God bless you, sir, for this labour of love," said one of the ladies, and then without uttering a word, this singular visitor departed. He was, however, afterwards discovered to be a surgeon in Edinburgh named George Stirling. Guthrie was executed on the 1st June, 1661.

GUTHRIE, WILLIAM, the author of the well known work entitled, "The Christian's Great Interest," was born at Pitforthy in Forfarshire, in the year 1620. His father was proprietor of that estate and was a cadet of the family of that ilk. He had five sons, of whom it is remarkable that four devoted themselves to the ministry. Of these William was the eldest.

The rank and estate of Mr Guthrie enabled him to educate his sons liberally for the profession which so many of them had from their early years chosen. William, with whom alone we are at present concerned, made while very young such advances in classical literature, as to give high hopes of future eminence. His academical education was conducted at St Andrew's University under the immediate direction of his relation, Mr James Guthrie, afterwards an heroic martyr in the cause of civil and religious liberty. The records of the university for this period are unfortunately lost, so that the time of his matriculation, or any other information respecting his advancement or proficiency cannot be obtained from that source. We know, however, that after completing the philosophical curriculum he took the degree of master of arts, and then devoted his attention to the study of divinity under Mr Samuel Rutherford. At length he applied to the Presbytery of St Andrew's for licence, and having gone through the usual "tryalls" he obtained it in August, 1642. Soon afterwards he left St Andrew's, carrying with him a letter of recommendation from the professors, in which they expressed a high opinion of his character and talents.

Mr Guthrie was now engaged by the earl of Loudon as tutor to his son lord Mauchlin. In that situation he remained till his ordination as first minister of Fenwick—a parish which had till that time formed part of that of Kilmarnock. Lord Boyd, the superior of the latter, a staunch royalist and a supporter of the association formed at Cumbernauld in favour of the king in 1641,—had also the patronage of Fenwick. This nobleman was most decidedly averse to Mr Guthrie's appointment—from what reasons does not appear, although we may be allowed to conjecture that it arose either from Mr Guthrie's decided principles, or from the steady attachment of the Loudon family to the presbyterian interest. Some of the parishioners, however, had heard him preach a preparation sermon in the church of Galston, became his warmest advocates, and were supported in their solicitations by the influence of the heritors. Mr Guthrie was after some delay ordained minister of the parish on the 7th of November, 1644.

The difficulties which Mr Guthrie had to encounter when he entered upon his charge were neither few nor unimportant. From the former large extent of the parish of Kilmarnock, the nature of the country, and the badness, in many cases the total want, of roads, a large mass of the people must have entirely wanted the benefits of religious instruction. He left no plan untried to improve their condition in that respect. By every means in his power he allured the ignorant or the vicious: to some he even gave bribes to attend the church; others in more remote districts he visited as if incidentally traveling through their country, or even sometimes in the disguise of a sportsman; in such cases says the author of the Scots Worthies, "he gained some to a religious life whom he could have had little influence upon in a minister's dress.

In August, 1645, Mr Guthrie married Agnes, daughter of David Campbell of Skeldon in Ayrshire, but he was soon called to leave his happy home by his appointment as a chaplain to the army. He continued with them till the battle of Dunbar was fought and lost: after it he retired with the troops to Stirling; from thence he went to Edinburgh, where we find him dating his letters about six weeks afterwards. The last remove was viewed by the clergy with considerable jealousy; and their suspicions of an "intended compliance," intimated to him in a letter from Mr Samuel Rutherford, must have been a source of much distress and embarrassment to him. That such was not his intention his subsequent conduct showed, nor was it any part of Cromwell's policy to convert the Scottish clergy by torture or imprisonment. Upon entering the metropolis he intimated that he did not wish to interfere with the religion of the country, and that those ministers who had taken refuge in the castle might resume their functions in their respective parishes.

But while Cromwell determined to leave the clergy and people of Scotland to their own free will in matters of religion, it is lamentable to observe that they split into factions, which were the cause of some violent and unchristian exhibitions. When they divided into the grand parties of resolutioners and remonstrators, or protestors, Mr Guthrie joined the latter: but he displayed little of that animosity which so unfortunately distinguished many of his brethren. He preached with those whose political opinions differed from his own, and earnestly engaged in every measure which might restore the peace of the church. But while we cannot but lament their existence, these dissensions do not seem to have been unfavourable to the growth of religion in the country. On the contrary, both Law and Kirkton inform us that "there was great good done by the preaching of the gospel" during that period, "more than was observed to have been for twenty or thirty years." We have some notices of public disputes which took place during the Protectorate,—particularly of one at Cupar in 1652, between a regimental chaplain and a presbyterian clergyman.[1] It is highly probable that this freedom of debate, and the consequent liberty of professing any religious sentiments may have been one great cause of so remarkable a revival.

From this period to the Restoration, few interesting events present themselves to the reader of Scottish history. We do not find any notice of Mr Guthrie till the year 1661, when all the fabric which the presbyterians had raised during the reign of Charles I. was destroyed at one blow. Of the exaggerated benefits anticipated from the retoration of his son every one who has read our national history is aware. Charles II. was permitted to return to the throne with no farther guarantee for the civil and religious liberties of his people than fine speeches or fair promises. It was not long before our Scottish ancestors discovered their mistake; but the fatal power, which recalls to the mind the ancient fable of the countryman and the serpent, was now fully armed, and was as uncompromising as inhuman in its exercise. In the dark and awful struggle which followed, Mr Guthrie was not an idle spectator. He attended the meeting of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, which was held at the former place in April, 1661, and framed an address to the parliament at once spirited and moderate. Unfortunately, when this address was brought forward for the approbation of the Synod, the members were so much divided that one party declared their determination to dissent in the event of its being presented. In such circumstances it could only prove a disgraceful memorial of their distractions, and many, otherwise approving of its spirit and temper, voted against any further procedure. The "Glasgow Act," by which all ministers who had been ordained

[1] Lamont's Diary, ed. 1830. p. 48.

after 1649, and did not receive collation from their bishop, were banished, soon followed; but it did not affect Mr Guthrie.

Through the good offices of the earl of Glencairn, (to whom Mr Guthrie had some opportunity of doing a favour during his imprisonment before the Restoration,) he had hitherto escaped many of the evils which had visited so large a majority of his brethren. Dr Alexander Burnet, archbishop of Glasgow, now began to act with great severity towards the nonconforming clergy of his diocese. To the intreaty of lord Glencairn and of other noblemen, that he would in the meantime overlook Mr Guthrie, the haughty prelate only replied "That cannot be done,—it shall not: he is a ringleader and a keeper up of schism in my diocese." With much difficulty he prevailed upon the curate of Calder, for the paltry bribe of five pounds, to intimate his suspension. The parishioners of Fenwick had determined to oppose such an intimation even at the risk of rebellion, but were prevailed upon to desist from an attempt which would have drawn undoubted ruin upon themselves. The paltry curate, therefore, proceeded upon his errand with a party of twelve soldiers, and intimated to Mr Guthrie, and afterwards in the parish church, his commission from archbishop Burnet to suspend him. Wodrow mentions that when he wrote his history it was still confidently asserted "that Mr Guthrie, at parting did signify to the curate that he apprehended some evident mark of the Lord's displeasure was abiding him for what he was now doing,"—but that this report rested on very doubtful authority. "Whatever be in this," he continues, "I am well assured the curate never preached more after he left Fenwick. He came to Glasgow, and whether he reached Calder—but four miles beyond it—I know not: but in four days he died in great torment of an iliac passion, and his wife and children died all in a year or thereby. So hazardous a thing is it to meddle with Christ's sent servants."

Mr Guthrie remained in the parish of Fenwick for a year after this time without preaching. In the autumn of 1665, he went to Pitforthy, where his brother's affairs required his presence. He had only been there a few days when a complaint which had preyed upon his constitution for many years, a threatening of stone, returned with great violence, accompanied by internal ulceration. After some days of extreme pain, in the intervals of which he often cheered his friends by his prospects of happiness in a sinless state, he died in the house of his brother-in-law, the Rev. Lewis Skinner, at Brechin on the 10th of October, 1665.

Mr Guthrie would in all probability never have appeared before the world as an author, had it not been requisite in his own defence. In 1656 or 1657, a volume was published, containing imperfect notes of sermons preached by him on the 55th chapter of Isaiah. Although it had a considerable circulation, he was not less displeased with its contents than the pomposity of its title. It was true, indeed, that it was not brought forward as his production, yet Mr Guthrie "was reputed the author through the whole country," and therefore bound to disclaim it in his own vindication. He accordingly revised the notes which he had preserved of these sermons; and from thence wrote his only genuine work "The Christian's Great Interest," now better known by the title of the First Part, "The Trial of a Saving Interest in Christ." Any praise that could here be bestowed upon the work would be superfluous. It has gained for itself the best proof of its merits,—a circulation almost unparalleled among that class of readers for which it was perhaps chiefly intended, the intelligent Scottish peasantry.

John Howie mentions, in his Scots Worthies, that "there were also some discourses of Mr Guthrie's in manuscript," out of which he transcribed seventeen

sermons, published in the year 1779. At the same period there were also a great number of MS. sermons and notes bearing his name. Some of these had apparently been taken from his widow by a party of soldiers who entered her house by violence, and took her son-in-law prisoner in 1682.

It may be necessary here to allude to another work connected with Mr Guthrie's name,—"The heads of some sermons preached at Fenwick in August, 1662, by Mr William Guthrie, upon Matt. xiv. 24, &c. anent the trials of the Lord's people, their support in, and deliverance from them by Jesus Christ," published in 1680, and reprinted in 1714. This work was wholly unauthorized by his representatives, being taken, not from his own MSS. but from imperfect notes or recollections of some of his hearers. His widow published an advertisement disclaiming it, a copy of which is preserved in the Advocates' Library, among the collections of the indefatigable Wodrow.

Memoirs of Mr Guthrie will be found in the Scots Worthies, and at the beginning of the work "The Christian's Great Interest." A later and more complete sketch of his life, interspersed with his letters to Sir William Muir, younger, has been written by the Rev. William Muir, the editor of the interesting genealogical little work, "The History of the House of Rowallan." From the latter, most of the materials for the present notice have been drawn.

GUTHRIE, William, a political, historical, and miscellaneous writer, was born in Forfarshire, in the year 1708. His father was an episcopal minister at Brechin, and a cadet of a family which has for a long time possessed considerable influence in that part of the country. He studied at King's college in Aberdeen, and having taken his degrees, had resolved to retire early from the activity and ambition of the world, to the humble pursuits of a Scottish parochial schoolmaster; from this retreat, however, he seems to have been early driven, by the consequences of some unpropitious affair of the heart, hinted at but not named by his biographers, which seems to have created, from its circumstances, so great a ferment among the respectable connexions of the schoolmaster, that he resolved to try his fortune in the mighty labyrinth of London. Other accounts mingle with this the circumstance of his having been an adherent of the house of Stuart, which is likely enough from his parentage, and of his consequently being disabled from holding any office under the Hanoverian government—a method of making his livelihood which his character informs us he would not have found disagreeable could he have followed it up; at all events, we find him in London, after the year 1730, working hard as a general literary man for his livelihood, and laying himself out as a doer of all work in the profession of letters. Previously to Dr Johnson's connexion with the Gentleman's Magazine, which commenced about the year 1738, Guthrie had been in the habit of collecting and arranging the parliamentary debates for that periodical, or rather of putting such words into the mouths of certain statesmen, as he thought they might or should have made use of, clothing the names of the senators in allegorical terms; a system to which a dread of the power of parliament, and the uncertainty of the privilege of being present at debates, prompted the press at that time to have recourse. When Johnson had been regularly employed as a writer in the magazine, the reports, after receiving such embellishments as Guthrie could bestow on them, were sent to him by Cave, to receive the final touch of oratorical colouring; and sometimes afterwards the labour was performed by Johnson alone, considerably, it may be presumed, to the fame and appreciation of the honourable orators. Guthrie soon after this period had managed to let it be known to government, that he was a person who could write well, and that it might depend on circumstances whether he should use his pen as the medium of attack or of defence. The matter was placed on its proper footing, and

Mr Guthrie received from the Pelham administration a pension of £200 a-year. He was a man who knew better how to maintain his ground than the ministry did, and he managed with his pension to survive its fall. Nearly twenty years afterwards, we find him making laudable efforts for the continuance of his allowance by the then administration:—the following letter addressed to a minister, one of the coolest specimens of literary commerce on record, we cannot avoid quoting.

June 3d, 1762.

"My Lord,—In the year 1745-6, Mr Pelham, then first lord of the treasury, acquainted me, that it was his majesty's pleasure I should receive till better provided for, which never has happened, £200 a-year, to be paid by him and his successors in the treasury. I was satisfied with the august name made use of, and the appointment has been regularly and quarterly paid me ever since. I have been equally punctual in doing the government all the services that fell within my abilities or sphere of life, especially in those critical situations which call for unanimity in the service of the crown. Your lordship will possibly now suspect that I am an author by profession—you are not deceived; and you will be less so, if you believe that I am disposed to serve his majesty under your lordship's future patronage and protection, with greater zeal, if possible, than ever.

I have the honour to be, my lord, &c.,

William Guthrie."

This application, as appears from its date, had been addressed to a member of the Bute administration, and within a year after it was written, the author must have had to undergo the task of renewing his appeal, and changing his political principles. The path he had chosen out was one of danger and difficulty; but we have the satisfaction of knowing, that the reward of his submission to the powers that were, and of his contempt for common political prejudices, was duly continued to the day of his death.

The achievements of Guthrie in the literary world, it is not easy distinctly or satisfactorily to trace. The works which bear his name, would rank him as, perhaps, the most miscellaneous and extensive author in the world, but he is generally believed to have been as regardless of the preservation of his literary fame, as of his political constancy, and to have shielded the productions of authors less known to the world, under the sanction of his name. About the year 1763, he published "a complete History of the English Peerage, from the best authorities, illustrated with elegant copperplates of the arms of the nobility, &c." The noble personages, whose ancestors appeared in this work as the embodied models of all human perfection, were invited to correct and revise the portions in which they felt interested before they were committed to the press; nevertheless the work is full of mistakes, and has all the appearance of having been touched by a hasty though somewhat vigorous hand. Thus, the battle of Dettingen, as connected with the history of the duke of Cumberland, is mentioned as having taken place in June, 1744, while, in the account of the duke of Marlborough, the period retrogrades to 1742—both being exactly the same distance of time from the true era of the battle, which was 1743. Very nearly in the same neighbourhood, George the II. achieves the feat of leaving Hanover on the 16th of June, and reaching Aschaffenberg on the 10th of the same month; in a similar manner the house of peers is found addressing his majesty on the subject of the battle of Culloden on the 29th of August, 1746, just after the prorogation of parliament. To this work Mr Guthrie procured the assistance of Mr Ralph Bigland. Guthrie afterwards wrote a History of England in three large folios; it commences with the Conquest, and terminates, rather earlier than it would appear the author had at first intended, at the end of the Republic. This work has the merit of being

the earliest British history which placed reliance on the fund of authentic information, to be found in the records of parliament. But the genius of Guthrie was not to be chained to the history of the events of one island; at divers times about the years 1764-5, appeared portions of "A General History of the World, from the creation to the present time, by William Guthrie, esq., John Gray, esq., and others, eminent in this branch of literature," in twelve volumes. "No authors," says the Critical Review, "ever pursued an original plan with fewer deviations than the writers of this work. They connect history in such a manner, that Europe seems one republic, though under different heads and constitutions." Guthrie was then a principal writer in that leading periodical, in which his works received much praise, because, to save trouble, and as being best acquainted with the subject, the author of the books took on himself the duties of critic, and was consequently well satisfied with the performance. In 1767, Mr Guthrie published in parts a History of Scotland, in ten volumes, octavo. It commences with "the earliest period," and introduces us to an ample acquaintance with Dornadilla, Durst, Corbred, and the numerous other long-lived monarchs, whose names Father Innes had, some time previously, consigned to the regions of fable. Of several of these persons he presents us with very respectable portraits, which prove their taste in dress, and knowledge of theatrical effect, to have been by no means contemptible. In this work the author adheres with pertinacity to many opinions which prior authors of celebrity considered they had exploded; like Goodall, he seems anxious to take vengeance on those who showed the ancient Scots to have come from Ireland, by proving the Irish to have come from Scotland, and a similar spirit seems to have actuated him in maintaining the *regiam magestatem* of Scotland, to have been the original of the *regiam potestatem* of Glanvil—Nicholson and others having discovered that the Scottish code was borrowed from the English. With all its imperfections, this book constituted the best *complete* history of Scotland published during the last century, and it is not without regret that we are compelled to admit its superiority to any equally lengthy, detailed, and comprehensive history of Scotland which has yet appeared. The views of policy are frequently profound and accurate, and the knowledge of the contemporaneous history of other nations frequently exhibited, shows that attention and consideration might have enabled the author to have produced a standard historical work; towards its general merits Pinkerton has addressed the following growl of qualified praise:—"Guthrie's History of Scotland, is the best of the modern, but it is a mere money-job, hasty and inaccurate." It would be a useless and tedious task to particularize the numerous works of this justly styled "miscellaneous writer." One of the works, however, which bear his name, has received the unqualified approbation of the world. "Guthrie's Historical and Geographical Grammar" is known to every one, from the school-boy to the philosopher, as a useful and well digested manual of information. This work had reached its twenty-first edition before the year 1810; it was translated into French in 1801, by Messieurs Noel and Soules, and the translation was re-edited for the fourth time in a very splendid manner in 1807. The astronomical information was supplied by James Gregory, and rumour bestows on Knox, the bookseller, the reputation of having written the remaining part under the guarantee of a name of literary authority. Besides the works already enumerated, Guthrie translated Quintilian, Cicero De Officiis, and Cicero's Epistles to Atticus—he likewise wrote, "The Friends, a sentimental history," in two volumes, and "Remarks on English Tragedy." This singular individual terminated his laborious life in March, 1770. The following tribute to his varied qualifications is to be found on his tombstone in Mary-le-bone,—"Near this place lies interred the body of William Guthrie, esq., who died,

9th March, 1770, aged sixty-two, representative of the ancient family of Guthrie of Halkerton, in the county of Angus, North Britain: eminent for knowledge in all branches of literature, and of the British constitution, which his many works, historical, geographical, classical, critical, and political, do testify; to whom this monument was erected, by order of his brother, Henry Guthrie, esq., in the year 1777."

Guthrie was one of those individuals who live by making themselves useful to others, and his talents and habits dictated the most profitable occupation for his time to be composition: he seems to have exulted in the self-imposed term of "an author by profession;" and we find him three years before his death complacently styling himself, in a letter to the earl of Buchan, "the oldest author by profession in Britain:" like many who have maintained a purer fame, and filled a higher station, his political principles were guided by emolument, which, in his instance, seems to have assumed the aspect of pecuniary necessity. Had not his engagements with the booksellers prompted him to aim at uniting the various qualities of a Hume, a Robertson, a Johnson, a Camden, and a Cowley, attention to one particular branch of his studies might have made his name illustrious. Johnson considered him a person of sufficient eminence to regret that his life had not been written, and uttered to Boswell the following sententious opinion of his merits:—"Sir, he is a man of parts. He has no regular fund of knowledge, but by reading so long, and writing so long, he no doubt has picked up a good deal." Boswell elsewhere states in a note—"How much poetry he wrote, I know not, but he informed me, that he was the author of the beautiful little piece, 'the Eagle and Robin Red-breast,' in the collection of poems entitled 'The Union,' though it is there said to be written by Archibald Scott, before the year 1600."

H

HACKSTON, David, of Rathillet, is a name of considerable celebrity in the annals of Scotland, from its connexion with the events of 1679-80, and from its pre-eminence in some of the most remarkable transactions of that stormy period. Hackston, though indebted for his celebrity to the zeal and courage which he displayed in the cause of the covenanters, is said to have led an exceedingly irreligious life during his earlier years, from which he was reclaimed by attending some of the field preachings of the period, when he became a sincere and devoted convert. The first remarkable transaction in which he was engaged in connexion with the party with which he had now associated himself, was the murder of archbishop Sharpe. Hackston of Rathillet formed a conspicuous figure in the group of that prelate's assassins, although in reality he had no immediate hand in the murder. He seems, however, even previous to this to have gained a considerable ascendency over his more immediate companions, and to have been already looked up to by his party, as a man whose daring courage and enthusiasm promised to be of essential service to their cause. When the archbishop's carriage came in sight of the conspirators, of whom there were eight besides Hackston, they unanimously chose him their leader, pledging themselves to obey him in every thing in the conduct of the proposed attack on the prelate. This distinction, however, Hackston declined, on the ground that he had a private quarrel with the archbishop, and that, therefore, if he should take an active part in his destruction the world would allege that he had done it to

gratify a personal hatred—a feeling, of which he declared he entertained none whatever towards their intended victim. He further urged scruples of conscience regarding the proposed deed, of the lawfulness of which he said he by no means felt assured, the archbishop, as is well known, having only come accidentally in the way of Hackston and his associates. Hackston having refused the command of the party, another was chosen, and under his directions the murder was perpetrated. Whilst the shocking scene was going forward, Hackston kept altogether aloof, and countenanced it no further than by looking on. He seems, however, to have had little other objection to the commission of the crime, than that he himself should not have an immediate hand in its accomplishment; for when the unfortunate old man, after being compelled to come out of his carriage by the assassins, appealed to him for protection,—saying, "Sir, I know you are a gentleman, you will protect me," he contented himself with replying that *he* would never lay a hand on him. Rathillet was on horseback, from which he did not alight during the whole time of the murder. Next day, the conspirators divided themselves into two parties — three remaining in Fife, and five, with Rathillet, proceeding north in the direction of Dumblane and Perth. Soon after they repaired to the west, and finally joined a body of covenanters at Evandale. Here the latter having drawn up a declaration, or, as they called it, their testimony to the truth; Rathillet with another, Mr Douglas, one of the most intrepid of the covenanting clergymen, was appointed to publish it. For this purpose he proceeded with his colleague to the town of Rutherglen, where, on 29th May, after burning, at the market cross, all those acts of parliament and council which they and their party deemed prejudicial to their interest, they proclaimed the testimony. Hackston's next remarkable appearance was at the battle of Drumclog, where he distinguished himself by his bravery. On the alarm being given that Claverhouse was in sight and approaching, the position of the covenanters, who, though they had met there for divine worship, were all well armed. Hackston and Hall of Haugh-head placed themselves at the head of the footmen, and led them gallantly on against the dragoons of Claverhouse. The result of that encounter is well known. The bravery of the covenanters prevailed. The affair of Drumclog was soon after followed by that of Bothwell Brig, where Rathillet again made himself conspicuous by his intrepidity, being, with his troop of horse, the last of the whole army of the covenanters on the field of battle. He had flown from rank to rank, when he saw the confusion which was arising amongst the covenanters, and alternately threatened and besought the men to keep their ground. Finding all his efforts vain, "My friends," he said, addressing his troop, "we can do no more, we are the last upon the field;" and he now, retreating himself, endeavoured as much as possible to cover the rear of the flying covenanters. Rathillet sought safety in concealment, for, besides what he had to fear from his having carried arms against the government, he had also to apprehend the consequences of a proclamation which had been issued, offering a reward of 10,000 merks for his apprehension, or any of those concerned in the death of the archbishop of St Andrews. For twelve months he contrived to escape, but was at length taken prisoner at Airsmoss, by Bruce of Earlshall. Rathillet, with about sixty other persons, had come to the place just named, to attend a preaching by Richard Cameron, the celebrated founder of the sect called Cameronians, when they were surprised by Bruce with a large body of horse, and after a desperate resistance, during which Hackston was severely wounded, he and several others were taken. Cameron himself was killed in this affair, with nine of his adherents. Hackston gives a very interesting account of this skirmish, and, without the slightest aim at effect, has presented us with as remarkable and striking an in-

stance of the spirit of the times, of the almost romantic bravery and resolution which religious fervour had inspired into the covenanters, as is upon record. It appears from the account alluded to, that the party to which Hackston was attached, had been informed that the military were in search of them, and that, to avoid the latter, they had spent some days and nights, previous to their encountering them, in the moors. On the day on which the skirmish took place, while wandering through the morasses, they came upon a spot of grass, which tempted them to halt. Here they laid themselves down and took some refreshment, but while thus employed, they were startled with the intelligence that their enemies were approaching them, Hackston conjectures, to the number of at least 112 men, well armed and mounted; while the force of the covenanters did not amount to more than sixty-three, of which forty were on foot, and twenty-three on horseback, and the greater part of them but poorly appointed. Unappalled by those odds, Hackston immediately formed his little host in battle array, and, while doing so, asked them if they were all willing to fight. The reply was readily given in the affirmative, and preparations were instantly made for a desperate conflict. In the meantime the dragoons were fast advancing towards them. Hackston, however, did not wait for the attack, but put his little band also in motion, and bravely marched on to meet their enemy. "Our horse," says Hackston, "advanced to their faces, and we fired on each other. I being foremost, after receiving their fire, and finding the horse behind me broken, rode in amongst them, and went out at a side without any wrong or wound. I was pursued by severals, with whom I fought a good space, sometimes they following me and sometimes I following them. At length my horse bogged, and the foremost of theirs, which was David Ramsay, one of my acquaintance, we both being on foot, fought it with small swords without advantage of one another; but at length closing, I was striken down with those on horseback behind me, and received three sore wounds on the head, and so falling, he saved my life, which I submitted to. They searched me and carried me to their rear, and laid me down, where I bled much,—where were brought severals of their men sore wounded. They gave us all testimony of being brave resolute men." Hackston with several others were now, his little party having been defeated, carried prisoners to Douglas, and from thence to Lanark. Here he was brought before Dalyell, who, not being satisfied with his answers, threatened in the brutal manner peculiar to him to *roast* him for his contumacy. Without any regard to the miserable condition in which Hackston was—dreadfully wounded and worn out with fatigue—Dalyell now ordered him to be put in irons, and to be fastened down to the floor of his prison, and would not allow of any medical aid to alleviate his sufferings. On Saturday, two days after the affair of Airsmoss, Rathillet, with other three prisoners, were brought to Edinburgh. On arriving at the city, they were carried round about by the north side of the town, and made to enter at the foot of the Canongate, where they were received by the magistrates. Here the unparalleled cruelties to which Hackston was subjected commenced. Before entering the town he was placed upon a horse with "his face backward, and the other three were bound on a goad of iron, and Mr Cameron's head carried on a halbert before him, and another head in a sack on a lad's back." And thus disposed, the procession moved up the street towards the Parliament Close, where the prisoners were loosed by the hands of the hangman. Rathillet was immediately carried before the council, and examined regarding the murder of archbishop Sharpe, and on several points relative to his religious and political doctrines. Here he conducted himself with the same fortitude which had distinguished him on other perilous occasions, maintaining and defending his opinions, however unpalatable they might be to his judges. After undergoing a

second examination by the council, he was handed over to the court of justiciary, with instructions from the former to the latter, to proceed against him with the utmost severity. On the 29th of July he was brought to trial as an accessary to the murder of the primate, for publishing two seditious papers, and for having carried arms against his sovereign. Rathillet declined the jurisdiction of the court, and refused to plead. This, however, of course, availed him nothing. On the day following he was again brought to the bar, and in obedience to the injunctions of the council, sentenced to suffer a death unsurpassed in cruelty by any upon record, and which had been dictated by the council previous to his trial by the justiciary court, in the certain anticipation of his condemnation. After receiving sentence, the unfortunate man was carried directly from the bar and placed upon a hurdle, on which he was drawn to the place of execution at the cross of Edinburgh. On his ascending the scaffold, where none were permitted to be with him but two magistrates and the executioner, and his attendants, the cruelties to which he had been condemned were begun. His right hand was struck off; but the hangman performing the operation in a tardy and bungling manner, Rathillet, when he came to take off the left hand also, desired him to strike on the joint. This done, he was drawn up to the top of the gallows with a pulley, and allowed to fall again with a sudden and violent jerk. Having been three times subjected to this barbarous proceeding, he was hoisted again to the top of the gibbet, when the executioner with a large knife laid open his breast, before he was yet dead, and pulled out his heart. This he now stuck on the point of a knife, and showed it on all sides to the spectators, crying, "Here is the heart of a traitor." It was then thrown into a fire prepared for the purpose. His body was afterwards quartered. One quarter, together with his hands, were sent to St Andrews, another to Glasgow, a third to Leith, and a fourth to Burntisland; his head being fixed upon the Netherbow. Thus perished Hackston of Rathillet, a man in whose life, and in the manner of whose death, we find at once a remarkable but faithful specimen of the courage and fortitude of the persecuted of the seventeenth century, and of the inhuman and relentless spirit of their persecutors.

HALKET, (Lady) Anne, whose extensive learning and voluminous theological writings, place her in the first rank of female authors, was the daughter of Mr Robert Murray, of the family of Tullibardine, and was born at London, January 4th, 1622. She may be said to have been trained up in habits of scholastic study from her very infancy, her father being preceptor to Charles I., (and afterwards provost of Eton college,) and her mother, who was allied to the noble family of Perth, acting as sub-governess to the duke of Gloucester and the princess Elizabeth. Lady Anne was instructed by her parents in every polite and liberal science; but theology and physic were her favourite subjects; and she became so proficient in the latter, and in the more unfeminine science of surgery, that the most eminent professional men, as well as invalids of the first rank, both in Britain and on the continent, sought her advice. Being, as might have been expected, a staunch royalist, her family and herself suffered with the misfortunes of Charles. She was married on March 2d, 1656, to Sir James Halket, to whom she bore four children, all of whom died young, with the exception of her eldest son Robert. During her pregnancy with the latter, she wrote an admirable tract, "The Mother's Will to the Unborn Child," under the impression of her not surviving her delivery. Her husband died in the year 1670; but she survived till April 22d, 1699, and left no less than twenty-one volumes behind her, chiefly on religious subjects, one of which, her "Meditations," was printed at Edinburgh in 1701. She is said to have been a woman of singular but unaffected piety, and of the sweetest simplicity of manners; and these quali-

ties, together with her great talents and learning, drew upon her the universal esteem and respect of her cotemporaries of all ranks.

HALL, (Sir) James, Bart., was born at Dunglass in east Lothian, on the 17th January, 1761. He was the eldest son of Sir John Hall, who had married his cousin, Magdalen, daughter to Sir Robert Pringle of Stitchell in Berwickshire. The subject of our memoir received a private education until his twelfth year, when he was sent by his father to a public school in the neighbourhood of London, where he had the good fortune to be under the care and superintendence of his uncle, Sir John Pringle, the king's physician. He succeeded to the baronetcy by the death of his father, in July 1776, and much about the same period entered himself in Christ's college, Cambridge, where he remained for some years. He then proceeded with his tutor, the reverend Mr Brand, on a tour on the continent, whence he returned to Edinburgh, when twenty years old, and lived there with his tutor until he became of age, attending, at the same time, some of the classes of the Edinburgh university. In 1782, Sir James Hall made a second tour on the continent of Europe, where he remained for more than three years, gradually acquiring that accurate information in geology, chemistry, and Gothic architecture, which he afterwards made so useful to the world. During this period he visited the courts of Europe, and made himself acquainted with their scientific men. In his rambles he had occasion to meet with the adventurer Ledyard; the interview between them, its cause, and consequence, are, with a sense of gratitude and justice not often witnessed on similar occasions, detailed in the journals and correspondence of that singular man; and the scene is so honourable to the feelings of Sir James Hall, that we cannot avoid quoting it in Ledyard's own words:

"Permit me to relate to you an incident. About a fortnight ago, Sir James Hall, an English gentleman, on his way from Paris to Cherbourg, stopped his coach at our door, and came up to my chamber. I was in bed, at six o'clock in the morning, but having flung on my *robe de chambre*, I met him at the door of the anti-chamber—I was glad to see him, but surprised. He observed, that he had endeavoured to make up his opinion of me with as much exactness as possible, and concluded that no kind of visit whatever would surprise me. I could do no otherwise than remark that his *opinion* surprised me at least, and the conversation took another turn. In walking across the chamber, he laughingly put his hand on a six livre piece, and a louis d'or that lay on my table, and with a half stifled blush, asked me how I was in the money way. Blushes commonly beget blushes, and I blushed partly because he did, and partly on other accounts. 'If fifteen guineas,' said he, interrupting the answer he had demanded, 'will be of any service to you, there they are,' and he put them on the table. 'I am a traveller myself, and though I have some fortune to support my travels, yet I have been so situated as to want money, which you ought not to do—you have my address in London.' He then wished me a good morning and left me. This gentleman was a total stranger to the situation of my finances, and one that I had, by mere accident, met at an ordinary in Paris."[1]

The sum was extremely acceptable to Ledyard, for the consumption of the six livre piece, and the louis d'or would have left him utterly destitute; but he had no more expectation or right to assistance from Sir James Hall, than (to use his own simile) from the khan of Tartary. On his return to Scotland, Sir James Hall married, in 1786, the lady Helen Douglas, second daughter of Dunbar, earl of Selkirk. Living a life of retirement, Sir James commenced his connexion with the Royal Society of Edinburgh, of which he was for some time president,

1 Life and Travels of John Ledyard, from his Journals and Correspondence, 1828, pp. 223, 224.

and enriched its transactions by accounts of experiments on a bold and extensive scale. The results were in many instances so important, that they deserve to be cursorily mentioned in this memoir, which, treating of a scientific man, would be totally void of interest without some reference to them. He was a supporter of the theory of Dr Hutton, who maintained the earth to be the production of heat, and all its geological formations the natural consequences of fusion; and his experiments may be said to be special evidence collected for the support of this cause. Among the minute investigations made by the supporters of both sides of the controversy, it had been discovered by the Neptunians, that in some granites, where quartz and feldspar were united, the respective crystals were found mutually to impress each other—therefore, that they must have been in a state of solution together, and must have congealed simultaneously; but as feldspar fuses with less heat than is required for quartz, the latter, if both were melted by fire, must have returned to its solidity previously to the former, and so the feldspar would have yielded entirely to the impression of the crystals of the quartz. Sir James Hall discovered, that when the two substances were pulverized, and mixed in the proportions in which they usually occur in granite, a heat very little superior to that required to melt the feldspar alone, fused both, the feldspar acting in some respects as a solvent, or flux to the quartz. Making allowance for the defects of art, the result of the experiment, while it could not be used as a positive proof to the theory of the Huttonians, served to defend them from what might have proved a conclusive argument of their opponents. But the other experiments were founded on wider views, and served to illustrate truths more important. The characteristic of the theory of Dr Hutton, distinguishing it from those of others who maintained the formation of the earth by means of fire, was, that perceiving the practical effect of heat on most of the bodies which formed the crust of the earth, to be calcination, or change of state, and not fusion, or change of form, and knowing from the experiments of Dr Black, that, in the case of limestones, the change depended on the separation of the carbonic acid gas from the earth, the theorist concluded, that by a heat beyond what human agency could procure, calcarious earths might be fused, provided the gas were prevented from escaping, by means of strong pressure. Sir James Hall, conceiving it possible that a sufficient heat might be procured, to exemplify the theory on some calcarious bodies, commenced a series of experiments in 1798, which he prosecuted through success and disappointment for seven years. The result of these experiments produced an elaborate paper, read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and published in the Transactions of that body in 1806; they were in number one hundred and fifty-six, some successful, others productive of the disappointment to which accident frequently exposes the zealous chemist,—conducted with considerable danger, great expense, and unvarying patience and labour, and on the whole singularly satisfactory in their results. The plan followed by Sir James was, to procure a tube which might afford a strong resistance to inward pressure, for which purpose he alternately tried iron, and porcelain; one end being closed up, pulverized chalk or other limestone was inserted, and the space betwixt its surface and the mouth of the tube being closely packed with some impervious substance, such as clay baked and pounded, fused metal, &c., the open extremity was hermetically sealed, and the end which contained the substance to be experimented upon, subjected to the action of a furnace. The iron or the porcelain were frequently found insufficient to sustain the pressure; the substance rammed into the tube to prevent the longitudinal escape of the gas had not always the effect, nor could Sir James, even in the most refined of his experiments, prevent a partial though sometimes scarcely perceptible escape of gas; yet the general results showed the truth of

the theory on which he had proceeded to act, with singular applicability;—the first successful experiment procured him from a piece of common chalk, broken to powder, a hard stony mass, which dissolved in muriatic acid with violent effervescence—sometimes the fruit of his labour was covered with crystals visible to the naked eye—proving fusion, and re-formation as a limestone mineral. The results of these experiments, as applicable to the formation of the earth, were reduced to a table, in which, by a presumption that the pressure of water had been the agent of nature, the author considers that 1700 feet of sea, with the assistance of heat, is sufficient for the formation of limestone—that by 3000 feet a complete marble may be formed, &c.;—it may be remarked that a a fragment of marble, manufactured by Sir James Hall in the course of his experiments, so far deceived the workman employed to give it a polish, that, acting under the presumption that the fragment had been dug up in Scotland, he remarked, that if it were but a little whiter, the mine where it was found might be very valuable.

In 1808, Sir James Hall represented the burgh of St Michael's in Cornwall; but after the dissolution of parliament in 1812, he did not again offer himself as a candidate. In 1813, he published his well known "Origin, Principles, and History of Gothic Architecture," in one volume quarto, accompanied with plates and illustrations. It contained an enlargement and correction of the contents of a paper on the same subject, delivered before the Royal Society of Edinburgh in the year 1797. This elegant volume is the most popular and esteemed work on the subject of which it treats, both in the particular theory it espouses, and the interest of its details. The origin and formation of Gothic architecture had given birth to many theories, accounting for it on the imitative principles which guide the formation of all architecture, some ingenious, but none satisfactory. Warburton pointed out the similarity of Gothic aisles, to avenues of growing trees. Milner adopted the theory propounded in Bentham's History of Ely Cathedral, that the pointed arch was formed by the interlacing of two semicircular arches; and Murphy referred the whole formation of Gothic architecture to an imitation of the form of the pyramid. Sir James Hall perceived that no form could be appropriately assumed in Gothic architecture which might not be constructed in wicker-ware; and considered that the earliest stone buildings of this peculiar form were imitations of the natural forms assumed in constructions of boughs and twigs. "It happened," he says, in giving a lively account of the circumstance which hinted such a theory, "that the peasants of the country through which I was travelling were employed in collecting and bringing home the long rods or poles, which they make use of to support their vines, and these were to be seen in every village, standing in bundles, or waving partly loose in carts. It occurred to me that a rustic dwelling might be constructed of such rods, bearing a resemblance to works of Gothic architecture, and from which the peculiar forms of that style might have been derived. This conjecture was at first employed to account for the main parts of the structure, and for its general appearance only; but after a diligent investigation, carried on at intervals, with the assistance of friends, both in the collection of materials, and the solution of difficulties, I have been enabled to reduce even the most intricate forms of this elaborate style to the same simple origin; and to account for every feature belonging to it, from an imitation of wicker work, modified according to the principles just laid down, as applicable to architecture of every sort." Sir James, who was never fond of trusting to the power of theory without practice, erected with twigs and boughs a very beautiful Gothic edifice, from which he drew conclusions strikingly illustrative of his theory. But it must be allowed, that he has carried it in some re-

spects a little beyond the bounds of certainty, and that, however much our tasteful ancestors continued to follow the course which chance had dictated of the imitation of vegetable formations in stone, many forms were imitated, which were never attempted in the wicker edifices of our far distant progenitors. A specimen of this reasoning is to be found in the author's tracing the origin of those graceful spherical angles, which adorn the interior parts of the bends of the mullions in the more ornate windows of Gothic churches, to an imitation of the curled form assumed by the bark when in a state of decay, and ready to drop from the bough. The similitude is fanciful, and may be pronounced to be founded on incorrect data, as the ornament in question cannot be of prior date to that of the second period of Gothic architecture, and was unknown till many ages after the twig edifices were forgotten. The theory forms a check on the extravagancies of modern Gothic imitations, and it were well if those who perpetrate such productions, would follow the advice of Sir James Hall, and correct their work by a comparison with nature. This excellent and useful man,[1] after a lingering illness of three and a half years, died at Edinburgh on the 23d day of June, 1832. Of a family at one time very numerous, he left behind him five children, of whom the second is the distinguished captain Basil Hall.

HALYBURTON, Thomas, an eminent author and divine, and professor of divinity in the university of St Andrews, was born in December, 1674, at Dupplin in the parish of Aberdalgy, near Perth, of which parish his father had been clergyman for many years, but being a "non-conformist," was ejected after the Restoration. Upon his death, in 1682, his widow emigrated to Holland with Thomas, her only son, then eight years old, on account of the persecutions to which those of their persuasion were still exposed in their native country. This event proved fortunate for the subject of this notice, who attained uncommon proficiency in all branches of classical literature. He returned to Scotland in 1687, and after completing the usual curriculum of university education, turned his views to the church, and entered upon the proper course of study for that profession. He was licensed in 1699, and in the following year was appointed minister of the parish of Ceres, in Fifeshire. Here he continued till 1710, distinguished by the piety of his conduct, and the zeal with which he performed the duties of this charge, when his health becoming impaired in consequence of his pastoral exertions, he was appointed, upon the recommendation of the Synod of Fife, to the professor's chair of divinity in St Leonard's college at St Andrews, by patent from queen Anne. About this period, *Deism* had partly begun to come into fashion in Scotland, in imitation of the free-thinking in England and on the continent, where it had been revived in the preceding century. Many writers of great learning and talent had adopted this belief, and lent their pens either directly or indirectly to its propagation, the unhappy consequences of which were beginning to display themselves on the public mind. To counteract their pernicious influence, Mr

[1] The following anecdote of Sir James Hall, which has been related to us by the individual concerned in it, appears to be characteristic of the philosopher. Our friend had become interested in some improvements suggested upon the quadrant by a shoemaker named Gavin White, resident at Aberdour in Fife; and he sent an account of them to Sir James Hall, desiring to have his opinion of them. A few days after, Sir James Hall visited our friend, and, with little preface, addressed him as follows: "Sir, I suppose you thought me a proper person to write to on this subject, because I am president of the Royal Society. I beg to inform you that I am quite ignorant of the quadrant, and therefore unable to estimate the merit of Mr White. I have a son, however, a very clever fellow, now at Loo Choo: if he were here, he would be your man. Good morning, Sir." It occurs to the editor of these volumes, that few philosophers of even greater distinction than Sir James Hall, would have had the candour to confess ignorance upon any subject—although unquestionably to do so is one of the surest marks of superior acquirements and intellect.

Halyburton assiduously applied himself, and on his induction to the professor's chair, delivered an inaugural discourse, taking for his subject a recent publication by the celebrated Dr Pitcairn of Edinburgh, containing an attack on revealed religion under the feigned name of "Epistola Archimedis ad Regem Gelonem albæ Græcæ reperta, anno æræ Christianæ, 1688, A. Pitcarnio, M.D. ut vulgo creditur, auctore." One of the earliest, and perhaps the most powerful, of all the deistical writers that have yet appeared, was Edward lord Herbert of Cherbury in Shropshire, (elder brother of the amiable George Herbert, the well known English poet,) who figured conspicuously in the political world in the time of Charles I., and wrote several works in disproof of the truth or necessity of revealed religion. His most important publication, entitled "De Veritate," was originally printed at Paris in 1624, in consequence, as the author solemnly declares, of the direct sanction of heaven to that effect, but was afterwards republished in London, and obtained very general circulation. Mr Halyburton applied himself zealously to refute the doctrines contained in these works and others of similar tendency from the pens of different other writers, and produced his "Natural Religion Insufficient, and Revealed Necessary to Man's Happiness," a most able and elaborate performance, in which he demonstrates with great clearness and force the defective nature of reason, even in judging of the character of a Deity,—the kind of worship which ought to be accorded him, &c. Dr Leland, in his letters, entitled "View of Deistical Writers," expresses great admiration of this performance, and regrets that the narrowness and illiberality of the writer's opinions on some points operated prejudicially against it in the minds of many persons. Neither this nor any other of Mr Halyburton's works were given to the world during his life, which unfortunately terminated in September, 1712, being then only in his thirty-eighth year. Besides the above work, which was published in 1714, the two others by which he is best known in Scotland are "The Great Concern of Salvation," published in 1721, and "Ten Sermons preached before and after the celebration of the Lord's Supper," published in 1722. A complete edition of his works in one vol. 8vo. has lately been published at Glasgow.

HAMILTON, (Count) Anthony, a pleasing describer of manners, and writer of fiction, was born about the year 1646. Although a native of Ireland, and in after life more connected with France and England than with Scotland, the parentage of this eminent writer warrants us in considering him a proper person to fill a place in a biography of eminent Scotsmen. The father of Anthony Hamilton was a cadet of the ducal house of Hamilton, and his mother was sister to the celebrated duke of Ormond, lord lieutenant of Ireland. The course of politics pursued by the father and his connexions compelled him, on the execution of Charles the first, to take refuge on the continent, and the subject of our memoir, then an infant, accompanied his parents and the royal family in their exile in France. The long residence of the exiles in a country where their cause was respected, produced interchanges of social manners, feelings, and pursuits, unknown to the rival nations since the days of the Crusades, and the young writer obtained by early habit that colloquial knowledge of the language, and familiar acquaintance with the magnificent court of France, which enabled him to draw a finished picture of French life, as it existed in its native purity, and as it became gradually engrafted in English society. At the age of fourteen he returned with the restored monarch to England, but in assuming the station and duties of a British subject, he is said to have felt a reluctance to abandon the levities of a gayer minded people, which were to him native feelings. The return of the court brought with it Englishmen, who had assimilated their manners to those of the French, and Frenchmen, anxious to see the

country which had beheaded its king, and not averse to bestow the polish of their own elegant court on the rough framework of the re-constructed kingdom. Of these polished foreigners, the circumstances under which one celebrated individual visited the British court are too much interwoven with the literary fame of Anthony Hamilton, to be here omitted. The chevalier, afterwards count de Grammont, one of the gayest ornaments of the court of Louis, found it inconvenient to remain in France after having disputed with his master the heart of a favourite mistress. High born, personally courageous, enthusiastic in the acquisition of "glory," handsome, extravagant, an inveterate gambler, a victor in war and in love, *Volage, et même un peu perfide en amour*, the French emigrant to the court of England was a perfect human being, according to the measure of the time and the place. The admired qualities with which he was gifted by nature, were such as control and prudence could not make more agreeable; but the friends of the chevalier seem sometimes to have regretted that the liaisons in which he was frequently engaged were so destructive to the peace of others, and would have prudently suggested the pursuit of intrigues, which might have been less dangerous to his personal safety. The chevalier found in his exile a new field rich in objects that engaged his vagrant affections. Tired of alternate conquest and defeat, he is represented as having finally concentrated his affections on the sister of his celebrated biographer, on whom the brother has bestowed poetical charms, in one of the most exquisite of his living descriptions of female beauty, but who has been less charitably treated in the correspondence of some of her female rivals. The attentions of the chevalier towards Miss Hamilton were of that decided cast which admitted of but one interpretation, and justice to his memory requires the admission, that he seemed to have fixed on her as firm and honourable an affection as so versatile a heart could form. But constancy was not his characteristic virtue. He forgot for an interval his vows and promises, and prepared to return to France without making any particular explanation with the lady or her brother. When he had just left the city, Anthony Hamilton and his brother George found it absolutely necessary to prepare their pistols, and give chase to the faithless lover. Before he had reached Dover, the carriage of the offended brothers had nearly overtaken him. "Chevalier De Grammont," they cried, "have you forgot nothing in London."—"Beg pardon, gentlemen," said the pursued, "I forgot to marry your sister." The marriage was immediately concluded to the satisfaction of both parties, and the inconstant courtier appears to have ever after enjoyed a due share of domestic felicity and tranquillity. The chevalier returned with his wife to his native country, and Hamilton seems to have added to the attraction of early associations a desire to pay frequent visits to a country which contained a sister for whom he seems to have felt much affection. Hamilton and Grammont entertained for each other an esteem which was fostered and preserved by the similarity of their tastes and dispositions. A third person, differing in many respects from both, while he resembled them in his intellect, was the tasteful and unfortunate St Evremond, and many of the most superb wits of the brilliant court of Louis XIV. added the pleasures, though not always the advantages of their talents to the distinguished circle. Wit and intellect, however perverted, always meet the due homage of qualities which cannot be very much abused, and generally exercise themselves for the benefit of mankind; but unfortunately the fashion of the age prompted its best ornaments to seek amusement among the most degraded of the species, who were in a manner elevated by the approach which their superiors strove to make towards them, and these men could descend so far in the scale of humanity as to find pleasure even in the company of the notorious Blood. Anthony

Hamilton was naturally a favourite at the court of St Germains, and maintained a prominent figure in many of the gorgeous entertainments of the epicurean monarch. He is said to have performed a part in the celebrated ballet of the Triumph of Love. Being by birth and education a professed Roman catholic, Charles II., who befriended him as a courtier, dared not, and could not by the laws, bestow on him any ostensible situation as a statesman. His brother James, however, was less scrupulous, and under his short reign Hamilton found himself colonel of a regiment of foot, and governor of Limeric. Having enjoyed the fruits of the monarch's rashness, Hamilton faithfully bore his share of the consequences, and accompanied his exiled prince to St Germains, but he was no lover of solitude, seclusion, and the Jesuits, and took little pains to conceal his sense of the disadvantageous change which the palace had experienced since his previous residence within its walls. The company of the brilliant wits of France sometimes exhilarated his retirement, but the playful count frequently found that in the sombre residence of the exiled monarch, the talents which had astonished and delighted multitudes must be confined to his own solitary person, or discover some other method of displaying themselves to the world; and it is likely that we may date to the loyalty of the author, the production of one of the most interesting pictures of men and manners that was ever penned. All the works of count Anthony Hamilton were prepared during his exile, and it was then that he formed, of the life and character of his brother-in-law, a nucleus round which he span a vivid description of the manners of the day, and of the most distinguished persons of the English court. In the "Memoirs of Grammont," unlike Le Sage, Cervantes, and Fielding, the author paints the vices, follies, and weaknesses of men, not as a spectator, but as an actor, and he may be suspected of having added many kindred adventures of his own to those partly true and partly imagined of his hero. But the elasticity of a vivid and lively imagination, acute in the observation of frailties and follies, is prominent in his graphic descriptions; and no one who reads his cool pictures of vice and sophism can avoid the conviction that the author looked on the whole with the eye of a satirist, and had a mind fitted for better things—while at the same time the spirit of the age had accustomed his mind, in the words of La Harpe, *ne connoître d'autre vice que le ridicule.* The picture of the English court drawn by Hamilton is highly instructive as matter of history—it represents an aspect of society which may never recur, and the characters of many individuals whose talents and adventures are interesting to the student of human nature: nor will the interest of these sketches be diminished, when they are compared with the characters of the same individuals pourtrayed by the graver pencils of Hyde and Burnet. That the picture is fascinating with all its deformity, has been well objected to the narrative of the witty philosopher, but few who read the work in this certainly more proper and becoming age will find much inducement to follow the morals of its heroes; and those who wish a graver history of the times may refer to the Atalantis of Mrs Manley, where if the details are more unvarnished, they are neither so likely to gratify a well regulated taste, nor to leave the morals so slightly affected. The other works written by count Anthony Hamilton in his solitude were Le Belier, Fleur *d'epine*—Les quatre Facurdins et Teneyde. Many persons accused him of extravagance in his Eastern Tales—a proof that his refined wit had not allowed him to indulge sufficiently in real English grotesqueness, when he wished to caricature the French out of a ravenous appetite for the wonders of the Arabian Nights Entertainments. Count Anthony Hamilton died at St Germains in 1720, in his 64th year, and on his death-bed exhibited feelings of religion, which Voltaire and others have taken pains to exhibit as inconsistent with his professions and the

conduct of his life. His works have been highly esteemed in France, and whether from an amalgamation of the feelings of the two nations, or its intrinsic merits, Englishmen have professed to find in one of them the best picture of the habits and feelings of that brilliant and versatile nation. Grammont himself is maintained by St Simon, to have been active in bringing before the world the work in which his own probity is so prominently described, and to have appealed to the chancellor against the decision of Fontenelle, who as censor of the work considered it a very improper attack on so eminent a person as the count de Grammont. The first complete collection of Hamilton's works was published in six vols. 12mo, along with his correspondence, in 1749. A fine impression of Grammont was prepared by Horace Walpole at Strawberry Hill in 1772, in 4to, with notes and portraits—a rare edition, less tastefully republished in 1783. In 1792, Edwards published a quarto edition, with correct notes, numerous portraits, and an English translation, which has been twice republished. Two fine editions of the author's whole works was published at Paris, 1812, four vols. 8vo, and 1813, five vols. 18mo, accompanied with an extract from a translation into French, of Pope's Essay on Criticism, by the count, said still to exist in manuscript.

HAMILTON, Gavin, a distinguished painter, was descended from the ancient family of the Hamiltons of Murdieston, originally of Fife, but latterly of Lanarkshire; and he was born in the town of Lanark. From a very early period of his life, he entertained a strong love for historic painting. It cannot be traced with any degree of certainty under what master he first studied in his native country, as there was no fixed school of painting established in Britain at the time, but being sent to Rome while yet very young, he became a scholar of the celebrated Augustine Mossuchi. On his return to Scotland after many years' absence, his friends wished him to apply himself to portrait-painting, but having imbibed in Italy higher ideas of the art, after a few successful attempts, he abandoned that line and attached himself entirely to historic composition. Few of his portraits are to be found in Britain, and of these two full lengths of the duke and duchess of Hamilton are considered the best. The figure of the duchess with a greyhound leaping upon her is well known by the mezzotinto prints taken from it, to be found in almost every good collector's hands. There is said to be another unfinished portrait of the same duchess by him, in which the then duke of Hamilton thought the likeness so very striking, that he took it from the painter, and would never allow it to be finished, lest the resemblance should be lost. He remained but a few months in his native country, and returned to Rome, where he resided for the principal part of his life. From the advantages of a liberal education, being perfectly familiar with the works of the great masters of Grecian and Roman literature, he displayed a highly classic taste in the choice of his subjects; and the style at which he always and successfully aimed, made him at least equal to his most celebrated contemporaries. The most capital collection of Mr Hamilton's paintings that can be seen in any one place, was, and if we mistake not is at present, in a saloon in the villa Borghese, which was wholly painted by him, and represents in different compartments the story of Paris. These were painted on the ceiling, and other scenes form a series of pictures round the alcove on a smaller scale. This work, though its position be not what an artist would choose as the most advantageous for exhibiting his finest efforts, has long been accounted a performance of very high excellence. The prince Borghese, as if with a view to do honour to Scottish artists, had the adjoining apartment painted by Jacob More, who excelled as much in landscape as Hamilton in historical painting. He had another saloon in the same palace painted by Mengs, the most celebrated German artist, and

these three apartments were conceived to exhibit the finest specimens of modern painting then to be found in Italy.

In his historical pictures, some of which have come to Britain, Mr Hamilton plainly discovers that he studied the chaste models of antiquity with more attention than the living figures around him; which has given his paintings of ancient histories that propriety with regard to costume, which distinguished them at the time from most modern compositions.

One of his greatest works was his Homer, consisting of a series of pictures, representing scenes taken from the Iliad; these have been dispersed into various parts of Europe, and can now only be seen in one continued series in the excellent engravings made of them by Cunego, under the eye of Mr Hamilton himself. Several of these paintings came to Britain, but only three reached Scotland. One of these, the parting of Hector and Andromache, was in the possession of the duke of Hamilton. Another represents the death of Lucretia, in the collection of the earl of Hopetoun, and was deemed by all judges as a capital performance. The third was in the house of a Mrs Scott, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. It represents Achilles dragging the body of Hector round the walls of Troy.—A sublime picture, which if not the *chef d'œuvre* of Mr Hamilton, would alone have been sufficient to have transmitted his name to posterity as one of the greatest artists, was painted for the duke of Bedford, and had been in his possession some time before the unfortunate accident which deprived him of his son the marquis of Tavistock, whose disastrous fate had some resemblance to the story of the picture, being thrown from his horse and dragged to death, his foot having stuck in the stirrup; none of the family could bear to look on the picture, and it was ordered to be put away. General Scott became the purchaser of it at a very moderate price. The figure of Achilles in this picture is painted with surprising characteristic justness, spirit, and fire, and might stand the test of the severest criticism. It was in the grand and terrible Mr Hamilton chiefly excelled. His female characters had more of the dignity of Juno, or the coldness of Diana, than the soft inviting playfulness of the goddess of love.

He published at Rome in 1773 a folio volume, entitled "Schola Picturæ Italiæ," or the "Italian School of Painting," composed of a number of fine engravings by Cunego, making part of the collection of Piraneisi; he there traces the different styles from Leonardi di Vinci, to the Carracci's; all the drawings were made by Mr Hamilton himself, and this admirable collection now forms one of the principal treasures in the first libraries in Europe. All his best pictures were likewise engraved under his own eye by artists of the first ability, so that the world at large has been enabled to form a judgment of the style and merit of his works. In reference to the original pictures from whence the engravings were taken, many contradictory opinions have been expressed; some have considered his figures as wanting in the characteristic purity and correctness of form so strictly observed in the antique—others have said he was no colourist, though that was a point of his art after which he was most solicitous. But setting all contending opinions apart, had Mr Hamilton never painted a picture, the service he otherwise rendered to the fine arts would be sufficient to exalt his name in the eyes of posterity. From being profoundly acquainted with the history of the ancient state of Italy, he was enabled to bring to light many of the long buried treasures of antiquity, and to this noble object he devoted almost the whole of the latter part of his life. He was permitted by the government of the Roman states to open scavos in various places; at Centumcellæ, Velletri, Ostia, and above all at Tivoli, among the ruins of Adrian's villa; and it must be owned, that the success which crowned his researches made ample

amends for the loss which painting may have suffered by the intermission of his practice and example. Many of the first collections in Germany and Russia are enriched by statues, busts, and bas relievos of his discovery.

In the collection of the Museo Clementino, next to the treasures of Belvidere, the contributions of Hamilton were by far the most important. The Apollo, with six of the nine muses, were all of his finding. At the ruins of ancient Gabii (celebrated by Virgil in his sixth book of the Æneid, and by Horace, epistle xi. b. 1.) he was also very fortunate, particularly in the discovery of a Diana, a Germanicus, a Pan, and several rich columns of verd antique, and marmo fiortio. The paintings in fresco, preserved also by his great care and research, are admitted to surpass all others found in Italy.

He visited Scotland several times in the decline of his life, and had serious thoughts of settling altogether in Lanark, where he at one time gave orders for a painting-room to be built for him; but finding the climate unsuitable to his constitution, he abandoned the idea and returned to Rome, where he died, according to Bryan's account in his History of Painting, about 1775 or 1776.

All accounts of this artist agree in stating, that however exalted his genius might be, it was far surpassed by the benevolence and liberality of his character.

HAMILTON, Patrick, one of the first martyrs to the doctrines of the reformed religion, was born about the year 1503. He was nephew to the earl of Arran by his father, and to the duke of Albany by his mother; and was besides related to king James V. of Scotland. And by this illustrious connexion there stands forth another proof of the erroneousness of the commonly received opinion, that the first reformers were generally men of inferior birth. He was early educated for the church, with high views of preferment from his powerful connexions, and in order that he might prosecute his studies undisturbed by any cares for his present subsistence, had the abbacy of Ferme bestowed upon him. While yet but a very young man, he travelled into Germany, with the view of completing those studies which he had begun at home, and to which he had applied himself with great assiduity. Attracted by the fame of the university of Wirtemberg, he repaired thither, and after remaining some time, removed to that of Marpurg, where he was the first who introduced public disputations on theological questions. Here he formed an intimacy with the celebrated reformers Martin Luther and Philip Melancthon, who finding in Hamilton an apt scholar, and one already celebrated for superior talent, soon and successfully instructed him in the new views of religion which they themselves entertained. His rapid progress in these studies delighted his instructors, and not only they themselves but all who were of their way of thinking, soon perceived that in their young pupil they had found one who would make a distinguished figure in propagating the new faith; and accordingly he became an object of great and peculiar interest to all the disciples of Luther and Melancthon, who waited with much anxiety to see what part the youthful reformer would take in the hazardous and mighty enterprise of at once overthrowing the church of Rome and establishing that of the true religion; a task which not only required talents of the highest order to combat the learned men who were of the opposite faith, but also the most determined courage to face the dangers which were certain to accompany their hostility. In the meantime, Hamilton had come to the resolution of beginning his perilous career in his native country, and with this view returned to Scotland, being yet little more than twenty-three years of age. The gallant young soldier of the true church had no sooner arrived, than, although he knew it was at the hazard of his life, for Huss and Jerome in Germany, and Resby and Craw in Scotland, had already perished by the flames for holding tenets opposed to those of Rome—he began publicly to

expose the corruptions of the Romish church, and to point out the errors which had crept into its religion as professed in Scotland. Hamilton's gentle demeanour and powerful eloquence soon procured him many followers, and these were every day increasing in number. The Romish ecclesiastics became alarmed at this progress of heresy, and determined to put an immediate stop to it. Not choosing, however, at first to proceed openly against him, Beaton, then archbishop of St Andrews, under pretence of desiring a friendly conference with him on religious matters, invited him to that city, then the head-quarters of the Romish church in Scotland. Deceived by the terms of the invitation, Hamilton repaired to St Andrews. All that Beaton desired was now attained; the young reformer was within his grasp. One Campbell, a prior of the black friars, was employed to confer with him, and to ascertain what his doctrines really were. This duty Campbell performed by means of the most profound treachery. He affected to be persuaded by Hamilton's reasoning, acknowledged that his objections against the Romish religion were well founded, and, in short, seemed a convert to the doctrines of his unsuspecting victim; and thus obtained from him acknowledgments of opinions which brought him immediately under the power of the church. Campbell having from time to time reported the conversations which took place, Hamilton was at length apprehended in the middle of the night, and thrown into prison. On the day after, he was brought before the archbishop and his convention, charged with entertaining sundry heretical opinions, Campbell being his accuser, and as a matter of course being found guilty, was sentenced to be deprived of all dignities, honours, orders, offices, and benefices in the church; and furthermore, to be delivered over to the secular arm for corporeal punishment, a result which soon followed. On the afternoon of the same day he was hurried to the stake, lest the king should interfere in his behalf. A quantity of timber, coals, and other combustibles having been collected into a pile in the area before the gate of St Salvator's college, the young martyr was bound to a stake in the middle of it. A train of powder had been laid to kindle the fire, but the effect of its explosion was only to add to the victim's sufferings, for it failed to ignite the pile, but scorched his face and hands severely. In this dreadful situation he remained, praying fervently the while, and maintaining his faith with unshaken fortitude, until more powder was brought from the castle. The fire was now kindled, and the intrepid sufferer perished, recommending his soul to his God, and calling upon him to dispel the darkness which overshadowed the land.

The infamous and most active agent in his destruction, Campbell, was soon after Hamilton's death, seized with a remorse of conscience for the part he had acted in bringing about that tragedy, which drove him to distraction, and he died a year after, under the most dreadful apprehensions of eternal wrath.

HAMILTON, Robert, LL.D., a mathematician and political economist, was born in June, 1743. He was the eighth son of Gavin Hamilton,[1] a bookseller and publisher in Edinburgh, whose father was at one time professor of divinity in, and afterwards principal of, the university of Edinburgh. In the life of a retired and unobtrusive student, who has hardly ever left his books to engage even in the little warfares of literary controversy, there is seldom much to attract the attention of the ordinary reader: but when perusing the annals of one of the most feverish periods of the history of the world, posterity may show a wish to know something about the man who discovered the fallacy of the cele-

[1] Gavin Hamilton, executed an ingenious and accurate model of Edinburgh, which cost him some years' labour, and was exhibited in a room in the Royal Infirmary in 1753 and 1754; after his death it was neglected and broken up for firewood. It represented a scheme for an access to the High Street, by a sloping road from the West Church; precisely the idea now acted upon in what are called the Improvements of Edinburgh.

brated sinking fund, and checked a nation in the career of extravagance, by displaying to it, in characters not to be mistaken, the unpalliated truth of its situation. Holding this in mind, we will be excused for giving to the world some minutiæ of this remarkable man, whom neither the events of his life in general, nor his connexion with the literary history of the age, would have rendered an object of much biographical interest. Like many men who have signalized themselves for the originality or abstractness of their views, Hamilton in his early years suffered much from constitutional debility, an affliction from which his many after years were signally exempt, till his last illness, his only complaint being a frequent recurrence of lumbago, which gave him a characteristic stoop in walking. He is described as having shown, in the progress of his education, an appetite for almost every description of knowledge, and to have added to the species of information for which he has been celebrated, a minute acquaintance with classical and general philosophical subjects: a respected friend, long belonging to the circle of Hamilton's literary acquaintance, has described his mind as having less quickness in sudden apprehension of his subject, than power in grappling with all its bearings, and comprehending it thoroughly after it had been sometime submitted to his comprehension; it was exactly of that steady, strong, and trust-worthy order, on which teachers of sense and zeal love to bestow their labour. He was, in consequence, a general favourite with his instructors, and more especially with the celebrated Matthew Stewart, professor of mathematics in Edinburgh, who looked on the progress and prospects of his future scholar with pride and friendly satisfaction. The partiality of Mr Hamilton for a literary life he was compelled to yield to circumstances, which rendered it expedient that he should spend some time in the banking establishment of Messrs William Hogg & Son, as a preparatory introduction to a commercial or banking profession; a method of spending his time, less to be regretted than it might have been in the case of most other literary men, as, if it did not give him the first introduction to the species of speculation in which he afterwards indulged, it must have early provided him with that practical information on the general money system of the country, which his works so strikingly exhibit. Soon after this, Mr Hamilton began to form the literary acquaintance of young men of his own standing and pursuits, some of whom gathered themselves into that knot of confidential literary communication, which afterwards expanded into a nursery of orators, statesmen, and philosophers, of the highest grade, now well known by the name of the Speculative Society. The manner in which the young political economist became acquainted with lord Kaimes, has something in it of the simplicity of that literary free masonry, which generally forms a chain of friendly intercourse between the celebrated men of any particular period, and those who are just rising to replace them in the regard and admiration of the world. His lordship's attention having been attracted by the views on one of his own works, expressed in a criticism which had been anonymously supplied by Mr Hamilton, to one of the periodicals of the day—he conveyed through the same paper a wish that the author of the critique, if already known, might become better known to him, and if a stranger, would communicate to him the pleasure of his acquaintance. The diffident critic was with difficulty prevailed on to accept the flattering offer; the elegant judge expressed considerable surprise at the youth of the writer, when compared with the justness and profundity of his views, and communicated to him by a general invitation to his house, the advantages of an intercourse with his refined and gifted circle of visitors. In 1766, Mr Hamilton, then only twenty-three years of age, was prevailed on by his friends to offer himself as a candidate for the mathematical chair of Marischal college in Aberdeen, then va-

cant by the death of Mr Stewart, and though unsuccessful, the appointment being in favour of Mr Trail, he left behind him a very high sense of his abilities in the minds of the judges of the competition, one of whom, in a letter to Dr Gregory, states, that "he discovered a remarkable genius for mathematics, and a justness of apprehension and perspicuity, that is rarely to be met with."—"He is," continues the same individual, "an excellent demonstrator; always planned out his demonstration with judgment, and apprized his audience where the stress lay, so that he brought it to a conclusion in a most perspicuous manner, and in such a way that no person of common understanding could miss it." After this unsuccessful attempt to acquire a situation more congenial to his pursuits, Mr Hamilton became a partner in the conducting of a paper mill, which had been established by his father—a concern which, in 1769, he relinquished to the care of a manager, on his appointment to the rectorship of the academy at Perth. In 1771 he married Miss Anne Mitchell of Ladath, whom he had the misfortune of losing seven years afterwards. In 1779, the chair of natural philosophy in Marischal college, in the gift of the crown, was presented to Dr Hamilton. From this chair Dr Copland,—a gentleman whose high scientific knowledge and private worth rendered him, to all who had the means of knowing his attainments, (of which he has unfortunately left behind him no specimen,) as highly respected for his knowledge of natural philosophy and history, as his colleague was for that of the studies he more particularly followed,—had been removed to the mathematical chair in the same university. The natural inclination and studies of each, led him to prefer the situation of the other to his own, and after teaching the natural philosophy class for one year, Dr Hamilton effected an exchange with his colleague, satisfactory to both. He was not, however, formally presented to the mathematical chair till several years afterwards. A short time previously to the period of his life we are now discussing, Dr Hamilton had commenced the series of useful works which have so deservedly raised his name. In 1777, appeared the practical work, so well known by the name of "Hamilton's Merchandise;"—he published in 1790, a short essay on Peace and War, full of those benevolent doctrines, which even a civilized age so seldom opposes to the progress of licensed destruction. In 1796, Dr Hamilton published his Arithmetic, a work which has been frequently reprinted,—and in 1800, another work of a similar elementary description, called "Heads of a Course of Mathematics," intended for the use of his own students: but the great work so generally attached to his name, did not appear till he had passed his seventieth year. The "Inquiry concerning the Rise and Progress, the Redemption and Present State of the National Debt of Great Britain," was published at Edinburgh in 1813—it created in every quarter, except that which might have best profited by the warning voice, a sudden consciousness of the folly of the system under which the national income was in many respects conducted, but it was not till his discoveries had made their silent progress through the medium of public opinion, that they began gradually to affect the measures of the government. The principal part of this inquiry, is devoted to the consideration of the measures which have at different periods been adopted for attempting the reduction of the national debt. The earliest attempt at a sinking fund was made in the year 1716, under the auspices of Sir Robert Walpole, a measure of which that acute minister may not improbably have seen the inutility, as in the year 1733, he applied five millions of the then sinking fund to the public exigencies; the principal always nominally existed, although it was not maintained with constant regularity and zeal, until the year 1786, when the celebrated sinking fund of Mr Pitt was formed, by the disposal of part of the income of the nation to commissioners for the redemption of the debt, a mea-

sure which was modified in 1792, by the assignment of one per cent annually, on the nominal capital of each loan contracted during the war, as a sinking fund appropriated for the redemption of the particular loan to which it was attached. It underwent several other modifications, particularly in 1802 and 1807. The great prophet and propounder of this system, the celebrated Dr Price, unfolded his views on the subject, in his treatise "Of Reversionary Annuities," published in 1771. It is a general opinion, that an application to studies strictly numerical, will abstract the mind from the prejudice and enthusiasm of theory. Dr Price has proved the fallacy of such a principle, by supporting his tables of calculations, with all the virulence and impatience of a vindicator of the authenticity of Ossian's Poems, or of the honour of queen Mary. Dr Price has given us a glowing example of his theory, the often repeated instance of the state of a penny set aside and allowed to accumulate from the time of Christ:—if allowed to remain at compound interest, it will accumulate to, we forget exactly how many million globes of gold, each the size of our own earth—if it accumulate at simple interest, the golden vision shrinks to the compass of a few shillings—and if not put out at interest at all, it will continue throughout all ages the pitiful penny it was at the commencement. The application of the principle to an easy and cheap method of liquidating the national debt, was so obvious to Dr Price, that he treated the comparative coldness with which his advice was received, as a man who considered that his neighbours are deficient in comprehending the first rules of arithmetic; and it certainly is a singular instance of the indolence of the national mind, and the readiness with which government grasped at any illusive theory, which showed a healing alternative to the extravagance of its measures, that no one appeared to propose the converse of the simile, and to remind the visionary financier, that in applying it to national borrowing, the borrower, by allowing one of the pennies he has borrowed to accumulate in his favour at compound interest, is in just the same situation as if he had deducted the penny from the sum he borrowed, and thus prevented the penny and its compound interest from accumulating against him. The practical results of Dr Price's theories were, the proposal of a plan, by which a nation might borrow at simple interest, and accumulate at compound interest a fund for its repayment: boldly pushing his theory to its extremities, and maintaining that it is better to borrow at high than at low interest, because the debt will be more speedily repaid; and as a corollary, that a sinking fund during war is more efficient than at any other time, and that to terminate it *then*, is "the madness of giving it a mortal blow." The supposition maintained by Dr Hamilton, in opposition to these golden visions of eternal borrowing for the purpose of increasing national riches, did not require the aid of much rhetoric for its support—it is, that if a person borrows money, and assigns a part of it to accumulate at compound interest for the repayment of the whole, he is just in the same situation as if he had deducted that part from his loan—and hence the general scope of his argument goes to prove the utter uselessness of a borrowed sinking fund, and the fallacy of continuing its operation during war, or when the expenditure of the nation overbalances the income. The absurdity of setting aside a portion of the sum borrowed for this purpose, (and generally borrowed at more disadvantageous terms as the loan is to any degree increased,) was partially prevented by a suggestion of Mr Fox; but the sinking fund was strictly a borrowed one, in as far as money was laid aside for it, while the nation was obliged to borrow for the support of its expenditure. The evil of the system is found by Dr Hamilton to consist, not only in the fallacy it imposes on the public, but in its positive loss of resources. The loans are raised at a rate more disadvantageous to the borrower than that at which the creditor afterwards

receives payment of them, and the management of the system is expensive; if a man who is in debt borrows merely for the purpose of paying his debt, and transacts the business himself, he merely exposes himself to more trouble than he would have encountered by continuing debtor to his former creditor; if he employ an agent to transact the business. he is a loser by the amount of fees paid to that agent. These truths Dr Hamilton is not content with proving argumentatively—he has coupled them with a minute history of the various financial proceedings of the country, and tables of practical calculation, giving, on the one hand, historical information; and, on the other, showing the exact sums which the government has at different periods misapplied. Along with Mr Pitt's system of finance, he has given an account of that of lord Henry Petty, established in 1807; a complicated scheme, the operation of which seems not to have been perceived by its inventor, and which, had it continued for any length of time, might have produced effects more ruinous than those of any system which has been devised. The summary of his proofs and discussions on the subject, as expressed in his own words, is not very flattering to the principle which has been in general followed: "The excess of revenue above expenditure is the only real sinking find by which the public debt can be discharged. The increase of the revenue, or the diminution of expense, are the only means by which a sinking fund can be enlarged, and its operations rendered more effectual; and all schemes for discharging the national debt, by sinking funds, operating by compound interest, or in any other manner, unless so far as they are founded upon this principle, are illusory." But it cannot be said that Dr Hamilton has looked with a feeling of anything resembling enmity on the object of his attack; he has allowed the sinking fund all that its chief supporters now pretend to arrogate to it, although the admission comes more in the form of palliation than of approbation. "If the nation," he says, "impressed with a conviction of the importance of a system established by a popular minister, has, in order to adhere to it, adopted measures, either of frugality in expenditure, or exertion in raising taxes, which it would not otherwise have done, the sinking fund ought not to be considered inefficient: and its effects may be of great importance."—"The sinking fund," says an illustrious commentator on Dr Hamilton's work, in the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica, following up the same train of reasoning, "is therefore useful as an engine of taxation;" and now that the glorious vision of the great financial dreamer has vanished, and left nothing behind it but the operation of the ordinary dull machinery, by which debts are paid off through industry and economy, one can hardly suppose that the great minister who set the engine in motion, was himself ignorant (however much he might have chosen others to remain so) of its real powerlessness. The discovery made by Dr Hamilton was one of those few triumphant achievements, which, founded on the indisputable ground of practical calculation, can never be controverted or doubted: and although a few individuals, from a love of system, while apparently admitting the truths demonstrated by Dr Hamilton, in attempting to vindicate the system on separate grounds, have fallen, *mutato nomine*, into the same fallacy,[1] the Edinburgh reviewers, Ricardo, Say, and all the eminent political economists of the age, have supported his doctrine; while the venerable lord Grenville—a member of the administration which devised the sinking fund, and for some time first lord of the treasury—has, in a late pamphlet, which is a striking and noble specimen of political candour, admitted that the treatise of Dr Hamilton opened his eyes to the fallacy of his once favourite measure.

A year after the publication of this great work, the laborious services of the

[1] Vide "A Letter to lord Grenville on the sinking fund, by Thomas Peregrine Courtenay, Esq., M. P., London, 1828."

venerable philosopher were considered as well entitling him to leave the laborious duties of his three mathematical classes to the care of an assistant, who was at the same time appointed his future successor. The person chosen was Mr John Cruickshank, a gentleman who, whether or not he may be fruitful in the talents which distinguished his predecessor, must be allowed to be more successful in preserving the discipline of his class, a task for which the absent habits of Dr Hamilton rendered him rather unfit. In 1825, Dr Hamilton's declining years were saddened by the death of his second wife, a daughter of Mr Morison of Elsick, whom he had married in 1782; and on the 14th day of July, 1829, he died in the bosom of his family, and in that retirement which his unobtrusive mind always courted, and which he had never for any considerably period relinquished. Dr Hamilton left behind him three daughters, of whom the eldest remains unmarried. The second is widow of Mr Thomson of Banchory, in Kincardineshire, and the youngest is married to the Rev. Robert Swan of Abercrombie, in Fife. Several essays were found among Dr Hamilton's papers, which were published by his friends in 1830, under the title of "The Progress of Society:" it is probable that the author might have intended to have infused through them a connecting spirit, which might have formed them into a general treatise on most subjects connected with political economy; they now appear in a disconnected state, and although the majority of them contain very deep and abstruse remarks well worthy of attention, there are others which may, perhaps, be said to contain too many of the general principles of which the earlier metaphysicians of Scotland were very fond, and too little of the close and practical reasoning which generally distinguishes their author's mind, to be such as he might have thought fit to have given to the world in their present state. The commercial policy argued by Dr Hamilton in these tracts, is the same benevolent and liberal system which was first inculcated by Smith, and which it is hoped may finally teach mankind, that the nearest and purest path to national prosperity, is that mutual interchange of advantages, which tends to further the prosperity of all nations under the sun. In his remarks on the origin of the value of money, he has differed from the opinion maintained by the Edinburgh reviewers, and the first political economists of the age,—considering the value of a metallic currency to arise, not from its worth as a commodity, but chiefly from its use as an instrument of exchange; and the closeness of his reasonings on the subject, goes far to shake the opinion generally entertained.

The Essays on Rent, and the consequent theory of the incidence of tithes, argued with a modesty which such an author need hardly have adopted, are well worthy the consideration of those who have turned their attention to these abstruse subjects. The author appears to doubt the theory discovered by Dr Anderson, and followed up by Sir Edward West, Malthus, Ricardo, and M'Culloch, which discovers rent to be the surplus of the value of the produce of more fruitful lands of a country, over the produce of the most sterile soil, which the demands of the community requires to be taken into cultivation. "What," says our author, in answer to the assumption of Dr Anderson, "would happen if all the land in an appropriated country were of equal fertility? It would hardly be affirmed that, in that case, all rent would cease." To this the following answer might be made—Were the population insufficient to consume the whole produce of rich fertile land, (which could not long be the case,) certainly there would be no rent. Were the consumption equal to or beyond the produce, the rent would be regulated thus:—If foreign corn could be introduced at a price as low as that at which it could be raised, there would still be no rent—if, either from the state of cultivation of other countries, or the imposition of a duty, corn could only be imported at a price beyond that at which it can

be grown, rent would be demanded to such an extent as to raise the price of the home produce to a par with the imported—in the former case the rent being the natural consequence of commerce, in the latter the creature of legislation. The principle maintained by Dr Anderson would here exactly apply, the higher price of importing corn to that of producing it at home, being a parallel to the higher cost of raising produce in sterile, than in fruitful soils. But this intricate subject, unsuited to the present work, we gladly relinquish, with the knowledge that our author's ideas on this subject are about to be discussed by an abler hand. In these Essays we think we can perceive here and there traits of that simplicity and abstraction from the routine of the world, which was on some occasions a characteristic of their author. Men who mingle unobserved with the rest of their species, may be well versant in the lighter and more historical portions of the philosophy of mind and matter; but the illustrious examples of Newton, Locke, Smith, and many others, have shown us, that the limitation of the human faculties calls to the aid of the more abstruse branches of science, a partial, if not total abstraction from all other subjects, for definite periods. Dr Hamilton was remarkable for his absence; not that he mingled subjects with each other, and mistook what he was thinking about, the error of a weak mind, but he was frequently engaged in his mathematical studies, when other persons were differently employed. As with other absent men, numberless are the anecdotes which are preserved of his abstractions—many of them doubtless unfounded, while at the same time it must be allowed, that he frequently afforded amusement to inferior wits. He possessed a singular diffidence of manner, which in a less remarkable man might have been looked upon as humility. Taking advantage of this feeling, and of his frequent abstractions, his class gave him perpetual annoyance, and in the latter days of his tuition, the spirit of mischief and trickery, natural when it can be followed up in classes the greater portion of which consisted of mere boys, created scenes of perfect anarchy and juvenile mischief. The author of this memoir recollects distinctly his stooping shadowy figure as he glided through the rest of his colleagues in the university, with his good-humoured small round face, and his minute but keenly twinkling eyes, surrounded by a thousand wrinkles, having in his manner so little of that pedagogical importance so apt to distinguish the teachers of youth, especially in spots where the assumption of scientific knowledge is not held in curb, by intercourse with an extensive body of men of learning. It is not by any means to be presumed, however, that the subject of our memoir, though retired, and occasionally abstracted in his habits, excluded himself from his usual share in the business of the world. He led a generally active life. He maintained a correspondence with various British statesmen on important subjects, and with Say and Fahrenberg, the latter of whom requested permission to translate the work on the national debt into German. He frequently represented his college in the General Assembly—on the bursary funds of the university, and on the decision of a very important prize intrusted to him and his colleagues, he bestowed much time and attention; and he gave assistance in the management of the clergymen's widows' fund of Scotland, and in plans for the maintenance of the poor of Aberdeen.

It was lately proposed among some influential inhabitants of Aberdeen, that a public monument should be erected to the memory of this, one of the most eminent of its citizens. Strangers have remarked, not much to the credit of that flourishing town, that while it has produced many great men, no one has been so fortunate as to procure from its citizens any mark of posthumous respect. We sincerely hope the project may not be deserted, and that such a testimony of respect will soon appear, to a man on whom the city of Aberdeen

may with more propriety bestow such an honour, than on any stranger, however illustrious.

HAMILTON, James, third marquis, and first duke of Hamilton, was born in the palace at Hamilton, on the 19th of June, 1606. His father, James, marquis of Hamilton, was held in high favour by James I., who, amongst other honours which he bestowed on him, created him earl of Cambridge, a title which was at an after period a fatal one to the unfortunate nobleman who is the subject of this memoir.

Before the marquis had attained his fourteenth year, his father, who was then at St James's court, sent for him for the purpose of betrothing him to the lady Margaret Fielding, daughter to the earl of Denbigh, and niece of the duke of Buckingham, and then only in the seventh year of her age. After this ceremony had taken place, the marquis was sent to Oxford, to complete those studies which he had begun in Scotland, but which had been seriously interrupted by his coming to court. He succeeded his father as marquis of Hamilton, March 2, 1625, while as yet considerably under age.

An early and fond intimacy seems to have taken place between prince Charles and the marquis. That it was sincere and abiding on the part of the latter, the whole tenor of his life and his melancholy and tragical death bear testimony. On Charles succeeding to the throne, one of his first cares was to mark the esteem in which he held his young and noble friend, by heaping upon him favours and distinctions.

Soon after the coronation of the king, however, in which ceremony he carried the sword of state in the procession, he returned to Scotland for the purpose of superintending in person his family affairs, which had been much deranged by the munificence of his father. The marquis, who does not seem to have ever been much captivated by the life of a courtier, soon became warmly attached to the quiet and retirement of the country, and spent the greater part of his time at Brodwick castle, a beautiful and romantic residence in the island of Arran.

The king, however, whose attachment to him seems to have gained strength by his absence, wrote to him repeatedly, and with his own hand, in the most pressing terms, to return. All these flattering invitations he for some time resisted, until his father-in-law, the earl of Denbigh, came expressly to Scotland with another earnest request from the king that he would come up to London, and at the same time, offering him the appointment of master of the horse, then vacant by the death of the duke of Buckingham.

Unable longer to resist the entreaties of his sovereign, now seconded by the earl, the marquis complied, and proceeded with his father-in-law to court, where he arrived in the year 1628. The promised appointment was immediately bestowed on him; and in the fullness of his majesty's happiness at his young friend's return, he further made him gentleman of his bed-chamber, and privy councillor in both kingdoms. The amiable and unassuming manners of the marquis saved him at this part of his career from all that hostility and dislike which usually attends the favourite of a sovereign, and he was permitted to receive and enjoy all his offices and honours without a grudge, and without the cost of creating an enemy.

At the baptism of prince Charles in 1630, he represented the king of Bohemia as one of the sponsors, and on this occasion the order of the garter was conferred upon him, together with a grant of the office of chief steward of the house and manor of Hampton court. A more active life, however, was now about to open upon the favourite courtier. King Charles, having in the duke's name entered into a treaty with the celebrated Gustavus Adolphus, king

of Sweden, to furnish him with 6000 men for his intended invasion of Germany, with the view of thus enabling his brother-in-law, the Elector Palatine, to regain his hereditary territories from which he had been driven, the marquis was empowered to raise the stipulated force. These he soon collected, and was on the point of embarking with them himself, when he found that a charge of high treason had been preferred against him by lord Ochiltree, son of that captain James Stewart who had usurped the Hamilton estates and dignities in the time of his grandfather. The king himself was the first to inform the duke of the absurd charge which had been brought against him, and which consisted in the ridiculous assertion, that the marquis intended, in place of proceeding to Germany with the forces he had raised, to employ them in asserting a right to the Scottish crown. Although, in the face of all existing circumstances, it was impossible that any one could be expected to believe that there was any truth in the accusation, yet the marquis insisted that his innocence should be established by a public trial. To this proposal, however, the king not only would not listen, but to show his utter incredulity in the calumny, and his confidence in the marquis's fidelity, he invited him to sleep in the same bed-chamber with him, on the very night on which he had informed him of the charge brought against him by lord Ochiltree. The forgeries of the latter in support of his accusation having been proven, he was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, and thrown into the castle of Blackness, where he remained a captive for twenty years, when he was liberated by one of Cromwell's officers.

On the 16th of July the marquis sailed from Yarmouth roads with his army and forty ships, and arrived in safety at Elsineur on the 27th of the same month. Here he went on shore to wait upon the king of Denmark, and on the 29th sailed again for the Oder, which he reached on the 30th. Here he landed his men, and having previously received a general's commission from the king of Sweden, marched into Silesia, where he performed many important services, took many fortified places, and distinguished himself on all occasions by his bravery and judicious conduct. After various turns of fortune, however, and much severe service, during which his army was reduced by the casualties of war, and by the plague, which swept off great numbers of his men, to two incomplete regiments; and, moreover, conceiving himself slighted by the king of Sweden, who, flushed with his successes, forgot that respect towards him with which he had first received him; he wrote to the king, requesting his advice as to his future proceedings, and not neglecting to express the disgust with which Gustavus's ungracious conduct had inspired him. Charles immediately replied "that if he could not be serviceable to the Palatinate he should take the first civil excuse to come home." This he soon afterwards did, still parting, however, on good terms with the Swedish king, who expressed his esteem for him by saying at his departure, "in whatever part of the world he were, he would ever look upon him as one of his own." There seems to have been a sort of understanding that the marquis would return to Germany with a new levy of men; but this understanding does not appear to have been very seriously entertained by either party; at all events it never took place. The marquis, on his return to the English court was received with unabated kindness, and again took his place amongst the foremost in the esteem of his sovereign.

In 1633, he accompanied the king to Scotland, when he came down to receive the crown of that kingdom; but from this period until the year 1638, he meddled no further with public affairs.

The troubles, however, of that memorable year again brought him on the stage, and his love for his sovereign, and zeal for his service, induced him to take a more busy and a more prominent part then than he would otherwise

have done. To put an end, if possible, to the religious distractions in Scotland, and which were then coming to a crisis, the marquis was despatched to Scotland with instructions, and a power to grant further concessions on some important points. The demands of the covenanters were, however, greater than was expected, and this attempt at mediation was unsuccessful. He returned to London, and was a second time sent down to Scotland with enlarged powers, but as these embraced no concession regarding the covenant, this journey was equally fruitless with the other. The marquis now once more returned to London. In the beginning of winter, he was a third time despatched, with instructions to act as commissioner at the General Assembly, which had been appointed to meet for the settlement of differences, and which sat down at Glasgow in November. The concessions, however, which he was authorized to make, were not considered at all sufficient. The opponents of the court in the assembly proceeded from measure to measure inimical to the king's authority, carrying every thing before them in despite of all the marquis's efforts to resist them, and to stem the tide of disaffection. Finding this impossible, he dissolved the court. The covenanters, however, were in no humour to obey this exercise of authority. They continued their sittings, went on subscribing the covenant, and decreed the abrogation of bishops in the Scottish church. Having been able to render the king little more service than the gain of time which his negotiations had secured, the marquis returned to London. Indeed more success could not have been expected from an interference where the covenant, the principal subject of contention, was thus spoken of by the opposite parties: the king writing to his commissioner, "So long as this damnable covenant is in force, I have no more power in Scotland than a duke of Venice;" and the covenanters again replying to some overtures about its renunciation, that "they would sooner renounce their baptism." The king, who had long anticipated a violent issue with the Scottish malcontents, had in the meantime been actively employed in collecting a force to subdue them; and the marquis, soon after his arrival in England, was appointed to a command in this armament, and sent down to Scotland, no longer as a negotiator, but as a chastiser of rebels. Whilst the king himself proceeded over land with an army of 25,000 foot and 3000 horse, the marquis sailed from Yarmouth with a fleet, having on board a further force of 5000 men, and arrived in Leith roads on the 1st of May. On his arrival, he required the leaders of the covenanters to acknowledge the king's authority, and seemed disposed to proceed to hostilities. But the king, in the meantime, having entered into a pacific arrangement with the covenanters, his military command ceased, and he proceeded to join his majesty at his camp near Berwick. Soon after this, the marquis once more retired from public employment, and did not again interfere in national affairs for several years. In 1642, he was once more sent to Edinburgh by the king to promote his interest, and to resume negotiations with the covenanters; and on this occasion was so successful as to alarm Pickering, the agent of the English parliament at Edinburgh, who wrote to his employers, recommending them to bring him immediately to trial as a disturber of the harmony between the two kingdoms. This representation of Pickering's, however, was attended with no immediate result, whatever effect it might have on his ultimate fate; and it is not improbable that it was then recollected to his prejudice. As a reward for his faithful and zealous services, the king now bestowed upon him by patent, dated at Oxford, 12th April, 1643, the title of duke. The same patent invests him also with the title of marquis of Clydesdale, earl of Arran and Cambridge, and lord Avon and Innerdale. By one of those strange and sudden reverses, however, to which the favourites of kings are so subject, the duke was

thrown into prison by that very sovereign who but a short while since had loaded him with titles and honours.

Various misrepresentations of the duke's conduct in Scotland had reached the king's ears. He was charged with unfaithfulness to the trust reposed in him; of speaking disrespectfully of the king; and of still entertaining views upon the Scottish crown. These accusations, absurd, incredible, and contradictory to facts as they were, had been so often repeated, and so urgently pressed on the unfortunate and distracted monarch, that they at length shook his faith in his early friend. Deserted, opposed, and harassed upon all hands, he was prepared to believe in any instance of treachery that might occur, and clinging to every hope, however slender, which presented itself, was too apt to imagine that the accusation of others was a proof of friendship to himself on the part of the accuser.

The king's altered opinion regarding him having reached the ears of the duke, he instantly hastened, accompanied by his brother, the earl of Lanark, who was also involved in the accusation, to Oxford, where his majesty then was. Conscious of his innocence, the duke, on his arrival, sought an audience of the king, that he might, at a personal interview, disabuse him of the unfavourable reports which he had heard regarding him. An order, however, had been left at the gates to stop him until the governor should have notice of his arrival. Through a mistake of the captain of the guard, the carriage which contained the duke was allowed to pass unchallenged, but was immediately followed with a command directly from the king himself, that the duke and his brother should confine themselves to their apartments. This intimation of the king's disposition towards him was soon followed by still more unequivocal indications. Next day a guard was placed on his lodgings, with orders that no one should speak with him but in presence of one of the secretaries; and finally, notwithstanding all his protestations of innocence, and earnest requests to be confronted with his accusers, he was sent a prisoner, first to Exeter, and afterwards to Pendennis castle in Cornwall. His brother, who had also been ordered into confinement in Ludlow castle, contrived to make his escape before his removal, and returned to Scotland; a circumstance which increased the severity with which the duke was treated. His servants were denied access to him, his money was taken from him; and he was refused the use of writing materials, unless to be employed in petitioning the king, a privilege which was still left to him, but which availed him little, as it did not procure him any indulgence in his confinement, or effect any change in the sentiments of the king regarding him. Whilst a prisoner in Pendennis castle, the duke's amiable and gentle manners so far won upon the governor of that fortress, that he not only gave him more liberty than his instructions warranted, but offered to allow him to escape. With a magnanimity, however, but rarely to be met with, the duke refused to avail himself of a kindness which would involve his generous keeper in ruin. The intimacy between the governor and the duke reaching the ears of the court, the latter was instantly removed to the castle of St Michael's Mount at Land's End, where he remained a close prisoner till the month of April, 1646, when he was released, after an unmerited confinement of eight and twenty months, on the surrender of the place to the parliamentary forces. Feeling now that disgust with the world, which the treatment he had met with was so well calculated to inspire, the duke resolved to retire from it for ever. From this resolution, however, his affection for the king, which, notwithstanding the hard usage he had received at his hands, remained as warm and sincere as ever, induced him once more to depart; and when that unhappy monarch, driven from England, sought protection from the Scottish army at Newcastle, the duke of

Hamilton was amongst the first to wait upon him there, with offers of assistance and consolation; and this at a time too, when he was abandoned by many on whom he had much better, or at least, more unqualified claims. When the king and the duke first met on this occasion, both blushed; and the latter in the confusion of the moment, after saluting his majesty, was about to retire into the crowd which filled the apartment, when the king asked him "If he was afraid to come near him." The duke returned, and a long and earnest conversation ensued between them. The king apologised for his treatment of him, and concluded by requesting that he would not now leave him in the midst of his distresses. The appeal was not made in vain. The duke once more embarked with all his former zeal in the cause of his beloved master, and made every effort to retrieve his desperate fortunes. These efforts were vain, but they have secured for him who made them a lasting and an honourable fame; and now that the conflicting opinions of the times in which he lived have long since been numbered with the things that were, we can recognise in the conduct of James, first duke of Hamilton, only a noble example of unshaken and devoted loyalty.

When the question, whether the king, now in the hands of the Scottish malcontents, should be delivered up to his English subjects, was discussed in the Scottish parliament, the duke exerted his utmost influence and power to prevent its being carried in the affirmative. "Would Scotland," he exclaimed, in an elegant and enthusiastic speech which he made on the occasion, "Would Scotland now quit a possession of fifteen hundred years' date, which was their interest in their sovereign, and quit it to those whose enmity against both him and themselves did now so visibly appear? Was this the effect of their protestations of duty and affection to his majesty? Was this their keeping of their covenant, wherein they had sworn to defend the king's majesty, person, and authority? Was this a suitable return to the king's goodness, both in his consenting to all the desires of that kingdom in the year 1641, and in his late trusting his person to them? What censure would be passed upon this through the whole world? What a stain would it be to the whole reformed religion? What danger might be apprehended in consequence of it, both to the king's person and to Scotland from the party that was now prevalent in England." The duke's brother, the earl of Lanark, was not less earnest in his opposition to the disgraceful proposal, and when his vote was asked, he exclaimed with much energy, "As God shall have mercy upon my soul at the great day, I would choose rather to have my head struck off at the Market-cross of Edinburgh than give my consent to this vote." These generous efforts of the noble brothers, however, as is well known, were unavailing, the measure was carried, and the unfortunate monarch was delivered into the hands of the English parliament.

Defeated in his attempts to prevent the king's being given up to his English subjects; the duke, still hoping to avert the consummation of his unfortunate sovereign's misfortunes, now entertained the idea of relieving him by force of arms. Encouraged in this project by something like a re-action of public feeling in favour of the king, and, sanctioned by the vote of the estates, though not of the kirk of Scotland, he proceeded to raise an army with which he proposed to march into England, where he expected to meet with an active and powerful co-operation from the royalists of that kingdom. With these views, he hastily collected together a force of 10,000 foot and 4000 cavalry, and with this army, which, besides the inadequacy of its numbers, was indifferently appointed, ill disciplined, and unaccompanied by artillery, he marched into England. Passing Carlisle, where he was received with ringing of bells and other demonstrations of welcome, he continued his march by Penrith, Appleby, and Kendal, driving before him detached bodies of Cromwell's troops, and finally

reached Preston on the 17th of August, where he was opposed by Cromwell in person with his veteran battalions; and notwithstanding that the duke had been reinforced since he entered England, by 3000 to 4000 loyalists under Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and afterwards by 2000 foot and 1000 horse, commanded by Sir George Munro; the result of various skirmishes which here took place, was the total defeat of his army. The duke himself, accompanied by a few officers and cavalry, proceeded on to Uttoxeter in Staffordshire, where he surrendered to Lambert, on assurance of personal safety to himself and his followers. The unfortunate duke was now carried to Derby, thence to Ashby-de-la-Zouche, where he remained till December, when he was removed to Windsor, and placed under a strong guard. On the second night of his confinement here, while taking a turn after supper in the court-yard, a sergeant made up to him, and, with the utmost insolence of manner, ordered him to his apartment: the duke obeyed, but remarked to lord Bargeny, who was then a prisoner also, that what had just happened was a singular instance of the mutability of worldly things—that he who, but a short while since, had the command of many thousand men, was now commanded by a common sergeant.

A few days after the duke's arrival at Windsor, his ill-fated master, who was then also a prisoner there, was ordered for trial; having learned when the king was to proceed to the tribunal, the duke prevailed upon his keepers to allow him to see his majesty as he passed. On the approach of the king, he threw himself at his feet, exclaiming in an agony of sorrow, his eyes suffused with tears, "My dear master!" The king, not less affected, stooped down and embraced him, replying, with a melancholy play upon the word *dear*, "I have indeed been so to you." The guards would permit no further conversation, but, by the order of their commander, instantly hurried off the king. The duke followed his beloved master, with his eyes still swimming in tears, so long as he could see him, impressed with the belief that they would never meet on earth again. Aware from the king's execution, which soon after took place, that a similar fate awaited him, the duke, with the assistance of a faithful servant, effected his escape from Windsor. Two horses waited at a convenient place to carry him and his servant to London, where he hoped to conceal himself until an opportunity occurred of getting to a place of greater safety; but he was instructed not on any account to enter the city till seven o'clock in the morning, when the night patrols, who prowled about the town and suburbs, should have retired from duty. By an unaccountable fatality, the unfortunate duke neglected to attend to this most important injunction, and entered the city at four o'clock in the morning. As if every thing had resolved to concur in the destruction of the unfortunate nobleman, besides the risk which he ran as a matter of course from the patrol, it happened that there was a party of horse and foot in Southwark, where the duke entered, searching for Sir Lewis Dives and another gentleman, who had also escaped from confinement the night before. By these the duke was taken while in the act of knocking at a door where he had been long seeking admittance. At first he imposed upon the soldiers by a plausible story, and as they did not know him personally, they were disposed to allow him to depart; but some suspicious circumstances attracting their notice, they searched him, and found in his pockets some papers which at once discovered him. He was now carried to St James's, where he was kept a close prisoner till the 6th February, 1648, when he was brought to trial before the High Court of Justice, and arraigned as earl of Cambridge, for having "traitorously invaded this nation (England) in a hostile manner, and levied war to assist the king against the kingdom and people of England, &c." The duke pled that he was an alien, and that his life besides was secured by the

articles of his capitulation to Lambert. To the first it was replied, that he always sat as a peer of England, and as such had taken the covenant and negative oath. With regard to the second objection, it was affirmed by two witnesses, lords Grey and Lilburn, that he was taken prisoner before the treaty was signed. After a lengthened trial, in which none of his objections availed him, the unfortunate nobleman was sentenced to be beheaded on the 9th of March. The whole tenor of the duke's conduct after sentence of death was passed upon him, evinced the greatest magnanimity and resignation. He wrote to his brother in favour of his servants, and on the morning before his execution, addressed a letter to his children, recommending them to the protection of their heavenly Father, now that they were about to be deprived of himself. He slept soundly on the night previous to his death, until half-past three in the morning, when he was attended by his faithful servant Cole, the person who had assisted him in his attempted escape. To him he now, with the utmost composure, gave a variety of directions to be carried to his brother. The remainder of the morning, up to nine o'clock, he spent in devotion. At this hour he was desired to prepare for the scaffold, which he soon after ascended with a smiling and cheerful countenance, attended by Dr Sibbald. After again spending some time in secret prayer, he arose, and embracing Dr Sibbald, said, laying his hand upon his heart, "I bless God I do not fear—I have an assurance that is grounded here;" he next embraced his servants severally, saying to each of them, "You have been very faithful to me, the Lord bless you."

Turning now to the executioner, he desired to know how he should place himself to receive the fatal stroke. Having been satisfied regarding this fearful particular, he told the executioner, that after he had placed himself in the necessary position, he would say a short prayer, and that he would extend his right hand as the signal for his doing his duty. He now stretched himself along, and placed his neck ready for the blow, prayed a short while with much appearance of fervour, then gave the fatal signal, and with one stroke his head was severed from his body.

The head of the unfortunate nobleman was received in a crimson taffeta scarf, by two of his servants, who knelt beside him for the purpose of performing this last act of duty for their kind master.

The duke's head and body were placed in a coffin which lay ready on the scaffold, and conveyed to a house in the Mews, and afterwards, agreeably to his own directions before his death, conveyed to Scotland, and interred in the family burying ground.

Thus perished James, duke of Hamilton, a nobleman whose fortitude at his death gives but little countenance to the charge of timidity which has been insinuated against him, and whose zeal for, and adherence to, the royal cause, in the most desperate and trying circumstances, affords less encouragement to the accusation of infidelity to his sovereign with which he has been also assailed.

HAMILTON, James, fourth duke of Hamilton, was the eldest son of William, earl of Selkirk, and Anne, duchess of Hamilton. He was born in 1657, educated in Scotland, being by the courtesy of his country entitled earl of Arran, and after spending some time in foreign travel, repaired to the court of England, where he mixed in the gallantries of the time. As it was with a duel that his life closed, so a duel is the first remarkable circumstance to be noticed in the account of his youthful years. In consequence of a quarrel with lord Mordaunt, afterwards earl of Peterborough, he met that nobleman on foot in Greenwich park, with sword and pistol. Arran fired first, and missed; his antagonist discharged his ball in the air, but nevertheless insisted that the combat should proceed. They accordingly engaged with their swords, and Mordaunt having first

received a slight wound about the groin, pierced Arran's thigh, and broke his own sword. The earl had now in turn an opportunity to display his generosity, and sparing the life which was at his mercy: the two young noblemen parted good friends.

Arran enjoyed the favour of Charles II. who made him one of the knights of his bed-chamber, and sent him envoy extraordinary to the court of France, to offer congratulations on the birth of Philip, duke of Anjou, afterwards king of Spain. Whilst upon this embassy, he was one day hunting with the king, and taking offence at some part of the conduct of an ecclesiastical dignitary, who also rode in the company, he disregarded equally the profession of his opponent and the royal presence, and pulling the reverend gentleman from his horse, and grasping his sword, he was prevented from exacting a bloody vengeance only by the interposition of his majesty. The particulars of this affair are not related with that distinctness which would enable us to decide who was in the wrong; but the earl's contemporaries, provided they saw a display of spirit, did not often stop to inquire whether it were borne out by prudence; and accordingly, a writer of the time tells us his lordship came off upon this occasion, in the opinion of the world, "with high commendations of his courage and audacity."

When James II. ascended the throne, the earl of Arran suffered no diminution of court favour. Indeed he seems to have earned it by readily yielding to James's designs. He was one of the privy council who in 1687, signed the letter of the Scottish government, concurring with the proclamation to repeal the laws made against papists. In reward of his acquiescence, he was installed a knight of the thistle, when that order,—which, according to the king's party, was instituted about the year of our Lord 809, by Achaius, king of Scots, and never disused till the intestine troubles, which happened in the reign of Mary,—was "restored to its full lustre, glory, and magnificence." The writers, whose politics were different, maintain that, however honourable this badge might be, it was never worn as such before. Burnet says it was "set up in Scotland in imitation of the order of the garter in England;" and lord Dartmouth adds, that "all the pretence for antiquity is some old pictures of kings of Scotland, with medals of St Andrew hung in gold chains about their necks." Whether old or new, it was conferred as a mark of James's esteem, and in farther proof of his confidence he entrusted the earl of Arran with the command of a regiment of horse, when the new levies took place on the descent of the duke of Monmouth. At a period of greater disaster to James's fortunes, when lord Churchill, afterwards the great Marlborough, went over to the prince of Orange, the duke of Berwick was advanced to the station he had occupied as colonel of the 3d troop of horse guards, and in the room of his grace, Arran was made colonel of Oxford's regiment. From the course which events took, however, the earl had no opportunity of signalizing his bravery in the cause of his master; but he carried his fidelity as far as any man in the kingdom, having been one of the four lords who accompanied James to Gravesend, when the fallen monarch repaired thither on his way into foreign exile. Returning to London, Arran complied with the general example, and waited on the prince of Orange; being one of the last that came, he offered an excuse which partook more of the bluntness of the soldier than of political or courtlike dexterity: "If the king had not withdrawn out of the country," he said, "he should not have come at all." The next day the prince intimated to him that he had bestowed his regiment upon its old colonel, the earl of Oxford.

Nor was Arran solicitous to appease by subsequent compliance the displeasure incurred in his first interview with the prince. On the 7th January, William

assembled the Scottish nobles and gentlemen then in London, and told them that he wanted their advice "what was to be done for securing the protestant religion, and restoring their laws and liberties, according to his declaration." His highness withdrew after making this request, and the duke of Hamilton[1] was chosen to preside. The politics of his grace were quite different from those of his son; and the fact of his being selected to preside over their deliberations was an intimation of the course which the assembly intended to pursue. But Arran either did not perceive, or did not regard this circumstance; he proposed, that as the prince had desired their advice, they should move him to invite the king to return, and call a free parliament, "which, in my humble opinion," he added, "will at last be found the best way to heal all our breaches." Nobody seconded this proposal; but it seems to have astounded the deliberators a good deal: they dispersed, and did not re-assemble till the second day after, when their resolution to stand by the prince of Orange and to exclude the exiled James, having been strengthened by some remarks from the duke of Hamilton, they recommended the measures which the emergency seemed to them to require.

A short time after the settlement of the throne upon William and Mary, as the earl of Arran was passing along the streets in a chair, about eleven at night, he was set upon by four or five people with drawn swords. He defended himself courageously, and being vigorously seconded by his footman and chairmen, came off with only a few slight hurts in the hand. This incident was charged against the new monarch, as if he had sought to rid himself by assassination of one who had so very coolly, if not resolutely, opposed his reception in England. But there was neither any disposition nor any necessity for resorting to such means for weakening the ranks of the adherents of James. The attack upon the earl is believed to have proceeded from another cause; namely, the involvement of his lordship's pecuniary affairs, and to have been the act of an exasperated creditor. The earl, however, certainly was obnoxious to government at this period. He was shortly after committed to the Tower, with Sir Robert Hamilton and two others of his countrymen; but was soon liberated upon bail; upon which he judged it prudent, both on account of the suspicion to which his political opinions exposed him, and of embarrassments in his private fortune, to retire to Scotland. There his father enjoyed the full confidence of government; his services in the convention of the states, of which he was president, having mainly contributed to the settlement of the crown upon William. Here Arran lived in retirement, the progress of affairs and the paternal authority tending to reconcile him to the revolution. At his father's death in 1695, the earl of Arran was not advanced in rank and not very much in fortune. The title of duke had been conferred upon its late possessor to be held during his lifetime, by consent of the heiress, whom he had married; and at his death it remained with her, together with the bulk of the estate. It was not till the marriage of Arran in 1698, with lord Gerrard of Bromley's daughter, that his mother consented that her eldest son should assume the honours of the family. Upon this William, willing to gratify the family, signed a patent, creating him duke of Hamilton, with precedency in the same manner as if he had succeeded to the title by the decease of his mother.

The events hitherto recorded in this nobleman's life were not of great moment: he was a young man, acting in a great measure from personal bias, and his opinions had little weight or influence beyond the sphere of the private friends with whom he associated. We now approach a period when his conduct in the legislative assembly of his country, determined more than that of any other

[1] The earl of Selkirk bore this title in right of marriage to the duchess.

of its members the fate of the two most momentous political measures that ever were debated in it—the act of security and the act of union. The events of William's reign had been highly exasperating to the Scottish nation. Not only had commercial enterprise been repressed, but this had been done in the most base and most cruel manner. The same monarch who sanctioned the massacre of Glencoe, first granted a charter to the Darien company, and then exerted his influence with foreign nations in order to withhold from their colony the necessary supplies, and sent instructions to the governor of the English colonies to the same effect. Many perished of famine, "murdered," says Sir Walter Scott, "by king William's government, no less than if they had been shot in the snows of Glencoe." The spirit of an ancient people, never tolerant of contumely, far less of cruelties so atrocious as these, did not burst out into immediate and open defiance of their more powerful neighbour, but reserved itself for a period more favourable for the vindication of its insulted rights. During the rest of his life, William could draw no subsidies from Scotland, nor a single recruit for his continental wars. The instability of a new reign afforded a fitting opportunity for the assertion of independence. An act had been passed in the time of king William, empowering the parliament in being at his death to continue, and take the steps necessary for securing the protestant succession. In virtue of this act queen Anne thought proper not to call a new parliament; but a party, at the head of whom was the duke of Hamilton, maintained that the purposes contemplated by that provision were sufficiently satisfied by the settlement of her majesty on the throne. Accordingly, before the royal commission was read, the duke took a protest against it, and retiring with twenty-nine who adhered to him, their retreat was greeted with shouts of applause by the people assembled without. This proceeding may be considered the germ of that opposition which ripened in the two following years into the formidable act of security.

The parliament of 1703, instead of proceeding in conformity with the wishes of government, to settle the crown of Scotland on the same person for whom that of England was destined, resolved that this was the time to obtain an equality of commercial privileges, and to rescue the country from the state of a degraded and oppressed province of England. They accordingly passed an act stipulating that the two crowns should not be held by the same monarch, unless the Scottish people were admitted by the English to the full benefit of trade and navigation: to make good the separation of the countries if it should be necessary, every man capable of bearing arms was to be regularly drilled, and all commissions, civil and military, were to lose effect at the moment of the queen's demise, in order that the states of Scotland might then appoint an entirely new set of magistrates and officers, faithful maintainers of the independence of the kingdom. The duke of Hamilton and the marquis of Tweeddale headed the country party, by whom this measure was passed. It was debated with the utmost fierceness by the speakers on both sides, with their hands on their swords. The queen's commissioner refused his assent, and was obliged to dismiss the assembly without obtaining supplies, every demand of that kind being answered with shouts of "Liberty before subsidy!"

At this time the duke was involved in the accusations of Fraser of Lovat, who detailed to the government a plot, in which he alleged that he had engaged several Scottish noblemen for the restoration of the son of James II. The parliament of England took up the matter, and passed a resolution, declaring that a dangerous conspiracy had been formed in Scotland to overthrow the protestant succession. Hamilton, and the others named with him, defended themselves by maintaining that the whole affair was nothing but a malicious attempt of the

court, in consequence of the decided part they had taken in behalf of their country's rights, to destroy their reputation, and weaken the patriotic party to which they belonged. Their countrymen were in no mood to take part against them: on the contrary, they considered the vote of the English legislature as a fresh encroachment upon their liberties, another unwarrantable interference with matters beyond their jurisdiction. When the states met in 1704, therefore, there was no alteration in their tone—the act of security was insisted upon with the same determination; and it was now wisely acceded to.

Scotland was thus legally disjoined from England, and the military preparations, provided for in the act of security, were immediately commenced. This measure, however threatening it might appear, produced ultimately the most beneficial effects, having had the effect of rousing the English government to the danger of a rupture with Scotland. Should that nation make choice of a separate sovereign, it was likely to be one who had claims to the throne of England; and thus not only might the old hostilities between the two countries be rekindled, not only might a Scottish alliance be resorted to by foreign courts, to strengthen them in their designs against England, but the prince who held his court at Edinburgh, would have numerous adherents in the southern part of the island, as well as in Ireland, by whose assistance long and harassing wars might be maintained, with too probable a chance of the ultimate establishment of the exiled family on the British throne.

The prospect of dangers such as these induced the English government to devote all their influence to the formation of a treaty, by which the two countries might be incorporated, and all causes of dissension, at least in a national point of view, removed. During the discussion of this measure, the details of which proved extremely unsatisfactory to the Scottish people, they looked up to the duke of Hamilton as the political leader on whom the fate of the country entirely depended. That nobleman seems in his heart to have been hostile to the union. In the earlier stages of the proceedings, he displayed considerable firmness in his opposition, and out of doors he was greeted with the most enthusiastic plaudits. The duke of Queensberry, who acted as royal commissioner, had his lodging in Holyrood house; so had the duke of Hamilton. The queen's representative could only pass to his coach through lanes of armed soldiery, and hurried home amidst volleys of stones and roars of execration; while the popular favourite was attended all the way from the Parliament Close by crowds, who encouraged him with loud huzzas to stand by the cause of national independence. A plan was devised, with the duke's consent, for interrupting the progress of this odious treaty, by a general insurrection. But when the agents had arranged matters for the rising of the Cameronians in the west country, either doubting the practicability of the scheme, or reluctant to involve the country in civil war, he despatched messengers to countermand the rising, and was so far successful, that only an inconsiderable number repaired to the place of rendezvous. It was next resolved that a remonstrance should be presented by the nobles, barons, and gentry hostile to the union; and about four hundred of them assembled in Edinburgh, for the purpose of waiting upon the lord commissioner, with this expression of the national opinion. The address was drawn up with the understanding that it should be presented by the duke of Hamilton; but that nobleman again thwarted the measures of his party by refusing to appear, unless a clause were inserted in the address, expressive of the willingness of the subscribers to settle the crown on the house of Hanover. To this proposal the Jacobites, who formed a large portion of the opponents of the union, would not listen for a moment; and while discussions and disputes were protracted between the dukes of Athol and Hamilton, the gentlemen who had at-

tended their summons to swell the ranks of the remonstrants, dispersed to their homes, chagrined and disappointed.

Hamilton next assembled the leaders of the opposition, recommended that they should forget former jarrings, and endeavour to repair previous mismanagement by a vigorous and united effort for the defeat of the obnoxious treaty. He proposed that a motion formerly made for settling the succession in the house of Hanover should be renewed, in conjunction with a proposal fatal to the union; and that, on its being rejected, as it was sure to be in such circumstances, a strong protest should be taken, and the whole of their party should publicly secede from parliament. The consequence of this step, he argued, must be, that the government would abandon further proceedings, as they could not pretend to carry through a measure of such importance with a mere handful of the national representatives, whose opinions were so conspicuously at variance with the wishes of the great mass of the people. The Jacobites objected to the preliminary motion, but the duke overcame their scruples by representing, that as it must necessarily be rejected, it could not entangle them in any obligation inconsistent with their principles. Finally, he assured them, that if this plan failed of its effect, and the English should still press on the union, he would join them to recall the son of James II. The purpose of the anti-unionists having come to the knowledge of the duke of Queensberry, he sought an interview, it is said, with the leader of the popular party, and assured him that if the measure miscarried, his grace should be held accountable for its failure, and be made to suffer for it in his English estates. Whether intimadated by this threat, or that his own understanding did not approve of the course which his feelings prompted, Hamilton was the first to fail in the performance of the scheme which he had taken so much pains to persuade his coadjutors to consent to. "On the morning appointed for the execution of their plan," says Sir Walter Scott, "when the members of opposition had mustered all their forces, and were about to go to parliament, attended by great numbers of gentlemen and citizens, prepared to assist them if there should be an attempt to arrest any of their number, they learned that the duke of Hamilton was so much afflicted with the toothach that he could not attend the house that morning. His friends hastened to his chambers, and remonstrated with him so bitterly on this conduct, that he at length came down to the house; but it was only to astonish them by asking whom they had pitched upon to present their protestation. They answered, with extreme surprise, that they had reckoned on his grace, as the person of the first rank in Scotland, taking the lead in the measure which he had himself proposed. The duke persisted, however, in refusing to expose himself to the displeasure of the court, by being foremost in breaking their favourite measure, but offered to second any one whom the party might appoint to offer the protest. During this altercation, the business of the day was so far advanced, that the vote was put and carried on the disputed article respecting the representation, and the opportunity of carrying the scheme into effect was totally lost. The members who had hitherto opposed the union, being thus three times disappointed in their measures by the unexpected conduct of the duke of Hamilton, now felt themselves deserted and betrayed. Shortly afterwards most of them retired altogether from their attendance on parliament, and those who favoured the treaty were suffered to proceed in their own way, little encumbered either by remonstrance or opposition."

Such is the story of the duke of Hamilton's share in these two great measures. It presents a curious view of perseverance and firmness of purpose at one time, and of the utmost instability at another in the same person, both concurring to produce a great and important change in the feelings and interests of two na-

tions powerful in old times from their hardihood and valour, rendered more powerful in later times by the union of these qualities with intelligence and enlightened enterprise. The conspicuous and decided manner in which the duke of Hamilton stood forward, as the advocate of the act of security, carried it through a stormy opposition, and placed the kingdom in a state of declared but legalized defiance of England; while the unsteadiness of his opposition to the union paved the way for the reconciliation of the two nations. Had the Scottish people never asserted their independence with that determination which forced the English government to sanction the act of security—had the duke's resolution failed him here, the terms of equality subsequently offered by England would not have been granted:—had the states persevered in the same intractable spirit when the union was proposed to them—had the duke manifested any portion of his former firmness, the mutual interests of England and Scotland might have been barred, the two kindred people might have been thrown back into interminable hostilities, and the glory and happiness which Great Britain has attained might never have been known.

Though the consequences of the union have been so beneficial to Scotland, yet the treaty was urged forward by means which no friend of his country could approve. The body of the nation regarded it as disgraceful and ruinous; its supporters were purchased with bribes—one nobleman sold himself for the miserable sum of eleven pounds sterling; and its opponents were awed to silence by threats. No wonder that men of honourable minds were fired with indignation, and many of them prepared to resort to desperate measures to wipe away the national disgrace. The opportunity seemed favourable for a movement among the Jacobites, and an agent from France engaged a number of the nobles to join the chevalier if he should land on the Scottish shores. Among these was the duke of Hamilton, who, although pressed to declare himself prematurely, adhered to the letter of his agreement, and by his prudence saved his large estates from confiscation. Whilst the French ships were on the seas, with the design of an invasion, his grace was taken into custody as a disaffected person, but suffered a very short restraint. This did not prevent his being named among the sixteen Scottish peers who took their place in the first British parliament, in which he attached himself to the tory party, and "stickled as much," to use the words of a biographer of that period, "for Dr Sacheverell and the high church interest, as he had done about three years before for the security of the Scottish kirk." The whigs losing their influence in the councils of queen Anne, the opposite party began to be received into favour; and in June, 1711, Hamilton was created duke of Brandon. He was at that time one of the representatives of the Scottish nobility, but claimed to take his seat as a British peer. In this he was vehemently opposed, notwithstanding the precedent afforded by the admission of Queensberry in virtue of the title of duke of Dover. After a long debate, in which a motion to take the opinion of the judges was rejected, it was decided, that since the union no Scottish peer could take his place in the British parliament in any other character than as one of the sixteen representatives. This decision so highly incensed the Scottish lords that they seceded from the house: they were appeased and prevailed on to return, but the point was not conceded at that time, although the queen interested herself in behalf of the duke of Hamilton. Nor was it till so late as the year 1782, when his descendant again preferred his claim, that, the judges having given an unanimous opinion in his favour, the eligibility of Scottish noblemen to the full privileges of peers of Great Britain was established.

The duke had married, to his second wife, Anne, daughter of lord Digby Gerrard, by Elizabeth sister to the earl of Macclesfield. Lady Gerrard was left

by her husband's will guardian to her daughter, whose fortune amounted to about £60,000; and while the duke courted her, he offered to content himself with that dowry, and bound himself in a bond of £10,000 to give her mother a relief of her guardianship two days after the marriage. This engagement, however, he not only declined to perform, but sought relief of his bond in chancery, which was so highly resented by lady Gerrard that she left all she had to her brother, and bequeathed to her child a legacy of five shillings, and a diamond necklace in case the duke should consent to give the release in question. This his grace persisted in withholding, and the earl of Macclesfield settled his estate, to the prejudice of the duchess of Hamilton, on another neice who had married the lord Mohun. The lawsuit to compel that nobleman, as executor of lady Gerrard, to give an account of his guardianship, was continued; and the feelings of the two parties were mutually much embittered in the course of the proceedings. Mohun was a man of violent temper, and in his youth accustomed himself to the most depraved society. When he was about twenty years of age, one of his companions murdered Mountford, a comedian in Drury Lane; and, the principal having absconded, Mohun was tried by the house of peers. Fourteen voices pronounced him guilty, but sixty-nine cleared him. So far, however, was the shameful situation in which he had been placed from reclaiming him, that he plunged again into the same courses, and seven years after was arraigned at the same bar on a similar accusation. This time, indeed, it was proved that his lordship had no participation in the crime, but had used some endeavours to prevent it. Thereafter he abstained, indeed, from dissolute and lawless brawls, but he carried into the pursuits of politics no small share of the heat which marked his early career. "It is true," says a contemporary writer, who seems to have been willing to excuse his faults, "he still loved a glass of wine with his friends; but he was exemplarily temperate when he had any business of moment to attend." His quarrelsome disposition was notorious, and the duke's friends had been long apprehensive that a collision would take place, and repeatedly warned his grace to be on his guard. On the 11th of November, the two noblemen had a meeting at the chambers of Mr Orlebar, a master in chancery, in relation to the lawsuit, when every thing passed off quietly. Two days after, on the examination of a person of the name of Whitworth, who had been a steward to lady Gerrard, the duke was so provoked by the substance of his deposition, as openly to declare, "He had neither truth nor justice in him." To this lord Mohun rejoined, "He had as much truth as his grace." No further recrimination passed; another meeting was arranged for the Saturday following, and the duke, on retiring, made a low bow to Mohun, who returned it. There were eleven persons present, and none of them suspected any ill consequence from what had just taken place. His lordship, however, immediately sent a challenge to the duke, which was accepted. On the 15th of November, 1713, the day that had been fixed for a resumption of their amicable conference, they repaired to the Ring in Hyde Park, and, being both greatly exasperated, they fought with peculiar determination and ferocity. This is attested by the number and deadliness of the wounds on both sides. Lord Mohun fell and died on the spot. He had one wound mortal, but not immediately so, entering by the right side, penetrating through the belly, and going out by the iliac bone on the left side. Another dreadful gash, in which the surgeon's hands met from opposite sides, ran from the groin on the left side down through the great vessels of the thigh. This was the cause of immediate death. There were some slighter incisions, and two or three fingers of the left hand were cut off. The duke's body suffered an equal havoc, partly inflicted, it was alleged, by foul play. A cut in the elbow of the sword-arm severed the small tendons, and occasioned so much

loss of blood as to be fatal. A wound in the left breast, between the third and fourth upper ribs, pierced downwards through the midriff and caul, sufficient to produce death, but not immediately. He had also a dangerous slash in the right leg. It is believed that the duke, after his right arm was disabled, being ambidexter, shifted his weapon, and killed Mohun with his left hand. The wound in his own breast was the last that was inflicted, and colonel Hamilton gave his oath that it was the sword of general Macartney, Mohun's second, which dealt it. So strong was the presumption of the truth of this, that the general absconded, and when brought to trial in the ensuing reign, the evidence upon which he was acquitted still left the matter doubtful.

The death of two men of rank in so bloody a rencounter, was in itself enough to produce a strong feeling of horror in the public mind. The unfair play by which it was believed one of them had been sacrificed, filled every honourable bosom with indignation; and the agitation was increased by reports that the duke had fallen a victim to assassination instigated by political hatred. Immediately before the duel took place, he had been named ambassador extraordinary to Paris, with powers to effect an arrangement for the restoration of the exiled family on the death of the queen; and the party who were desirous of such a consummation, openly alleged that his death had been conspired by the whigs with a view to prevent it. This does not appear to have been the case, however true it may be that Mohun was a zealot in politics, and disreputable in his private character.[1] The duke's body was conveyed to Scotland for burial. The deplorable death of so amiable a nobleman spread a very general regret; a bill to prevent duelling was in consequence introduced into the house of commons, but it was dropt after the first reading.

HAMILTON, John, a secular priest, made himself remarkable in the 16th century by his furious zeal in behalf of the church of Rome; leaving all the Scottish ecclesiastics of that period far behind by the boldness and energy with which he defended the tenets of the Romish church, and assailed those of the reformed religion. There is nothing known of the earlier part of his life, but

1 The following curious anecdote respecting the fifth duke of Hamilton, son of the above, occurs in a manuscript account of the ducal family, in the possession of Mr Chancellor of Shieldhill:—

"Upon the 31st of October, 1726, he was, at the palace of Holyroodhouse, installed knight of the most noble order of the thistle, by James, earl of Findlater and Seafield, appointed for that effect representative of king George I.

"The regalia, now after the union, being locked up in the castle, they wanted the sword of state for that purpose, and, as the storie went, they had recourse to the earle of Rothes's, which was not only gifted by general M'Kertney to him, but the same with which he should have so basely stabbed the duke his father. And the guards, who drew up about the earle of Findlater, as king's commissioner, chanced also to be the Scots Fuzielieres, then under the command of the said M'Kertney; which occasioned the following verses:—

"Ye sons of old Scotland, come hither and look
On Rothes's sword, that knighted the duke,
Dispell all your thoughts, your cares, and your fears,
Being noblie guarded by your own fuzieliers.

Yet
The peers and the heraulds were in a strange bustle,
How they could install a knight of the thistle;
For, wanting the sword and honours of state,
What shame could they get to lay on his pate?

Some voted a cane, and others a mace,
But true-hearted Seafield spoke thus to his grace:
My lord, upon honour, the regalia are fled,
Which were basely sold off by me and your dade,—
But —— here's Rothes's sword—so down on your knee!
Now, rise up a *knight* and a *knave* lyke me."

there is some ground for believing that his violence and activity rendered him obnoxious to the Scottish government, and that he was in consequence compelled to leave the kingdom. Whatever may have been the cause of his departure from Scotland, he established himself at Paris in the year 1573. Here he applied to the study of theology, and with such success, that he was soon afterwards appointed professor of philosophy in the royal college of Navarre.

In 1576, he became tutor to the cardinal de Bourbon, and in 1578, to Francis de Jayeuse, afterwards promoted to a similar dignity. Besides these there were many other young persons of quality entrusted to him in consequence of the high opinion entertained of his talents and learning. In 1581, still burning with zeal, he published a work entitled "Ane Catholick and Facile Traictaise drawin out of the halie Scriptures, treulie exponit be the ancient doctrines to confirm the reall and corporell praesence of Christis pretious bodie and blude in the Sacrament of the altar." This work he dedicated to "His soverane Marie, the Quenis Majestie of Scotland." To this book were appended twenty-four Orthodox and Catholic Conclusions, dedicated to James VI., whom, by the aid of some reasoning of his own, he termed king of Scotland. These "Conclusions" he prefaced with equal prolixity as the work itself, but more characteristically — "testimonies for antiquitie of religion and succession of pastors in the catholick kirk, and certane questionis to the quhilkis we desire the ministers mak resolute answer at their next generall assemblie, and send the same imprentit to us with diligence, utherwise we protest that their pretendit religion is altogidder antichristian and repugnant to God and his halie kirk." What fortune attended this bold challenge does not appear, but his own in the meantime, was steadily advancing. In 1584, he was chosen rector of the university of Paris, and in 1585, while yet a licentiate in theology, he was elected to the cure of St Cosmus and Damian by that part of the students of the university of Paris called the German nation. His election on this occasion was disputed, but finally confirmed by a decree of parliament.

Still amongst the foremost and most violent in all religious discords, Hamilton became a furious zealot for the Catholic League of 1566, which it is well known had for its object the extermination of protestants, without regard to the means, and figured during that celebrated era under the title of Curé de S. Cosine. In the same spirit he again distinguished himself when Henry IV. of France besieged Paris in the year 1590.

On that occasion he mustered the Parisian ecclesiastics, drew them up in battle array, and led them on against the forces of the heretics under Henry, making them halt occasionally to sing hymns as they advanced. As the king of France was compelled to abandon the blockade of Paris before he finally carried the city, by the duke of Parma, who, despatched by Philip, king of Spain, now arrived with an army to assist the leaguers who defended it, Hamilton not only escaped the fate which would certainly have awaited him, had Henry succeeded in the siege, but became more active and turbulent than ever, and soon after was one of the celebrated "council de Seize quartier," who took upon them, with an effrontery which has no parallel in history, to dispose of the crown of France; and actually went the length of offering it to Philip II. of Spain, to be bestowed on whomsoever he thought fit. Of all the bigoted and merciless fanatics who composed the fraternity of the "Seize," Hamilton was the most bigoted and relentless; and when those wretches had resolved on the murder of Brisson, president of the parliament of Paris, together with L'Archer, and Tardif, two obnoxious councillors, it was Hamilton who arrested the latter, and dragged him from a sick bed to the scaffold; and although the duke of Mayenne came immediately to Paris on hearing of these attrocities, and hanged

four of the ring-leaders of the infamous fraternity by which they had been perpetrated, yet Hamilton by some means or other contrived to escape sharing in their punishment. In 1594, his unextinguishable zeal again placed him in an extraordinary and conspicuous position. On the day on which Henry IV. entered Paris, after embracing the catholic religion, and while Te Deum was celebrating for the restoration of peace and good government, Hamilton, with some of his frantic associates, flew to arms, with the desperate design of still expelling the king, in whose conversion they had no faith. The attempt, however, as might have been expected, was a total failure, and Hamilton was taken into custody, but was afterwards allowed to leave France without farther punishment. The parliament, however, some time after his departure, sentenced him to be broken on the wheel for the murder of Tardif, and as he was not then forthcoming in person, ordered that their decree should be carried into execution on his effigy. Hamilton in the meantime had retired to the Low Countries, and was now residing at Brussels, under the Spanish government.

In 1600, he published another work on religious matters, entitled "A Catalogue of one hundred and sixty-seven heresies, lies, and calumnies, teachit and practisit be the ministers of Calvin's sect, and corruptions of twenty-three passages of the Scripture be the ministeris adulterate translations thereof." This work he dedicated to the Scottish king. In 1601, Hamilton returned to his native country, after an absence of above thirty years. He was there joined by one Edmond Hay, an eminent Jesuit, equally turbulent and factious with himself. The arrival of these two dangerous men, whose characters were well known, especially that of Hamilton, having reached the ears of the king, he immediately issued a proclamation, enjoining their instant departure from the kingdom under pain of treason, and declared all guilty of the like crime who harboured them.

Notwithstanding this edict, Hamilton contrived to find shelter in the north, and to elude for some time the vigilance of the government. Amongst others who contravened the king's proclamation on this occasion was the lord Ogilvie, who afforded him a temporary residence at his house of Airly. At length the Scottish privy council, determined to have possession of so dangerous a person, despatched a party of life-guards to apprehend him. When found and desired to surrender, this indomitable and factious spirit, who had bearded the king of France in his might, treated the orders of a Scottish privy council with contempt, and endeavoured to resist them, but in vain. His life, however, was afterwards spared by the king, who, by a very slight stretch of certain laws then existing, might have deprived him of it. This clemency is said to have arisen from James's regard for Hamilton's nephew, then Sir Thomas Hamilton, afterwards earl of Haddington. The former, after his capture, spent the remainder of his days in the Tower, where he was sent at once for his own safety and that of the kingdom.

Amongst other peculiarities of Hamilton, it is recorded that he entertained a strong aversion to the introduction of English words into the Scottish language, a practice which was then becoming fashionable; and in the abuse which he was constantly heaping on the protestant preachers, he frequently charges them with "Knapping Suddrone," (aiming at English,) and still greater enormity with having it "imprentit at London in contempt of our native language;" and in proof at once of his abhorrence of all innovation in this particular, and of his partiality for the native unadulterated language of his own country, he always wrote in a style somewhat more uncouth than was warranted by the period in which he lived.

HAMILTON, John, archbishop of St Andrews, and the last Scottish primate of the Roman catholic faith, was the natural son of James, earl of Arran, by a gentlewoman of Ayrshire. No nearer approximation seems to have been made to the period of his birth, than that it must have happened some time during the reign of James V. The early education of a person so situated is not likely to have attracted much attention, and we may, with a pretty equal chance of arriving at the truth, either receive or reject the statement of M'Kenzie,[1] made with the laudable desire of biographers, to afford complete and minute information, that he sudied the belles lettres and philosophy at Glasgow, and theology in France, where he entered into holy orders. It is, however, sufficiently ascertained, that he returned in the year 1543, from some residence or journey in France, and found himself abbot of Paisley, a situation within the limits of the extensive church patronage of his father, to which the son was nominated in 1541.[1] The circumstance of his journey through England in his return from France introduced this ambitious man to the commencement of his restless career. He was graciously received by Henry VIII., and either in duplicity, or ignorance of the scene of action about to open to him, he entered into the views of the English monarch with regard to a matrimonial alliance with Scotland, which he was afterwards to use his best endeavours to frustrate. On his arrival in Scotland he found the path of distinction just opened to his view, by the recent advancement of his vacillating brother to the regency of the kingdom, and may have conceived those high projects which the weakness of his unhappy relative fostered, while it interfered with their consummation. He joined cardinal Beaton in that opposition which the primate's fears for the safety of the church prompted him to exhibit towards the matrimonial alliance with England, and the enemies of Hamilton have not been backward in attributing to him an unhesitating application to the most ungenerous and infamous means for the achievement of his ends, throughout the heart-burning and unfortunate progress of that renowned conference. The change produced in the regent's policy by the persuasion of the abbot, and the something more than persuasion of the cardinal, assisted by the insults of the English monarch, is well known, with all its calamitous consequences. The perseverance of Hamilton was rewarded by the offices of privy seal, and of high treasurer, in which latter he succeeded Kirkaldy of Grange. In 1545, he was further rewarded by the wealthy bishopric of Dunkeld. With much modesty he wished to retain, after his elevation, both the dignity and emolument of his abbacy, but was prompted to resign them on his brother James being nominated his successor, with the moderate reservation of the fruits of the benefice during his lifetime, and the power to re-enter, in the event of surviving his brother. On the death of

1 M'Kenzie's Lives of Scots Writers, iii. 102.—The accurate authors of the History of the Senators of the College of Justice, have referred this presentation to so early a period as 1525. These authors are usually extremely minute in their references, but here the authority is omitted. We presume it to be that of Crawford, who in his Officers of State refers the event to the same period. The latter is certainly the more veracious authority of the two, yet, admitting that we have not undergone the labour of an investigation among the original records which might clear up so wide a divergence, we are inclined in this instance to believe the dictum of M'Kenzie. The authors of the late work alluded to falsify the statement of M'Kenzie, that Hamilton was on the continent for some years previously to 1543, by a reference to the records of parliament, in which the abbot of Paisley is mentioned in two sederunts, that of 1534, and that of 1540. If Hamilton was not appointed till 1541, this must have been the previous abbot. If he was appointed in 1545, we can only accede to M'Kenzie's statement of his absence on the continent, on the supposition that he had taken advantage of the act 3d. James I. chap. 52, which entitled prelates, earls, &c. to appear by their procurators, on producing proof of a necessary cause of absence—a privilege which, if it was ever taken advantage of, fell soon after into disuse.

cardinal Beaton, Hamilton was translated to the archbishopric of St Andrews. Unmindful of the fate of his predecessor, he commenced his inauspicious career with blood. A man of the name of Adam Wallace, was tried before him in a synod, in the Blackfriars' church of Edinburgh, and being found guilty of acting as a vagrant preacher, baptizing his own children, and of inability to discover the term "mass" in the Holy Scriptures, he was delivered over to the civil judge, and burnt at the stake. But the archbishop was not one of those who welcomed the rising strength of the Reformation with fire and sword. He was a strong thinking and acute man, with a mind conversant in the weaknesses and prejudices of men, and well adapted to hold the balance firmly and cautiously between contending parties. He was not of those spirits framed to be the scourges of the earth, but fate had cast him in evil days on an unhappy land, where men were not accustomed to scruple at the measures by which they gratified their passions or prejudices, and the minds formed in more peaceful times for the best things, burst the regulating power, which might have restrained them in a period of less temptation.

Hamilton saw the coming enemy, and the moderation and firmness with which he defended the church, protracted for a short period the fall of the crumbling fabric. He used his utmost endeavours to put to rest a fiery controversy, which inflamed his district, on the subject of addressing the Lord's prayer to the saints; a heterodox English priest having maintained that it should be addressed to the Deity alone, while an orthodox friar of St Andrews proved, by a syllogistic examination of each department of the prayer, that there were good reasons why it ought to be addressed to the saints, because there were no references in it which would not apply to their situation, excepting towards the end, where requests were made which it was entirely beyond the power of saints to grant, and in which their intercession only should be presumed to be requested. Out of the discussions on this matter, arose disputes on the exact mental value of the appeal to the saints, some maintaining it to be made to the saints *materialiter*, while it was made to the Deity *formaliter*—others, that while it was addressed to the Deity *principaliter*, it came before the saints *minus principaliter:* and the grades of distinction being too numerous for the consideration of the primate, who was never a casuist without having some purpose in view, he remitted them to a provincial synod, which duly attended to the interest of the saints. At this synod the archbishop performed one of those prudent acts of reconciliation, by which he sought to avert the fall of his order. He had prepared a catechism containing an exposition in English of the commandments, the creed, and the Lord's prayer, which was formally approved of by the synod, and ordered to be read to the people on Sundays and holidays, by the curates of the respective churches, and which was afterwards circulated through the country at such a small price as might remunerate the hawkers by whom it was vended. In the year 1551, the days of this ambitious priest appeared to be nearly ended by a stubborn asthmatic complaint, which defied the skill of the Scottish physicians, who pronounced his recovery as hopeless. The celebrated Cardan was induced, by a magnificent remuneration, to visit him, and the disease yielded either to the medicines of the empyric or to nature. M'Kenzie has taken much pains to prove that, in calling for the assistance of this singular individual, the primate did not appeal to the powers of magic, as Buchanan and others have accused him of having done; but it is much to be doubted whether, from the character of both parties, the patient did not suppose he was receiving, and the physician that he was administering, the aid of unholy powers. The influence of Hamilton's mind over that of his brother, is shown by the advantage taken of his sick-

ness. The queen mother seized the opportunity which her own ambitious views, and the instigations of her family had prepared her to use, and extracted from the feeble regent a resignation of his authority into her own hands. The archbishop on his recovery felt the indignation natural to a fierce and ambitious spirit, compelled by his situation to depend on a person whose facile mind required to be kept at its purpose by the firmness of his own. According to Sir James Melville, the convalescent priest received the intelligence with a burst of rage; "he cursed, and cried out that the governor was a very beast for quitting the government to her," bestowing an epithet not very decorous on the princess who stood between his brother and the throne. But Sir James Melville mentions the intelligence as having been received by him when abroad, and from the information of captain Ninian Cockburn, "a busy meddler,"—and however certainly we may judge of the ambitious prospects of the archbishop, it is not likely that he would have uttered them in a situation which would have admitted their being reported to such a person. The effect of his recovery is a farther evidence of his powerful mind. The resignation not duly and formally completed was revoked, and with all the advantage of possessing the dignity, the powerful princess was compelled to submit for a time. After a protracted conference, the queen mother, aided by the influence of those whom her polished manners had secured, and of the protestant party in general, whom she affected to protect, seconded by the will of her daughter, no longer an infant, obtained her end; but the advantages stipulated for by the archbishop on the part of his brother, were the same as those which had been held out to him as a bait at the commencement of the contract, acknowledging, as a principal article, the ex-regent's right of succession, failing the young queen, which seems to have presented to the archbishop golden views of ambition which it were difficult to fathom. Hitherto the primacy of Hamilton had been marked by but one act of persecution, with which he was but indirectly connected; but just after the period of the last incident described, he appalled the nation by the perpetration of an act, for which neither religious bigotry, opposition to the regent, nor the alleged influence of the abbot of Kilwinning, are sufficient satisfactorily to account, in a man who knew so well the advantage of moderate counsels. Walter Mill, an aged protestant minister, was tried at St Andrews, before the archbishop, found guilty of heresy, and condemned to death by the flames. Men looked with such deep horror on the act, that an individual possessing the requisite powers could hardly be found to add the supplementary authority of the civil judge—no one would furnish a rope to bind him to the stake, and the archbishop had to provide with his own sacred hands the necessary implement. The people of the country marked the spot of the reputed martyr's death by rearing over it a heap of stones, and so often as these were removed, the sullen memorial was restored by the patient and unyielding people. This was one of the marked acts which either terrify, or give impulse to a slowly approaching enemy—it had the latter effect—Knox preached soon after in the pulpit of his cathedral church, and the usual destruction attended his presence. The archbishop, who, whatever he might be in politics, was no bigot in religion, strove to compromise with the arch-reformer, admitting that there were many evils in the church which should be remedied, but that "he should do wisely to retain the old policy, which had been the work of many ages, or then put a better in its place, which his new model was far from,"—but the proffer was unnoticed. He made a last and daring effort in the committee of estates in 1560, which gave the sanction of law to the doctrines and government of the protestant faith. He there objected to his own brother, the bishop of Argyle, and to the bishop of Galloway being ad-

mitted as lords of the articles, to prepare the measure for the adoption of the house, according to the constitution of the parliament of Scotland, because they had embraced presbyterianism, and were therefore disqualified by the constitution they were about to alter: and, along with the bishops of Dunkeld and Dumblane, gave an unavailing opposition to the measures.

Three years after this convention, he became amenable to one of its provisions, which prohibited the celebration of mass, and was committed to the castle of Edinburgh, whence he was released through the reiterated tears and intercessions of queen Mary. Royal favour still beamed on the archbishop, but it was clouded by popular hatred. In 1566, at the imprudent request of the queen, he baptized the young prince with the ceremonies of the church of Rome, and with still more imprudence, if not with a design of aiding the perpetration of deep wickedness, he was, on the 23d of September, of the same year, personally re-invested by the queen's signature, in the consistorial jurisdiction, of which the clergy in general had been deprived by the legislature. Whitaker, with the purposes of a special pleader before him, maintains this not to have been a revival of the jurisdiction, but the special gift of an authority which had not been discontinued. Not to argue on the improbability, that a jurisdiction belonging to the body of right, should be bestowed on one particular member by favour, the act of parliament which transfers to the commissaries the consistorial authority of the church, is as plain as a Scottish act usually is. The dangerous and invidious jurisdiction thus bestowed, was used on one great occasion, and history has preserved no other instance of its application: he granted a commission to judges, who severed the inconvenient bonds betwixt earl Bothwell and his wife, which interfered in some respects with the formality of a marriage with the queen, and this act, coupled with the circumstance that the archbishop was one of those who prepared the account of the murder of Darnley, so hastily transmitted to the French court, originated in the minds of his enemies suspicions of deep guilt, the justice of which we do not pretend to judge.

The fidelity of the archbishop towards the queen, however much party spirit may account for it on ambitious grounds, is, by a charitable interpretation, a pleasing part of his character. He was the heart and head of the party which associated for her cause, during her confinement in Lochleven. He aided her escape, and boldly urged on the battle, so unfortunate to the queen, which followed. He now bid a perpetual adieu to the state and pomp he had so long sustained, and seems to have for more than a year wandered through the country in search of a roof to protect him. On the capture of Dunbarton castle in 1571, the governor of which had bestowed on him temporary protection, he was tried on an accusation of four several acts of treason. First, "That he knew, and was participand or accomplice in the murdering of king Henry, the queen's husband. 2d, That he conspired against the king's person at the murdering of the first regent, intending to have surprised the castle of Stirling, and to have been master thereof at his pleasure. 3d, That he knew, or was participand in the murder of James, earl of Murray, the late regent. 4th, That he lay in wait at the wood of Calendar, for the slaughter of Matthew, earl of Lennox, the present regent." With a candour which ought to weigh much with the world, in the consideration of the other atrocities of which he has been accused, he confessed with contrition a participation in the third crime laid to his charge: much confusion and mystery attend the accounts of this trial which have reached our time, but it would appear that some difficulties, either in form or evidence attending the proof of the crimes laid to his charge, prompted recourse to a fic-

tion convenient on such occasions, and disgraceful to the law in which it found a place—an act of forefaulture *in absence* had been passed against the archbishop in the first parliament of regent Murray, and in terms of that act he was hanged on the common gibbet of Stirling, in his pontificial robes, on the 5th April, 1571. The law of that period, like a weapon of war, was used by party against party, and was a protection to none but those who could wield it, a terror to none but those against whom some powerful adversary could direct it; and hence even those punishments, which, as abstract rewards of guilt, might be looked on as equitable, became unjust—because they were the offspring of malignity, and not dealt for the prevention of farther crimes. The archbishop had committed the crime of religious intolerance, which *is* a crime under whatever form it appears, however casuists may vindicate it by the arguments which may be used in vindication of any crime whatever—prejudice and conviction of the mind—and a crime which mankind may be said never to forgive or forget, but to treasure for the indignation of future ages. Yet those crimes which are perpetrated by the assistance of the law, are not fit for receiving punishment from that instrument: public opinion, and the weight of the public voice are the restraints which men and legislatures should feel under such temptations; for the punishment of persecution, being always bestowed by the party which has been persecuted, is a repetition of the crime, and a re-opening of the wounds of party rancour. The ignominy gratuitously bestowed on the reverend head of their party and religion was not soon forgot by the adherents of the Hamiltons, and long after his haughty indomitable spirit had ceased to oppose the progress of the reformation, his name, and the memory of his fate, were bonds of union to the papists, and dreaded by the protestants. Like that of all violent partizans, the memory of Hamilton has been coloured with much blame, and with much praise. Buchanan has wasted good Latin both in prose and verse in ascribing to him all the vices of which poor human nature is susceptible —"Archiepiscopus etiam in omnium rerum licentia suis cupiditatibus obsequebatur;"—nor does he hesitate to charge him with accession to two deliberate murders, from the punishment consequent on one of which, his influence protected the principal perpetrator, the father of his mistress. His incontinence is a favourite theme of his traducers, and circumstances have, to a considerable extent, justified the accusation.

His open and received mistress was a female of the name of Semple, whom his defenders maintain he had married early in life, and before he had entered into holy orders; but the proof is insufficient to meet the contrary presumptions. An article of the treaty of Perth has been discovered, restoring, the son of the archbishop to the possessions of his father, forfeited through treason. It appoints " that the heirs and successors of persons forfeited, properly comprehended under this pacification, and now departed this life, shall be restored, and made lawful to enter by brieves to their lands and possessions, notwithstanding of the forfeitures laid against their fathers or predecessors, and as gif they had died at our sovereign Lord's faith and peace, and especially of John, archbishop of St Andrews," &c. The circumstance is rather unintelligible; if the son was in law illegitimate, the restoration could not without legitimation admit his suing forth a brief of service to his father, and the circumstance of the father having been a priest, was sufficient to establish the illegitimacy, whether a marriage had taken place before his advancement to the priesthood or not. It is impossible to calculate the exact extent to which Buchanan will utter a deliberate falsehood on such matters as came under his own observation; but believing him to speak truth, we might quote a passage which would settle the matter, by showing the

female in question to have been the wife of another man, while she was mistress to the archbishop. "But supposing," says M'Kenzie prudently, "that the bishop had made this slip in his youth, it is not a sufficient ground to stain the whole course of his after life with."

*** The memoir of David Fordyce, which has been omitted at its proper place, will be found in the appendix.

GLASGOW:
GEORGE BROOKMAN, PRINTER, VILLAFIELD.